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ABSTRACT

As the first of 2 volumes reporting research on the social and educational development of 10 rural school districts prior to their involvement in the Experimental Schools program, this book is concerned with the impact of history on comprehensive educational improvement. Present 6 of the 10 histories, this volume includes: Craig, Alaska; Wilcox, Arizona; Hancock County, Kentucky; Constantine, Michigan; Supervisory Union 58, New Hampshire; and a chapter titled "A Historical Perspective on Community". Although prepared in the context of a 5-year longitudinal study, these histories constitute a separate body of knowledge relative to the following objectives: to provide concise yet comprehensive histories of communities; to gain information on economic, ecological, social, cultural, political, and psychological factors shaping present-day characteristics and to determine why these communities are as they are today; to identify ways in which rural communities may differ from both urban communities and each other; to ascertain via comparative analysis whether there are development process patterns; to determine whether the developmentpatterns and/or the present-day characteristics correspond to those of rural America in general; to render history an independent variable by identifying community variations for future investment projects. (JC)

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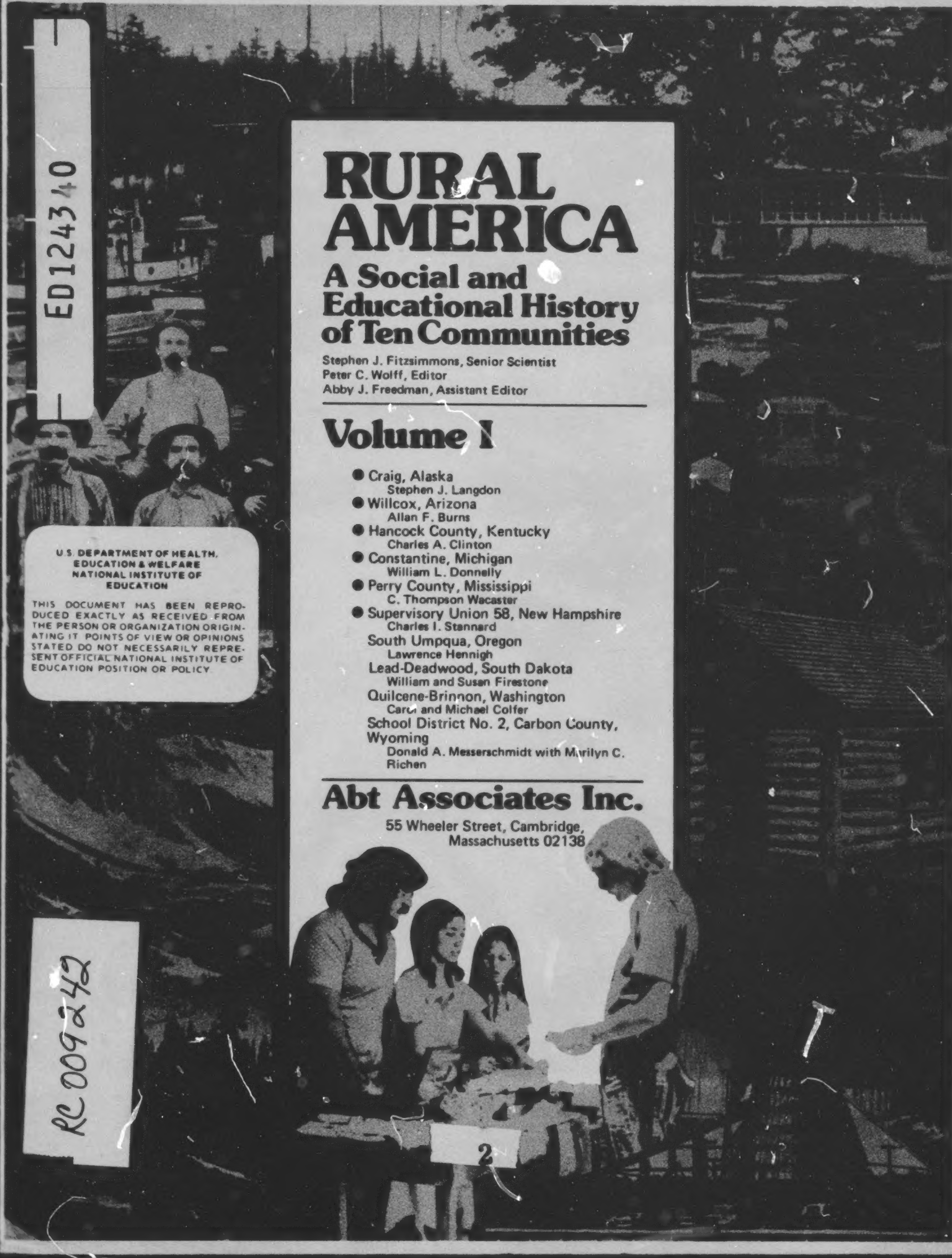

RURAL AMERICA

A Social and Educational History of Ten Communities

Stephen J. Fitzsimmons, Senior Scientist
Peter C. Wolff, Editor
Abby J. Freedman, Assistant Editor

Volume I

- ● Craig, Alaska
  Stephen J. Langdon
- ● Willcox, Arizona
  Allan F. Burns
- ● Hancock County, Kentucky
  Charles A. Clinton
- ● Constantine, Michigan
  William L. Donnelly
- ● Perry County, Mississippi
  C. Thompson Wacaster
- ● Supervisory Union 58, New Hampshire
  Charles I. Stannard
- South Umpqua, Oregon
  Lawrence Hennigh
- Lead-Deadwood, South Dakota
  William and Susan Firestone
- Quilcene-Brinnon, Washington
  Carol and Michael Colfer
- School District No. 2, Carbon County, Wyoming
  Donald A. Messerschmidt with Marilyn C. Richen

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Volume I

Stephen J. Fitzsimmons, Senior Scientist
Peter C. Wolff, Editor
Abby Freedman, Assistant Editor

with chapters by:

Allan F. Burns, Charles A. Clinton, Carol and Michael Colfer, William L. Donnelly, William A. and Susan Firestone, Stephen J. Fitzsimmons, Gerald Goldman with Abby Freedman, Lawrence Hennigh, Stephen J. Langdon, Donald A. Messerschmidt with Marilyn C. Richen, Charles I. Stannard, C. Thompson Wacaster

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PREFACE

The Experimental Schools program was authorized by Congress in 1971 and, when the National Institute of Education was established a year later, it became a major component of NIE's efforts. As part of the Experimental Schools program, NIE began a special experiment involving 10 rural school districts to explore vital policy questions. One of these questions is whether a school system, when given the opportunity, can make significant changes in its operations to the ultimate betterment of pupils and community.

The research reported upon herein is concerned with one aspect of rural life as it relates to contemporary social change -- namely, the role of history as a contextual, and perhaps determining, force on what can and cannot be accomplished in a comprehensive effort to improve school systems. This report is directed explicitly to questions regarding history as a factor in influencing programs designed to bring about rural improvements.

Despite the fact that historical factors are acknowledged by many researchers to be important determinants of present-day life, few efforts have been undertaken to examine this concern systematically and in detail. The present set of studies is designed to satisfy just such an objective.

Histories of the 10 rural communities in the Experimental Schools program are presented in their own right, and then analyzed in two ways. First, they are examined to determine similarities and differences in the developmental characteristics found among the 10 communities, and these, in turn, are compared with more aggregate national patterns of rural community development. Second, the present-day characteristics of these communities are compared with those of the nation. Ultimately, we seek to determine the extent and ways in which history can, in effect, serve to forecast subsequent changes.

Of particular significance are two complementary functions which these histories serve. First, they provide illustrative materials concerning the actual development process of 10 rural communities as it relates to programs of educational innovation. Programs are examined in terms of their historical antecedents. Second, they demonstrate a role historical data can play in research on present-day efforts toward community improvement. As social scientists study rural communities from various perspectives, these histories will, we hope, provide a stimulus to including historical analysis as a facet of their research design.

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April 15, 1975

Chapter I

A Historical Perspective on Community

by

Stephen J. Fitzsimmons

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CHAPTER I. A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON COMMUNITY

Introduction

At a time in America's history when there is growing demand to improve the quality of life in rural areas, not much is known about whether a community's unique historical characteristics influence its response to such attempts. Nevertheless, as a result of recent legislation by the Congress, efforts to improve rural American life are proceeding on many fronts (e.g., education, economic development, health, housing, child development, and programs for the elderly). Our particular interest here is with one federal program designed to improve education in rural communities: the Experimental Schools program of the National Institute of Education. This program assumes that local economic, political, and resource characteristics can influence how effective each project will be. However, individual historical characteristics may also be important. Does a community's historical development pattern -- that is, its educational, economic, cultural, social, and political history -- play an important role in influencing just how it responds to present-day initiatives to bring about changes?

To deal with this issue, histories of 10 communities receiving Experimental Schools funding have been developed.[1] In each history, a community and its school system are analyzed in terms of their development patterns as these lead up to their present-day characteristics. Further analyses then compare patterns of development across the 10 communities. These patterns are in turn compared with development and present-day characteristics typical of rural America. In this manner, we can identify patterns among the 10 communities and similarities to national characteristics in order to see how relevant the findings from this study will be to other rural areas. Although these histories were prepared in the context of a larger, five-year longitudinal study, they stand in their own right as a body of knowledge concerning rural communities. This information will be used subsequently to explore the influence of historical antecedents upon the success of programs designed to bring about planned educational change in rural school systems.

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[1] Each of the 10 school districts is called a community, even though some of the districts are large and contain several villages or other communities. Educationally, each school district is a community. Occasionally, these communities are referred to as "sites" (for the Experimental Schools program).

This chapter provides the context in which the studies have been developed. It begins with a discussion of the research, both substantive and procedural, and then addresses the goals for the historical analyses. Following this, information is presented on why these histories have been written, the set of procedures and guidelines used in developing individual histories, analytic procedures applied, and the organization of the remainder of this volume.

A Major Study of Education in Rural America

In 1972, the Experimental Schools program of the National Institute of Education awarded a contract to Abt Associates Inc. to conduct a five-year study of an experimental program in which 10 selected, small, rural school districts were funded to improve the quality of education available to their students. The job of developing an overall research strategy was a complex one.

A variety of considerations influenced the development of the research and, specifically, the contents of this book. These considerations included:

- The nature and objectives of the National Institute of Education;
- The nature and objectives of the Experimental Schools program;
- The nature of life in rural America;
- The special concerns regarding a study of small school districts serving rural areas;
- The stata-of-the-art in educational and social science research and the unique research opportunities offered by this effort.

The National Institute of Education -- A New Force in Fostering Research Concerning American Education

The National Institute of Education was established in a fairly explicit policy context. The Congress declared that it would be the policy of the United States "to provide to every person an equal opportunity to receive an education of high quality regardless of his race, color, religion, sex, national origin, or social class" (Public Law 92-318, June 23, 1972, p.93). Based upon numerous studies and extensive testimony, the Congress determined that the American educational system did not achieve these objectives and that pronounced inequalities of opportunity to receive a high quality education existed in our society. In addition, in order to achieve its objectives, far more dependable knowledge regarding the process of learning and education was required. Because of inequities of educational opportunity and a limited knowledge of how best to address the situation, Congress deemed that, "the Federal Government has a clear responsibility to provide leadership in the conduct and support of scientific inquiry into the educational process" (ibid.).[2]

The Nature and Objectives of the Experimental Schools Program

The National Institute of Education (NIE) and the Experimental Schools (ES) program have a common origin. Both were first proposed in the budget presented to the Congress in January, 1969 and then formally presented in the President's Message on Educational Reform and Renewal, delivered in March, 1970. The ES program was designed as a prototype program for NIE. However, as a function of the legislative process, the ES program was authorized by the Congress in fiscal year 1971 and was well under way by the time NIE was established a year later.

---

[2] To help achieve equal educational opportunity, Public Law 92-318, creating the NIE, was enacted by the 92nd Congress on June 23, 1972. NIE, located in the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, became operational in November, 1972.

The key mandate of NIE is the fostering of coordinated research of sufficient scope and calibre to provide meaningful information to educators on how to improve the quality and equality of education for all Americans. Specifically, the responsibilities of the NIE are to improve education, including career education, by:

- helping to solve or alleviate the problems, and achieve the objectives, of American education;
- advancing the practice of education as an art, science, and profession;
- strengthening the scientific and technological foundations of education; and
- building an effective educational research and development system (op. cit., p. 94).

The legislation enacted by Congress stipulates a variety of activities consistent with the NIE objectives; e.g., conduct of educational research, dissemination of findings, coordination of research, training, and so forth. Educational research included: "research (basic and applied), planning, surveys, evaluations, investigation experiments, developments, and demonstrations in the field of education." Fully 90% of the NIE budget must be consumed through grants or contracts which encompass these activities.

The Experimental Schools program was authorized by Congress under the Cooperative Research Act (Public Law 91-531) passed in 1971. The program was designed as a bridge between basic educational research and actual practice. At its inception, three experimental features were built into the program: it would establish a limited number of projects; its completion date would be in 10 years; and, it would include intensive documentation and evaluation.

The ES program arose out of a well-defined historical context. During the 1960's with the enactment of many Great Society programs, numerous individual educational efforts were launched in the United States, including many research studies. It soon became apparent, however, that the introduction of change into school systems was difficult and that despite good intentions, significant improvements in operations and student performance were hard to document. Moreover, the research indicated that while many components of a given educational system were often related to specific improvements, their actual relation to the changes were not really dealt with beyond rhetoric. In addition, educational change seemed to require not only changes in schools but changes in their communities as well. Education was apparently not the be-all and end-all of change in the students. Little was also known about how to change educational structures. Finally, many of the measures used to reflect change in performance were inadequate for the purpose of studying educational change. Perhaps symbolic and most discouraging, a study by the Ford Foundation revealed that there were few residual effects from its $34 million dollar investment in educational improvement programs. Unfortunately, this story goes back well before the Great Society programs. In fact, many innovations were introduced into American education prior to World War I, yet little is available in the way of demonstrated impact.

Thus, the historical context of the ES program suggested that:

- meaningful educational change is difficult to introduce into the system;
- many aspects of the educational system must be affected in order for defined gains to occur;
- factors beyond the school system have great bearing upon what happens in the school;
- knowledge is limited about how to measure changes;
- information about change in schools is not well disseminated; and
- the whole question of the nature of education is unclear.

Additional information concerning the Experimental Schools program can be found in Appendix I.

The Nature of Life in Rural America

Of the 17,980 operating school districts in the United States in 1970, more than 40% can be classified as rural,[3] serving isolated or semi-isolated communities with student bodies of less than 2,500 pupils. In total, rural schools educate more than eight million of the nation's youth. The quality of education by various measures in these communities is fairly diverse. Many rural communities and their schools systems are worried about their future. In fact, the general quality of rural education, as reflected in the recent Coleman Report[4] is significantly below that of urban areas.

---

[3] With respect to definition of urban and rural areas of America, the U.S. Census Bureau states:

> The urban population comprises all persons living in urbanized areas and in places of 2,500 inhabitants or more outside urbanized areas. More specifically, the urban population consists of all persons living in (a) places of 2,500 inhabitants or more incorporated as cities, villages, boroughs (except Alaska), and towns (except in the New England states, New York, and Wisconsin), but excluding those persons living in the rural portions of extended cities; (b) unincorporated places of 2,500 inhabitants or more, and (c) other territory, incorporated or unincorporated, included in urbanized areas. The population not classified as urban constitutes the rural population.

U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970. Vol. I, Characteristics of the Population. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1973. (pp. App. 1-2).

Two points are important in understanding rural education. First, rural communities differ from urban areas of America in many ways; e.g., geographic isolation, small population groups, rather extensive informal communication networks, and a way of life more directly in contact with the natural environment. Second, rural communities differ from one another in many ways; e.g., economic base, geological environment, cultural and ethnic heritage, school system philosophy, etc.

During the past two decades there had been growing alarm by Congress, urban government and rural citizenry about the status of life in rural America. Rural communities give evidence of losing their greatest asset--the youth of the community. Overcrowded cities with high unemployment rates have failed to absorb all these new residents, many of whom possess inadequate education and whose rural acculturation makes it difficult for them to understand the complexities of urban, industrialized society. Economic and social costs of the influx of rural workers to America's large cities are enormous. Improvement of rural living conditions would decrease this influx and would benefit not only rural areas but the nation as a whole. Given the present condition of our cities, it is indeed unfortunate that a more inclusive definition of the benefits derived from rural development was not used when deciding whether to invest public funds in urban or rural areas.

Today, rural communities, whose combined population represents about 26% of the nation's population (or more than 50,000,000 Americans), are facing many problems as a result of shifts in the employment base of their economy. A reduction of agricultural employment has not been fully compensated by new industries. Even where new industries are established in a rural community, structural unemployment remains; i.e., the wrong people, particularly older farm laborers, are available for existing jobs.

Recent Congressional hearings have brought the public's attention to malnutrition and associated health problems such as iron deficiency anemia, low energy levels, and mental retardation during childhood, which exist in some rural areas, particularly among poor blacks and Appalachian whites. Housing studies raise concern over the percent of standard housing facilities in rural areas throughout America. But even the best marshalling of statistics does not portray the totality of the rural dilemma, for many facets of life are still not statistically quantifiable. General boredom among the youth and the elderly, lack of good recreational opportunities for many communities, and the absence of a variety of services (e.g., child care, mental health care, public transportation) contribute to a reduced quality of life.

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[4] James S. Coleman *et al.*, Equality of Educational Opportunity Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1966.

From the opposite perspective, when rural communities have a sound economic and social base, they have much to contribute to an individual's life. The healthy rural community offers freedom from many of the problems of life in an overcrowded city such as high crime rates, air and water pollution, long lines for services, and impersonal relations among neighbors. The economic base in some rural communities has been strengthened by industries which are capable of operating somewhat more independently of such factors as local markets and rapid transportation. The expanded highway network and the availability of television, magazines, and other means of communication have increased the contact of rural residents with the rest of American culture. Thus, there are increasing possibilities for the rural resident to partake of some of the benefits previously offered to urban dwellers.

Some economists now talk about rural growth centers as a possible "solution" to rural economic decline. There is speculation that a broader base of economic life is indeed possible in these areas. For example, in Kansas, where 15 years ago politicians and scientists agreed that thousands of communities would die off in 20 years, some local communities have surprised the prognosticators by changing their direction and improving their economies. The comprehensive study which produced this report is directed at understanding how the school can help to improve the quality of life in a rural setting.

Special Study of Small School Districts Serving Rural Areas

In March, 1972, the U.S. Office of Education issued an *Announcement of a Competition for Small Rural Schools*, which informed all school districts in the United States with less than 2,500 pupils of the objective of the ES program and its five-year duration of funding. Following a brief discussion of problems in rural American education, school systems were presented with five project requirements. These included the development of:

- a fresh approach to the nature and substance of total curriculum in light of local needs and goals;
- reorganization and training of staff to meet particular project goals;
- innovative use of time, space, and facilities;
- active community involvement in developing, operating, and evaluating the proposed project; and
- administrative and organizational structure which supports the project and takes into account local strengths and needs.

Applicants were advised that all grade levels (K-12) must be included in the project, the entire enrollment must be involved, maximum project size could not exceed 2,500 students, and attention should be given to problems of poorly performing students and to students from low income families. It was noted that the experimental funds must *not* be used to support current activities or be part of regular operating costs, but rather would supplement local costs of an innovative program. Prospective applicants were informed of the USOE commitment to intensive documentation and evaluation of projects through outside contracting. To qualify, interested school districts had to submit applications by April 15, 1972, 1-1/2 months after receipt of the announcement letter.

Approximately 320 school districts responded to the announcement before the April 15 deadline. Twelve sites were selected from these applicant school districts for inclusion in the Study of Rural Education. Six school districts were given one-year planning grants and six were given five-year commitments to plan and implement programs. Four of the six sites funded for the one-year planning period were later given commitments for an additional five years upon completion and approval of their five-year plans. The 10 sites selected are geographically and individually a diverse group. They include the following school districts:

Craig, Alaska
Willcox, Arizona
Hancock County, Kentucky
Constantine, Michigan
Perry County, Mississippi
Union 58, New Hampshire
South Umpqua, Oregon
Lead-Deadwood, South Dakota
Quilcene-Brinnon, Washington
Carbon County School District No.2, Wyoming

A brief synopsis of the principal characteristics of each community is presented in Figure 1.

Longitudinal Study of Educational Change in Rural America

Eight separate, coordinate efforts were developed in the Abt Associates "Longitudinal Study of Educational Change in Rural America." Two studies which were tailored to the unique characteristics of the communities and their school systems were conducted individually within each of the 10 communities. These included:

(1) a history of the community and its school system prior to inauguration of the experimental project,

(2) a "case study" of each community and its school system over the five-year period of the project,

Three more studies were undertaken "across" the 10 communities; i.e., they studied all sites uniformly in order to determine what might be generalizable to other rural communities in the United States. These included:

Fig. 1 The ten rural school districts.

State: Alaska
School District: Craig School District
Number of Pupils (1972-73): 148
Number of Schools (1972-73): 2
Per-Pupil Expenditure (CPI-Adjusted) (1972-73): $1,215
Location: On Prince of Wales Island, 60 air miles west of Ketchikan, 750 miles north of Seattle, 220 mi. south of Juneau
Area: 75 acres
First White Settlement: 1911
Population (1970): 272
Major Communities: Craig
Major Industries: Forestry, fishing, manufacturing (canning, wood products)

State: Arizona
School District: Willcox Public School District
Number of Pupils (1972-73): 1,503
Number of Schools (1972-73): 3
Per-Pupil Expenditure (CPI-Adjusted) (1972-73): $886
Location: In Cochise County, 80 miles east of Tucson
Area: 925 square miles
First Anglo Settlement: circa 1858
Population (1970): 4,535
Major Communities: Willcox
Major Industries: Agriculture (cattle), tourism, retail trade and services

State: Kentucky
School District: Hancock County School District
Number of Pupils (1972-73): 1,510
Number of Schools (1972-73): 4
Per-Pupil Expenditure (CPI-Adjusted) (1972-73): $739
Location: On the Ohio River 90 miles west of Louisville
Area: 187 square miles
First Settlement: circa 1800
Population (1970): 7,080
Major Communities: Lewisport, Hawesville
Major Industries: Agriculture (tobacco, cattle, corn, soybeans and wheat), manufacturing (stone, clay, lumber and paper products, sheet-plate aluminum), contract construction, retail trade and services

State: Michigan
School District: Constantine Public Schools
Number of Pupils (1972-73): 1,668
Number of Schools (1972-73): 4
Per-Pupil Expenditure (CPI-Adjusted) (1972-73): $787
Location: In portions of Cass and St. Joseph Counties, 35 miles south of Kalamazoo and 35 miles northeast of South Bend, Indiana
Area: 110 square miles
First Settlement: 1828
Population (1970): 5,038
Major Communities: Constantine
Major Industries: Manufacturing (paper products, milk products, recreational vehicles), retail trade, services and farming

State: Mississippi
School District: Perry County School District
Number of Pupils (1972-73): 1,507
Number of Schools (1972-73): 6
Per-Pupil Expenditure (CPI-Adjusted) (1972-73): $672
Location: 100 miles southeast of Jackson and 60 miles northwest of Mobile
Area: 528 square miles
First Settlement: circa 1812
Population (1970): 5,908
Major Communities: New Augusta, Beaumont, and Runnelstown
Major Industries: Logging, manufacturing (wood products, textiles), retail trade

Fig. 1. (continued). The ten rural school districts.

State: New Hampshire
School District: Supervisory Union 58 (comprised of the Northumberland, Stark, and Stratford School Districts)
Number of Pupils (1972-73): 1,128
Number of Schools (1972-73): 4
Per-Pupil Expenditure (CPI-Adjusted) (1972-73): $473
Location: In Coos County 27 miles northwest of Berlin, N. H., 29 miles northeast of Littleton, N. H., 130 miles southeast of Montreal, and 180 miles northwest of Boston
Area: 179 square miles
First Settlement: 1767
Population (1970): 3,816
Major Communities: Groveton and North Stratford
Major Industries: Manufacturing (paper and wood products), retail trade and services

State: Oregon
School District: South Umpqua School District 19C
Number of Pupils (1972-73): 2,275
Number of Schools (1972-73): 5
Per-Pupil Expenditure (CPI-Adjusted) (1972-73): $884
Location: In southern Douglas County 90 miles south of Eugene and 90 miles north of Medford
Area: 340 square miles
First Settlement: 1851
Population (1970): 8,037
Major Communities: Canyonville, Tri-City, Myrtle Creek, North Myrtle, South Myrtle
Major Industries: Manufacturing (lumber mills), retail trade and services

State: South Dakota
School District: Lead-Deadwood School District #106
Number of Pupils (1972-73): 2,350
Number of Schools (1972-73): 8
Per-Pupil Expenditure (CPI-Adjusted) (1972-73): $1,176
Location: In Lawrence County 45 miles northwest of Rapid City, 400 miles north of Denver, and 600 miles west of Minneapolis-St. Paul
Area: 430 square miles
First Settlement: 1875
Population (1970): 9,858
Major Communities: Lead, Deadwood
Major Industries: Mining (gold), tourism, forestry, retail trade and services

State: Washington
School Districts: Quilcene School District, Brinnon School District
Number of Pupils (1972-73): 341
Number of Schools (1972-73): 3
Per-Pupil Expenditure (CPI-Adjusted) (1972-73): $1,016
Location: In Jefferson County 26 miles south of Port Townsend, 40 miles west of Seattle, 47 miles southeast of Port Angeles
Area: 100 square miles
First Settlement: 1860
Population (1970): 1,998
Major Communities: Quilcene, Brinnon
Major Industries: Logging, oyster harvesting, government laboratories, tourism, retail trade and services

State: Wyoming
School District: Carbon County School District No. 2
Number of Pupils (1972-73): 1,392
Number of Schools (1972-73): 12
Per-Pupil Expenditure (CPI-Adjusted) (1972-73): $1,329
Location: 130 miles south of Casper, Wyoming, 75 miles west of Laramie, Wyoming and 200 miles north of Denver, Colorado
Area: 4,300 square miles
First Permanent Settlement: 1868
Population (1970): 4,138
Major Communities: Encampment, Riverside, Saratoga, Elk Mountain, Hanna, Elmo, Medicine Bow, McFadden, and Shirley Basin
Major Industries: Agriculture (sheep and cattle), extraction (coal, oil, and uranium), manufacturing (lumber mills), tourism, retail trade, and services

(3) a study of changes which take place in pupils,

(4) a study of changes which take place in the organization of schooling, and how these changes influence pupils, and

(5) a study of changes which take place in the communities, how these influence the school system, and how changes in the students and school system influence the community.

Certain selected studies were to be conducted periodically throughout the life of the 10 projects. Some might involve only one or two school districts, while others could occur "across" all the school districts. These are called:

(6) special studies of the Experimental Schools projects.

Finally, two studies were to be undertaken upon completion of the 10 projects and were based in part on the findings of the six previously mentioned studies. These included:

(7) an overall evaluation of the experiment in terms of achievement of objectives set by the individual projects,

(8) an asessment of major findings in terms of their application to questions of public policy, educational programs, and research.

More detailed discussion of the seven studies other than the histories can be found in Appendix II.

Purpose of the Histories

The 10 histories were developed and written for their relevance to the overall study of the Experimental Schools program. Their purpose is to provide a thorough understanding of what occurred in the 10 school districts prior to the Experimental Schools program which, in turn, might influence what happens to them during the program. Two important assumptions underlie the development of history with respect to education:

- The nature of the school system may in significant measure be affected by such non-educational aspects of the community as traditions, economic characteristics and local government processes. Therefore, these other aspects also need to be studied carefully.
- The effect of the ES program as a change agent in the school system may be significantly enhanced or constrained by historical characteristics. That is, past historical events as well as ongoing historical causal chains may affect the school system in general and the ES program in particular.

The histories are multifaceted in their objectives. Included as objectives are the following:

(1) To provide concise yet comprehensive histories of individual communities;

(2) To gain information on economic, ecological, social, cultural, political and psychological factors shaping their present characteristics to present a fuller picture of why the communities are as they are today;

(3) To identify ways in which rural communities may differ from urban communities;

(4) To identify ways in which rural communities may differ from each other;

(5) To ascertain through comparative analysis whether there are patterns in development processes;

(6) To determine whether development patterns of these 10 communities correspond to those of rural America in general;

(7) To determine whether these communities' present-day characteristics correspond to those of rural America in general; and

(8) To render history an independent variable by identifying historical variations among communities which may enhance or constrain subsequent changes attributable to investment projects.

Preparing the Histories

The individual histories were prepared by on-site researchers (OSRs); all of them were professionally trained either as anthropologists or sociologists. Brief biographies of the on-site researchers and other key project staff can be found in Appendix III.

Local residents provided much early historical information and supplemented recent information as well. Where available, the two most helpful sources of written materials were historical societies and special books or documents of the area.

While each community was viewed as unique, with its own special story to tell, the on-site researchers were provided with explicit descriptions of the various sections of the histories in order that similar information from all 10 communities would be in the same place and therefore easily retrievable for analysis. The general framework for the histories is given in Appendix IV. The detailed outline of topics to be included in the histories is presented in Figure 2.

Fig. 2. Outline for site history and context study.

Basic Facts

- Name of community, county, state; elevation; square mile area; 1970 population; date first settled; date of formal incorporation; location expressed in longitude/latitude, and in miles and direction to nearest large city(ies).
- Any other names by which the community has been known.

Basic Geography, Geology, and Ecology of Community

- General description of the countryside (e.g., plains, rolling hills, mountainous country, wooded hills, oceans, rivers, large lakes).
- Topographical features of land affecting community development (e.g., confined by hills, river, or unusual land features).
- Unusual sources of scenic beauty, climate conducive to health, etc.
- Pictures of countryside.
- Major mineral deposits or other natural resources.
- Soil conditions and how land is used (e.g., farming, mining, forestry, agriculture).
- Water resources for community.
- Natural wildlife, waterfowl, fish, and birds found in vicinity.
- Average temperature range for the various seasons.
- Precipitation amounts and characteristics and general quality of air supply.
- Any major changes which have taken place in the natural environment over the years in the local environment due to natural or human cause.
- Major influence of these characteristics on community life and economics.

Early Settlement of the Community--The First 20 to 30 Years

- Circumstances under which initial settlement took place. Westward movement, plantation expansion, logging, cattle, etc. Why people chose this location.
- The first settlers. Who were they? Any stories about the period of arrival? How many came? Ethnic, racial, and religious groups?
- Dominant values of early settlers.
- Economics of settlement. Sources of finance for economic activities and the nature of early occupations.
- Early growth rates. How rapidly, during the first 10 to 20 years, did the population grow? Who came after the first settlers? General age distribution, presence of families, etc.
- Major events in early settlement. Formation of local government, establishment of law and order, development of land ownership, emergence of local business, breakdown of law and order, involvement in war, evidence of starvation and/or disasters, arrival of "foreign" cultural patterns, arrival of railroads, beginnings of mail delivery, etc.
- Sources of general influence from outside of the community during early settlement period. County or state government, prevailing regional culture, religious missionaires, cultural assimilation with natives of area, nearest big city, economic influences.
- Emerging economic structure. Agriculture, forestry, fishing, commerce, light or heavy industry, services, banking. Outside economic factors (railroads; county and state government; federal support of Indians, Eskimos; army installation; reclamation; etc.).
- Emerging social stratification. Aspects of "class" distinction--ownership, occupational, ethnic, religious, neighborhood or locality. Early sources of cooperation and conflict. General institutions which assumed leadership role (business, church, associations).
- Significant shifts in values which emerged after initial settlement. Traditions which began.
- As community began to form, how rapid was its development, and what were key areas of community life established?

  --local government
  --citizen involvement
  --early institutions such as churches, schools, clinics,
    law offices, cattlemen's associations, etc.
  --first newspaper
  --development of schools

- Early educational institutions. What types of education were initially provided, if any? Who sponsored? How funded and organized? What was content and grade level? Who attended? Other relevant information.

General Development of the Community up Through the Early 1960s

- Demographic Characteristics: Over the course of the years, what was the pattern of population growth (or decline) and were there particular periods of rapid change? Changes in various aspects of population composition (age, sex, ethnicity, marital status). Patterns of immigration and emigration, birth rates. Events which influenced population level.
- General Development of the Community: Major community events of significance over the years. Outside events (Civil War, World War I, depression, railroad, etc.) which had marked effect on community. Any marked changes in physical environment, relations to state government, significant external influences upon the community.
- Economic Picture: Major developments or shifts in the economic base of community, (e.g., from agriculture to industry), arrival of new industry, new infrastructure (dams, irrigation, hydroelectric power, interstate highway, railroad), new sources of funding (banks, state or federal grants), welfare, food commodities, or provision of other amenities.

Fig. 2 (continued). Outline for site history and context study.

- Social and Psychological: Emerging social structure over the years; groups which came into power; those who became the "have-nots"; institutional affiliations of various groups; cooperation and conflict; attitudes toward the community and toward "self-realization" opportunities for citizens of community. General nature and quality of life. Self-image of community.
- Cultural and Traditions: What emerged as the dominant values of the community as a whole, or various subgroups (e.g., honesty, work, spirituality, family, community, material possessions, patriotism, rural life, as well as negative values--prejudice, hostility toward "outsiders," mutual distrust, criminal behavior, etc.)? Were certain traditions established (e.g., special festivals, honors, religious practices, ways of doing things, etc.)?
- Political: Form of government which emerged, and how and why it emerged. Representativeness of government. Citizen participation according to various subgroups. General enforcement of community norms and values through formal mechanisms. Operations of courts and other government functions.
- Education: Type of school system which emerged. Characteristics of education content and process. Community role in school system. Typical patterns of education for various groups in community. Leadership in the schools. Where students went after graduating from school (i.e., employment, army, college, etc.).

The Community at the Time of Entry of the Experimental Schools Program

- Demographic: Current population characteristics: number, age/sex distribution; ethnic-religious composition; migration trends at present time; any other relevant census breakouts.
- General Considerations in Community: Recent events of significance to entire community such as new newspaper, cable TV, new highway, federal grant for non-educational program, recent trends in youth behaviors, significant external influences upon the community.
- Community Services: Health personnel and facilities; post-graduate facilities and curricula; transportation (ground, rail, air, freight, water); primary suppliers of power and fuel; religious institutions; clubs and organizations; recreation and entertainment activities and facilities; communications (telephone, postal, radio and TV, newspaper and library); water and sewerage; general housing ownership, supply and condition; financial institutions; sanitation; special human services programs; and other important services and facilities.
- Photographs of Community
- Economic Situation: Size and general composition and characteristics of labor force. The nature, size, and production levels of industry, agriculture, commerce, and services. The employment picture (level of employment and types of jobs held; level of unemployment, sub-employment, under-employment); external factors influencing economics of community today. Key leadership in economic development in community. New industries considering entry into the community, and existing employment which may soon disappear. Economic trends in community today.

- Social and Psychological: Is current social structure of the community similar to that earlier described or is it in a process of change? If so, how and toward what? Why? New institutions emerging in the community? Old ones dying out? Citizen satisfaction with life in the community and sense of self-fulfillment in community as it now is.
- Values and Traditions: New or emerging values coming to the community. Stability of longer term values. Maintenance or abandonment of earlier traditions.
- Political: What units of government overlie community? How is the city government currently run--same as before, changes coming? Present level of citizen participation? Services provided by government? Role of extra-community governments (state of county service provided) in present day government, as with welfare, health, transportation, etc. Who is in government, and how do they perform their jobs and advance? Local taxation process and extent. Election processes.
- Education: Structure and administration; state, county, and local authorities under which school system operates; school board function and composition; organization of school system; administrative operations of school system; facilities and distribution of grades; private school nearby; geographical or political influences on program; educational leadership including universities.

  --Finance of School System: Budget, sources, per pupil expenditure; community role in finances; tax structure; budgetary expenditures by type.

  --Staffing: How teachers, administrators, ancillary personnel needs are met; information on number, education level and experience; in-service training and evaluation, salaries, professional activities, para-educational activities, etc.

  --Students: Percent enrollment by age groups; dropouts and graduates; typical achievement patterns; post-school directions, typical curricula tracks, extracurricular activities; participation in government of school, course work, and other school-related decision activities.

  --Curricula: Content; basic school program; special programs; teaching styles employed; library quality, etc.

  --Community: Community attitude toward education and the school system; PTA activities; special elections and bond referenda and level of participation; leadership in community which influences school system; processes of influence; other community influences.

History of Experimental Schools Program Grant Application

- Experimental Schools Program: How did school come to apply for program? Leadership process, aspirations for program, conflict areas, distribution of participation in the process, roles played by students and teachers, publicity in community, community reaction, etc. What were the general expectations for the program prior to its arrival?

Each history deals with six general concerns:

- Basic facts describing the community;
- Basic geography, geology, and ecology;
- Settlement patterns during its first 30 years;
- General community at the time of entry of the Experimental Schools program; and
- History of the Experimental Schools program grant application.

The histories describe the economic life of the communities, their cultures and traditions, their general systems of government, community services, contact with surrounding communities, and the characteristics of the school system and its pupils at the time of program entry.

Analysis of Findings

Unless the 10 communities as a group could provide a base from which to extrapolate and generalize about the range of rural communities in the United States, the histories in Chapters II-XI would have limited usefulness. The 10 communities, however, were found to be quite representative of rural America in several ways. Comparative analysis of the data collected indicates that the communities provide a good sampling in such respects as regional location, geographic characteristics, ecology, and geology, as well as in cultural, social, political, economic, and historical factors. Not only were the sites comparable as a group, but their very diversity as individual communities seemed to represent the diversity within rural America.

A cross-site analysis between the 10 communities is presented in Chapter XII, and a comparison of the 10 rural communities with rural America as a whole is presented in Chapter XIII. While reading the histories (Chapters II-XI), however, it might be helpful to the reader to keep in mind the following considerations upon which the analysis and comparisons are based.

There are at least two different approaches to the interpretation of historical information. For some historians, the only valid purpose of history is to tell what has happened in the past for its own sake. The richness of history is to be found solely in what is told. Any idea that "history is the forecaster of future events" is rejected. History can point to significant causal factors which precede a particular event; through history man can learn about man as he was in the past, but history is not a harbinger of the future. New combinations of circumstances, new technologies, new alliances all invalidate extrapolation beyond the most general level. Another kind of historian argues that historical knowledge can play a more active role in contemporary research. The past to a certain extent may indeed foreshadow the future; it may provide a perspective on the future.[5] Whichever interpretation of history one favors, it is well to remember that this study is not concerned with the broad sweep of all of history but with a set of fairly well circumscribed situations--10 small rural communities.

Under either interpretation of history it is possible to look for patterns of similarity or difference either among the communities themselves or between the communities and the larger American culture of which they are a part. In this manner, myths about America's past may be unearthed and new realities about past characteristics may emerge. Using the second, more liberal view of what the uses of history are, certain characteristics may be identified which, when systematically tested, indicate whether history, in this circumscribed context, can help forecast future changes in the communities.

It should be kept in mind that two fundamental concerns guided all aspects of analysis. First, what has been learned about the nature of community development which can help us to understand better the communities as they are today? Second, what are the key community characteristics and key educational characteristics which help us to understand specifically the context of the ES program? Answers to the former question will provide a basis for understanding other major forces in the community which may, directly or indirectly, constrain or enhance the ES program. The latter question directs attention to the way in which history serves as an input to present-day ES operations.

In essence, there are two major phases of the analysis of the histories. First, it is possible to examine the comparative features of the 10 school districts as we find them through their individual histories (see Chapter XII). A variety of comparisons among the sites is useful.

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[5] See for example, C. V. Wedgwood, "Principles and Perspectives" in The Sense of the Past, New York: Collier Books, 1960, pp. 51-54.

As illustrations:

- Are there regional differences among the communities?
- Do they vary considerably in size, age, and distance from the nearest SMSA?[6]
- Are there real differences in population composition?
- Does decision-making occur in very different ways?
- Do people appear to act the same in all small communities?
- Are there key differences in economic makeup and trends among the communities?

Second, it is possible to compare these communities with a larger sample. Both the developmental and present-day characteristics of the 10 communities are compared with those of a group of 320 original applicants for this program and with those of rural America (see Chapter XIII). This analysis will help in assessing the degree to which generalization to a larger universe of communities is possible. Finally, selected variables can be identified for the future study of ways in which historical trends may enhance or constrain the ultimate impacts of these projects.

---

[6] A standard metropolitan statistical area (SMSA) is defined by the Bureau of the Census as follows:

> Generally conceived, a metropolitan area is an integrated economic and social unit with a large population nucleus. Each SMSA contains at least:
>
> (a) One central city with 50,000 inhabitants or more, or
>
> (b) Two cities having contiguous boundaries and constituting, for general economic and social purposes, a single community with a combined population of at least 50,000, the smaller of which must have a population of at least 15,000.
>
> The SMSA includes the county in which the central city is located, and adjacent counties that are found to be metropolitan in character and economically and socially integrated with the county of the central city (U. S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1972. Washington, D.C., 1972, p. 837).

Chapter II

A Social and Educational History of Craig, Alaska

by

Stephen J. Langdon

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Picture Credits

Michael Kane: Figs. 1, 5, 9, 11, 12

George Hamilton, Sr.: Figs. 3, 4, 10.

Cliff and Gen Douville: Figs. 6, 7.

A Social and Educational History of Craig, Alaska

The city of Craig and its school district occupy a 75-acre peninsula attached to Prince of Wales Island off Alaska's "panhandle." Craig lies basically at sea level, with the highest point in the city being only 40 ft. Its latitude is about 55°30' North, while its longitude is approximately 141° West. Ketchikan is the nearest sizeable city; it is 60 air miles to the east. Juneau, Alaska and Seattle, Washington are 220 and 750 miles distant, respectively. Craig was settled in the first decade of the 20th century at the site of a former Haida fishing village, when salmon began to be caught and packed commercially there. Craig was incorporated in 1922. The population according to the 1970 census was 272.

THE SETTING: BASIC GEOGRAPHY, GEOLOGY, AND ECOLOGY

Craig, Alaska lies on the Pacific coast of Prince of Wales Island, 60 air miles west of Ketchikan in southeastern Alaska. The Panhandle, as the southeastern portion of Alaska is known, is made up of the islands of the Alexander Archipelago, the thin strip of mainland which connects Alaska to British Columbia and the Yukon Territory, and the various waterways which link the islands and the mainland together. "More precisely, the region can be described as all that land and intervening waters lying east of the meridian of 141° west longitude, north latitude 55° north, and west and south of the boundary line between Alaska and Canada" (Rogers, 1960, p. 32). There are 9,000 miles of shoreline in this region along which littoral settlements are located, as the steeply rising mountains block other possibilities. Prince of Wales is the third largest island (after Puerto Rico and Kodiak Island) governed by the United States.

Craig sits on a small, 75-acre island that is attached by a causeway to Prince of Wales Island on the east. It is surrounded on

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three sides by water: to the north by Klawock Inlet and to the west and south by Bucareli Bay. On the east overlooking Craig is 2,820-foot Sunnahae Mountain. Approximately 100 yards to the west is Fish Egg Island. Craig is connected by road with Klawock, a Tlingit Indian village seven miles away and from there to Hollis, an old logging campsite, another 22 miles away on the east coast of Prince of Wales Island. This road system will soon expand to include the logging camp of Thorne Bay on the east side of the island.

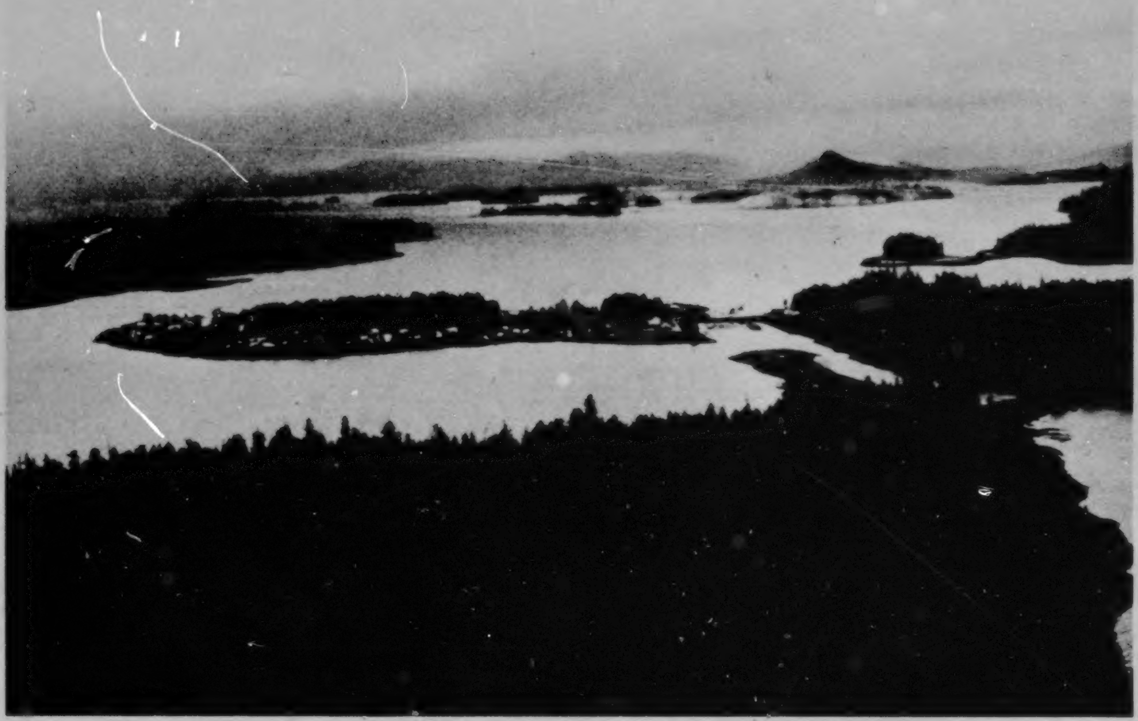

Fig. 1. View of Craig from the air.

The warm Japanese current flows past Prince of Wales Island, producing one of the world's most distinctively productive and verdant habitats. Where the warm, moist air brought by this current comes into contact with the cooler peaks of the coastal mountain range, a high level of precipitation results. The average yearly rainfall in Craig is 109.54 inches while Ketchikan, situated at the base of the mountains, experiences 151.19 inches. A prevailing southeasterly wind adds an additional moderating influence to produce an exceptionally mild climate for this latitude. January's average minimum temperature is 29.3°, while July's average is 62.7°.[1]

Flowing into the inland waterways are innumerable streams and river systems which drain the tremendous amount of precipitation that falls on the land. Into these streams and rivers every summer and fall enter huge quantities of five species of anadromous salmon. After maturing in the North Pacific, the fish return to their natal streams to spawn the next generation. Depending on the species of salmon, this usually occurs two to five years after birth. Although salmon have always been the essential staple of southeastern Alaska, other fish are plentiful and include halibut, herring, red snapper (rockfish), cod, black bass, flounder, and various members of the trout family. In addition to these fishes are the shellfish which include crab, abalone, and various clams. There are also shrimps, squids, sea cucumbers, jelly fish and octopus in the waters. Sea mammals are also very prevalent in southeastern Alaska's waters and include whales, seals, sea lions, killer whales and porpoises. The sea otter was numerous in the past, but the massive destruction of these animals for European trade in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries has made them extremely rare today.

Bird life is both varied and plentiful here. The raven and crow are ubiquitous. The bald eagle, endangered elsewhere, has no

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[1] Figures on rainfall and temperature vary with the source one uses. These figures are taken from a 1973 pamphlet entitled, Craig, Alaska--A Community Profile, produced by the State of Alaska's Department of Economic Development.

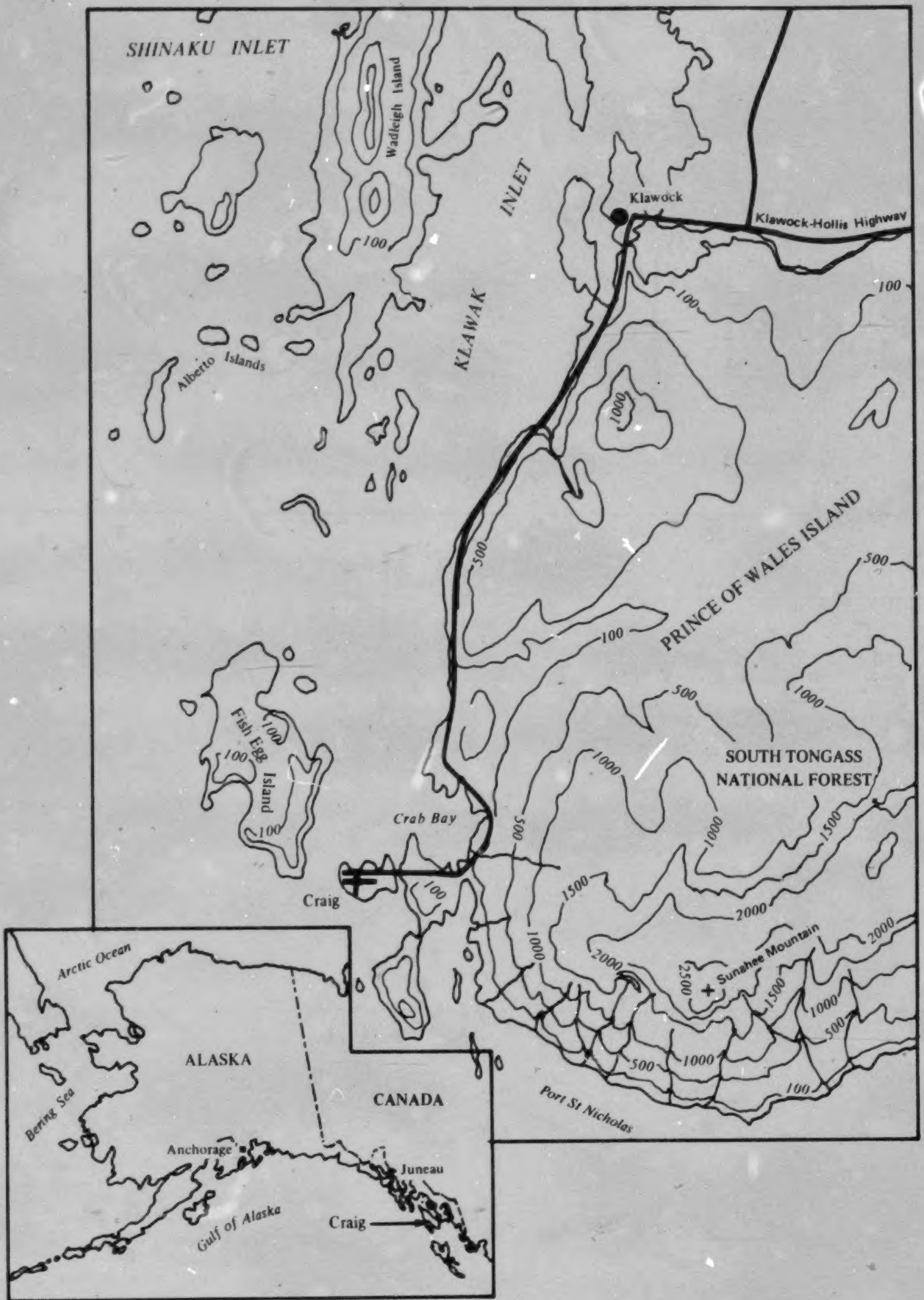
SHINAKU INLET
Wadleigh Island
100
INLET
Klawock
Klawock-Hollis Highway
KLAWAK
100
100
Alberto Islands
1000
500
PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND
500
100
500
1000
Fish Egg Island
100
100
100
1000
SOUTH TONGASS
NATIONAL FOREST
1000
1500
Crab Bay
500
Craig
100
1500
2000
1000
2000
Sunahee Mountain
2500
2000
1500
1000
500
500
1000
100
Port St Nicholas
Arctic Ocean
ALASKA
CANADA
Bering Sea
Anchorage
Juneau
Gulf of Alaska
Craig

Fig. 2. Map of Craig, Klawock and surrounding area.

problem surviving and thriving in southeastern Alaska. Other birds include several gull species, swallows, geese, ducks and various small birds.

The wildlife on Prince of Wales Island is neither overabundant nor remarkably diverse. The black bear inhabits the island and attains very good size, but the Alaska brown bear can only be found farther north on Admiralty Island. Wolves are fairly numerous, and they prey primarily on the Sitka black-tailed deer. Some fox may still exist (from the days of fox farming), but in general there is a paucity of the small game (rodents) on which fox thrive. Shrews are found on the island, but there are no other small animals besides rats. Important fur bearers include mink, marten, land otter and beaver. All are relatively abundant.

In any other setting the run-off of such a tremendous amount of precipitation, coupled with the sharp grade of the mountains which rise quickly from the inland waters, would cause overwhelming erosional damage and rapidly strip the land of its covering. However, this part of the world is blessed with a very spongelike soil which is termed "hydroscopic" and is capable of retaining huge amounts of water. The moisture demands of the trees and their protection of the soil create a delicately balanced botanical ecosystem. The soil is a dense, poorly graded glacial till, often underlain by blue clay. The most common type of bedrock encountered is a metamorphosed siliceous limestone. The surface cover, which averages 2.5 feet of organic matter, is not particularly fertile.[2] However, those plant species which do thrive in a very moist climate are able to regenerate extremely quickly. Agriculture and dairying are not practicable primarily because of the lack of available flat acreage. Where occasional flatter stretches do exist, they have extreme drainage problems and fall along the soggy continuum from muskeg to swamp. There are, however, smaller individual family gardens which produce potatoes, turnips, carrots, radishes, lettuce and rutabagas. Any plants that require large amounts of sunshine will not thrive in the region.

The plant life adapted to this set of environmental conditions is lush. In addition to major timber types including Sitka spruce, red and yellow cedar, and hemlock, there is great variety of practically impassable undergrowth. Berries are particularly abundant and are ready for picking in late summer. There are other ferns and grasses which mesh with the mossy carpet to finish the picture of never ending greenness.

---

[2] The geological description of the area is paraphrased from Wince-Corthell and Associates, 1973.

Southeastern Alaska is a "highly mineralized area and sufficient exploration has taken place to indicate that its mineral deposits are relatively large and varied" (Rogers, 1960, p. 88). A goodly share of this mineral wealth can be found in the 2,770 square miles of Prince of Wales Island. For example, copper was mined at Sulzer (in addition to several other locations) from 1905 through 1926, and marble was quarried at Calder and Tokeen from 1900 through 1932. The mineral wealth includes iron deposits, radioactive materials, molybdenum, and sufficient quantities of gold to have attracted prospectors and claimants to the Hollis area on the east coast of Prince of Wales Island in the aftermath of the Klondike gold rush. Production costs, transportation and the size of deposits (in conjunction with world market price and demand) have made large-scale mining on the island uneconomical.

Although Craig, Prince of Wales Island and southeastern Alaska all experience a relatively mild climate for their northerly latitude, this does not mean that there are not seasonal variances. There are indeed major fluctuations during the year, and these parallel to a great extent the annual energy pulsation as the salmon return to their homeland. The late fall, winter and early spring are characterized by many storms, much wind and rain, some snow and little sunshine. During these times, the salmon exist only as tiny eggs, growing slowly and safely under the gravel in their stream-wombs, or as adolescents far out in the North Pacific. The human population is affected by or responds to this situation in a like fashion; that is, activity levels are lessened, particularly in economic production. In contrast, late spring, summer and early fall have less rain and wind and considerably more sunshine. Then, too, do the salmon surge back to their homeland. The level and stage of human economic activity shifts from low to high intensity and from indoors to outdoors in order to harvest enough salmon to last through the coming slack season. This pattern is an aboriginal, historical and contemporary condition which, however, may be undergoing some modification on account of changes that are described later.

There is, however, another human-induced environmental change which has had a major impact on ecosystemic relationships in the area. This change is the catastrophic depletion of the salmon runs. Before overexploitation, salmon are estimated to have been as much as 10 times more abundant than they are currently. Major blame can be laid on modern technology's ability to overexploit, but the government's abysmal record of regulation also played an important role. From peak years in 1936 and 1941 (67,823,026 fish), the salmon fishery collapsed to 11,559,986 fish in 1953. It has never fully recovered from this demise, and the human population which depends on fishing has suffered concomitantly (Rogers, 1960, p. 97).

THE SETTLERS

Tlingit and Haida Indians were the inhabitants of Prince of Wales Island at the time of European contact in the middle of the late eighteenth century. Legends of these people usually depict movement into the area from the south or east, although there are Haida tales of trans-Pacific origin. A recent archeological investigation in the Glacier Bay area of southeastern Alaska has put the time of earliest habitation at 8-10,000 B.C. In addition, expansion and warfare took place prior to white contact, and Prince of Wales Island was in large measure the scene of these struggles.

> We know that these Haida migrated from the Northwest of Graham Island (northern most of the Queen Charlotte Islands) possibly at the end of the seventeenth century. The Tlingit who occupied Prince of Wales Island were pushed north, and once the Haida villages were Kaigani on Dall Island and Sukkwan, Klinkwan, Koinglas, Howkan and Kasaan on Prince of Wales Island (Gunther, 1972, p. 119).

The Tlingit and Haida languages are similar and the two cultures share many commonalties, but they are by no means identical. Their social organization was basically matrilineal, both groups dividing themselves into moieties and then further into clan, house and family groups. Their sociopolitical organization revolved around the "tribe," which was defined as a number of villages in relatively close geographic proximity to one another and which shared close social ties. The Tlingit and Haida Indians were semi-sedentary people who built permanent, large, impressively constructed wooden homes with carved house posts and totem poles in their winter villages, which were inhabited during the slack season. Ceremonial life was highly developed, and winter provided the time for the development and refinement of these expressive cultural facets of community life. The complex institution of the potlatch with its formal gift-giving, speeches and dances was the focus of ceremonial life for these groups. It was most commonly associated with the death of major clan leaders.

With the coming of spring, the people left the winter villages, split up, and moved out to the various clan-owned resource territories. Some Haida groups came to Shaan-Seet, which is now known as Craig, to

p. 36 blank

harvest the abundant herring spawn which always seems to occur around Fish Egg Island. Other groups went as far as the Nass River in British Columbia to trade for oolachen and oolachen oil made by the Tsimpshian Indians.

Summer and fall, the seasons of intense economic productivity, found the people at their own salmon streams, where they harvested and processed enough fish to insure ample amounts of staples for the whole winter season. These annual patterns of fragmentation and agglomeration were followed with some slight modifications well into the twentieth century, and today there are still reminiscent traces of this earlier way of life.

Western Europe's age of exploration eventually led to the discovery of this region, but it is quite possible that, because of the location of trade routes and the social habits of the native Americans, certain European artifacts and diseases preceded actual formal contact between peoples (Dobyns, 1966). At any rate, in 1741, a Russian expedition encountered Tlingits near Yakutat at the northern end of the region, in 1774, a Spanish expedition stopped at the Queen Charlotte Islands for the first time and then went on to Prince of Wales and Dall islands, where they encountered the Kaigani, the Alaskan Haida. "It is interesting to recall here that except for the unfortunate contact of Chirikoff with the Tlingit in 1741, the first northwest coast Indians encountered by Europeans were the Haida" (Gunther, 1972, p. 120). The first contacts were made by explorers, men interested in claiming the land in the name of the sovereign for whom they sailed. The Russian voyages were motivated by the lure of possible fur wealth, while the Spanish explorers were interested in precious metals, a northwest passage and keeping the Russians out of the area. These explorers also seem to have been interested in observing the new people they encountered.

The 1774 Spanish expedition produced three diary descriptions of the voyage and led to a second mission in 1775. A third expedition was commissioned in 1779, and its vessels spent several months in the region near present-day Craig. The names of the ship captains of this expedition, Heceta, Bodega y Quadra and Maurelle are memorialized by geographic place names in the area. Other Spanish named locations nearby date from this voyage. According to Gunther, the Indians whom the

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Spanish traded with on Suemez Island were Tlingit, probably from Klawock, which is the nearest recorded village (ibid., p. 16). When the Spaniards returned again in 1792, they could "not find any village in Bucareli Bay, where the fishing seemed to be poor," and this time they recognized the people they traded with as Haida (ibid., p. 133). It is important to note here that this area had long been a buffer zone used by both Tlingit and Haida groups whose boundaries probably fluctuated back and forth.

James Cook's voyage in 1778 and his journal about the northwest coast region are generally considered to be the stimuli for the second wave of European contact with the Indians. These new individuals were fur traders and their fundamental motivation was making a profit by trading with the natives. Although their mercantile vocation forced them to come to some understanding of the people with whom they dealt, the fur traders appear to have set the tone for future interaction by resorting to plundering, kidnapping and murder whenever the Indians became disdainful of what was being offered in trade. Gunther argues that "The chiefs...tried to establish reciprocal gift-giving as the system of trading" but were rebuffed and so learned the purely commercial methods of the whites (ibid., p. 126). By the time Vancouver came to the area in 1792, hostility and warfare were as common a response as trading to the appearance of European vessels. As late as 1854, the Haida held an American trading vessel's captain and crew captive until they were ransomed by a Hudson Bay Company ship (Jackson, 1885, p. 12).

From 1787 to 1804, many fur traders stopped at the Queen Charlotte Islands and Kaigani, on Dall Island, became an active trading area for the people (Gunther, 1972, p. 138). Many Haidas (in addition to Tlingits from Fort Tongass on the mainland) were employed as sea otter hunters by the traders and were taken to hunt for a year at a time off the California coast.

This period of contact for the Haida can be characterized as being one of significant and lasting modifications in material culture (white clothing, footgear, food, ornamentation and firearms were all adopted), but of little impact on the ideological, linguistic and social aspects of their culture. Gunther writes, "As the fur trade dwindled and its surplus goods were used in potlatches, they were left alone..." (ibid., p. 138).

The Tlingit at the north end of Prince of Wales Island seem to have escaped large-scale, direct contact with the Russian, English, French and Spanish explorers. Reference to contacts with Henya subdivision people are scarce in the literature, and the major interaction appears to have taken place during the Spanish expeditions of 1779 and 1792. Historian Pat Roppel, in a personal communication, suggests that the fear of hostilities and of loss of ship and life kept fur traders away from the villages off the main passages and confined their trading to Fort Tongass, Kaigani, Sitka and the Queen Charlotte Islands. She further suggests that the coastal Haida and Tlingit, with direct access to the traders, in turn became middlemen to the other groups and sought to keep the profitable business to themselves. It is clear from a Russian chart that the present settlement at Klawock was a permanent winter village as early as 1853 (ibid., p. 138). In addition, the Henya subdivision wintered at Tuxican, a large village located on the north end of Prince of Wales Island (Salisbury, 1960, p.19). There were other Tlingit villages and forts on the islands west and north of Prince of Wales Island.

It is important to note that no permanent white settlement took place on Prince of Wales Island, and although some genetic mixing certainly occurred, interaction influenced only trade items and the spread of disease. It must also be recalled that jurisdiction of the area was supposedly in the hands of the Russians until 1867.

The decades following the decline of the fur trade in 1804 to the establishment of canneries and sawmills in the 1870s and 1880s were a calm-before-the-storm era for the Tlingit and Haida of Prince of Wales Island. Because of the lack of interest about this period, there is little under study about the modifications or drifts in the cultures brought about by white contacts. As Niblack (1890) notes, "From this time [1805] to the purchase of Alaska by the United States in 1867, the history of this region is largely the history of the Russian American and Hudson Bay Company" (Niblack, 1890, p. 234).

During the fur trading era, the abundance of salmon was noted by traders who would help themselves to the resource when they had need of it. Several salteries, which were early processing precursors to canning, supplied the occasional market and personal demands for salted fish. The first saltery was located at Redoubt, near Sitka, where the Russians put up fish. Salteries on Prince of Wales Island included Karta Bay, Deweyville, Klawock and Hunter's Bay. They were but a small premonition of what was to come.

The 1870s brought a new era of exploitation to southeastern Alaska. Hugh McKervill in The Salmon People (1967) documents the invention and perfection of canning as a preservative method and also notes its profitable application to salmon. Salmon canning was first done in 1852 near the Sacramento River. The profitability of salmon canning led to the uncontrolled exploitation of the salmon resource and to disastrous results on the Pacific Coast. In almost malignant fashion the industry destroyed first the Sacramento River runs, then moved north to wreak havoc in the Columbia, Fraser and Skeena Rivers before moving into Alaska in 1878. Hinckley (1972) has written the following on the matter:

> It was a profitable business, and its expansion into the Far North frontier was predictable. A few years after the purchase, Indian trader George Hamilton established a salmon saltery at Klawock on Prince of Wales Island. By 1875 he was annually salting more than 830 barrels of salmon and dreaming of building a cannery. Lacking the necessary capital, Hamilton sold his Klawock plant to a newly incorporated San Francisco firm, the North Pacific Packing and Trading Company. In 1878 the founding of two small canneries initiated what would soon become one of the major pillars supporting the Great Land's economy (Hinckley, 1972, p. 125).

The canneries provided foci at which the Tlingit and Haida congregrated during the canning season. Eventually some of the cannery locations became sites of permanent villages. The people of Kasaan moved to New Kasaan in 1901, and the Tongass Tlingit group moved to Saxman in 1893; the people of Tuxican moved to the cannery site at Shakan and when it closed in the early 1920s, the combined Tuxican/Shakan group moved to Klawock. For the most part, the native men worked in the extractive sector, and Chinese were imported to work with native women in the cannery itself. Later, after restrictions were placed on Chinese immigration, Filipinos took their place in many canneries. Most canneries had a policy of rigid separation of the races. Whites, Indians, Chinese and Filipinos all had separate living and dining facilities, with facilities for the latter three groups often decidingly inferior.

Sometime during the 1880s money made its appearance and, of course, radically altered for all time economic relationships. During this same time the area's other major resource, timber, was undergoing some minor exploitation, as here and there sawmills sprang up in conjunction with the canneries and mining operations, in order to provide lumber for the construction of buildings.

The Haidas of the villages at the southern end of Prince of Wales Island generally worked at the Hunter's Bay saltery and cannery near Klinkwan. Others went to Klawock or over to Ketchikan to work. The Klinkwan plant was started by the Millar family in 1886. This important family spent many years salting fish at various locations around the south end of Prince of Wales Island.

The canneries also proved to be a magnet for some white employment seekers from the rest of the country. The men who came to Alaska in the early years of the canning industry were a heterogeneous lot that included Scots, Norwegians, Slavonians, Germans and Irishmen. Some of them intermarried and left their names, which have since become prominent in the history of the area.

Concurrently with the new economic exploitation of the region came the first burst of missionary zeal since the establishment of the Russian Orthodox faith around Sitka. The Russian Orthodox hierarchy had made no apparent attempt to Christianize the west coast of Prince of Wales Island. The Russians had established a school at Sitka, but it had been primarily for "creoles" (half Tlingit-half Russian youth) who had some knowledge of Russian. Attendance at the school dropped from 52 in 1847 to 27 in 1861, and education for natives was suspended until 1877 (Jackson, 1882, p. 279).

The Presbyterian missionary, Sheldon Jackson, is an extremely important figure in the religious and educational development of southeastern Alaska. He had worked in the Rocky Mountain area establishing home missions throughout the 1870s before he established his first Alaskan mission and school, a boarding home for young women, at Wrangell in 1877. His intensive fund raising efforts brought Presbyterian missionaries, teachers and schools to southeastern Alaska. "In the space of a decade Jackson not only bound his denomination inextricably to the Great Land but also convinced thousands of his countrymen how great that land really was" (Hinckley, 1972, p. 118).

In 1881, school opened at Howkan with James Chapman as school master; in 1882, J. L. Gould came as a missionary and teacher. His sister Clara came to be the teacher a year later. After years of requests, Klawock finally obtained L. W. Currie as the teacher in 1886, and a year later it had a school building and a teacher residence. The year 1886 also saw the establishment of a school at Klinkwan, where part-Haida Sam Davis was the first teacher.

Jackson's primary goal was the Christianization of the natives, but he came "to realize that unless native peoples could acquire a rudimentary grasp of the white man's civilization, Christianization must fail" (Hinckley, 1972, p. 155). For this reason primary education in Alaska accompanied Protestant conversion, and the first teachers at these schools were generally Presbyterian, college-trained youths filled with missionary zeal.

Gruening has termed the years 1867 to 1884 the era of "Flagrant Neglect" in Alaska's history as a part of the United States (Gruening, 1968). Until 1884, Alaska had no legal status or government; however, the Organic Act of 1884 created the District of Alaska with an appointed governor and appropriated $25,000 for education. Education prior to this had been the province of individual towns or religious groups. The Organic Act provided for education without reference to race, which was translated into a system of separate educational facilities for white and native youngsters. Jackson's pioneering efforts led the government to appoint him the Special Agent for education in the district in 1884, a position he held until 1909.

His reports as Special Agent are important and reveal the ambivalence with which schools were received by various Tlingit and Haida groups. The Haidas of Howkan were apparently very receptive; Jackson's annual report in 1880 notes that a chief offered his house for the school which was established the following year (Jackson, 1880, p. 350). This report also informs us that in 1878 Klawock appealed for a teacher, Kake appealed for one in 1875 and the Chilkat and Tongass groups appealed for one in 1879. However, it is by no means always clear who made these requests. For example, James Swan, a special commissioner sent by the Department of the Interior in 1875 to review the educational situation of the area, obtained most of his information in Klawock from the "tradesman," George Hamilton. Nonetheless, in many cases the requests came from legitimate native leaders, many of whom had seen and were envious of the Tsimpsian village of Metlakatla where William Duncan had brought about a radical transformation to westernized self-sufficiency in the ways of the Tsimpsian people.

The lot of school children, parents and teachers was not an easy one once the schools were established. Jackson's report of 1878 reveals that the teacher in Sitka, Mrs. McFarland, was informed by a "prominent heathen chief" that she would be killed if she continued to stir up divisions among his people (Jackson, 1878, p. 266). Two of Mrs. McFarland's native women helpers were seized for witchcraft. The report of 1887-1888 comments on Professor Currie's problems with witchcraft and drunkenness in Klawock which led to chronic high levels of absenteeism. One solution to combat this was compulsory attendance with fines for responsible elders of absent children. In Sitka, this was put into effect in 1881. Each child was labeled, and the leader of the house from which he/she came was fined when the child missed school (Jackson, 1881, p. 5). This method was later used in Klawock. The report of 1903 notes that parents in Yakutat often helped their boys to hide from school; in Hoonah the youngsters were out cutting wood for three months. Complaints were also registered by the teachers in Klawock, Gravina, and Klinkwan about the inclusion of the children in hunting, fishing and trapping expeditions.

Aurel Krause, the German anthropologist who visited the Chilkat Tlingits in 1881-1882, was not overly impressed with the early missionary educators. He wrote, "Whatever results the missionary endeavor has had, it is not of great consequence," and further, he found "that many persons were attracted to the missionary work who were not suited to their posts and had no understanding of the Indian character and customs and so satisfied themselves with superficial results" (Krause, 1956, p. 231). One of the chief reasons for this early lack of success can be seen in the following quotation: "If the missionary had achieved any results during the winter through regular attendance at school and church, then he was certain that they would be lost again during the summer when the inhabitants scattered for hunting and fishing" (Krause, 1956, pp. 230-31). This phenomenon is clearly recognizable from the reports written by Jackson. The statistics on enrollment and average monthly attendance show that traditional patterns of dispersion and consolidation were essentially followed, since the months of December, January and February consistently displayed average attendance levels three and four times above the other months. Howkan, Klinkwan, Tuxican and Klawock all followed this pattern. For example, in 1886, Klawock's total enrollment was 124, while average monthly attendance was 40. As late as 1903 at Howkan the teacher Kate Spiers commented that "...the low average attendance of certain months was due to the fact that many of the people live in the village but three or four months of the year, spending the fall, early spring and summer at salmon canneries and much of the winter in hunting and trapping" (Jackson, 1903, p. 175). The more enterprising teachers might follow a group of people if a large portion of the village went to the same location. The teacher at Klawock in 1903 moved (although complaining) with the people to Fish Egg Island for the herring spawn pick in the spring.

It is important to put Krause's comments in proper perspective in that he visited the area quite early in the missionary school endeavor. The continued residence of teachers in the community, however, probably had a decided impact on village life and even caused radical modifications of it. For example, the extended residence of the Goulds in Howkan caused a continuity there which other villages did not experience, and which led to differences in development, particularly in the area of schooling. Jackson himself saw this and noted it in two different reports. In 1891, he wrote of Howkan: "This school...having had but one teacher during its whole history, has made much progress" (Jackson, 1891, p. 930). In 1892, he wrote that Mrs. McLeod (formally Clara Gould) "thoroughly understands the disposition of the natives, and she has succeeded wonderfully well in training and elevating the younger natives at Jackson" (Jackson, 1892). During this era, Klawock had school only on an intermittent basis, with the result that its attendance suffered.

These early teachers lived varied existences. For example, in 1889, Currie moved from Klawock to Tuxican (because more people wintered there that year), and he taught school in the pit area of a large, (80' x 37') communal home. Currie's family lived behind a partition on one side of the house, while the other two platforms were occupied by the six-person family that owned the dwelling (Jackson, 1893). However, this case was not commonplace. The usual course of events was that a school and residence were built before the teacher's arrival or as soon after it as possible. The Goulds in Howkan are prime examples because they lived as close as possible to their accustomed West Virginian style of living as their isolated circumstances would allow, including a very close approximation with the establishment of yearly steamer service to supply the necessary accoutrements from the states.[3] This actually appears to be part of Jackson's overall plan as the following quotation indicates:

> In the larger number of places the teacher should be a married man and accompanied by his wife. Especially in this case in the native villages, where the school aims to lift the whole community out of their old methods into those of civilization. In such communities a well-ordered household is an object lesson of great power" (Jackson, 1885, p. 75).

He hoped to instill as "their highest ambition...to build American homes, possess American furniture, dress in American clothes, adopt the American style of living and be American citizens" (ibid., p. 72). Hinckley successfully portrays Jackson's concern that Alaska's natives not be led by "frontier flotsam" down the path to degradation, disgrace and decimation which their brothers in the continental United States had followed (Hinckley, 1972, pp. 117-118). To that end, Jackson's teachers were expected not to exploit the native as the frontier miners, fishermen and traders were doing, nor were they to "go native," but rather they were to be examples of temperate, familial Christian civilization.

Throughout the entire region, the decade of 1880 to 1890 (which saw explosive cannery construction) was one of general consolidation. "The indigenous population residing in Tlingit and Haida settlements declined from 6,695 persons to 2,993 (a decrease of 55.3%), while the indigenous population residing at nonindigenous towns and places increased from 760 to 2,151 persons, almost a three-fold increase" (Rogers, 1960, p. 209). The process was not quite as pronounced on Prince of Wales Island, where the census of 1890 disclosed three distinct Tlingit villages (Tuxican, Shakan and Klawock) and three distinct Haida villages (Howkan, Kasaan and Klinkwan).

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[3] Historian Pat Roppel has pictures and letters about this era which depict this life style.

The yearly cycle of activity for the people of these six villages in the 1890s and early 1900s remained similar to what it had been in the past. Hunting for deer skins was outlawed in 1894 because the slaughter of the deer population was reaching drastic levels. Trapping then took up more of the winter time allocated for economic endeavor. The teachers and missionaries were putting pressure on the people to abandon the ceremonial dances and potlatches, which by this time were also associated with alcohol. They were aided in this pursuit by the demands of trapping, which caused many of the men to be out away from the villages during the ceremonial season. Fishing during the summer and fall months was done with native weirs and beach seines introduced by whites; trolling had not yet appeared as an alternative method. The growth of Ketchikan in the early 1900s attracted some population away from the Haida villages.

One of the important trends of the 1890s was the continuing decline of the native population of the region. From a pre-contact level of 10,000 Tlingits and 1,800 Haidas, these figures had dropped to a combined total of 5,800 natives by 1900 (Rogers, 1960, pp. 195-196). Krause indicates that one of the leading causes, smallpox, had a much greater impact on the Haida than the Tlingit (Krause, 1956, p. 43). This was especially true of the Queen Charlotte Haidas, whose 8,000 members had dwindled to 1,700 by 1880 (Rogers, 1960, p. 196).

In contrast to the decreasing trend of the native population, the white population of southeast Alaska increased from 1,738 in 1890 to 8,707 in 1900 (Rogers, 1960, pp. 364-365). This growth can be partially attributed to cannery operations, but the overwhelming factor was the Klondike gold rush of 1897-1898 which attracted tens of thousands of men to the area. "The stampede that commenced in 1897 and peaked the next year has been correctly designated as a watershed in Alaska history" (Hinckley, 1972, p. 218). Some of these men later participated importantly in the growth of Craig. The figures who were initially important in that development, however, came from the west coast of Prince of Wales Island.

According to George Hamilton, Craig patriarch and son of George Hamilton, founder of the Klawock saltery and cannery, in 1908 a saltery was established at Shaan-Seet, and a number of shacks were thrown up by the native population who came to work at it (Figure 3). It apparently was not much of a settlement at this time; the 1910 census makes no mention of it. The settlement might have been known as "Fish Egg" because the first Moose Lodge charter, issued in 1913, was for "Fish Egg Lodge No. 1206."[4] There were also some native houses on the southern end of Fish Egg at that time. In 1911, Craig Millar, as Superintendent for Lindenberger Packing Company, constructed a cold storage facility and 20 to 25 houses went up by November as plans for a cannery, warehouse and store were finalized (Ketchikan Miner, November 10, 1911). In 1912, the cannery was finished; it packed 57,501 cases its first year, while the mild cure station (saltery) put up 4,280 tierces of salmon (Cobb, 1917). In 1913, the cold storage facility packed 122,000 pounds of salmon. These three processing outlets stabilized the community by providing employment opportunities.

In the fall of 1911, school was conducted by Edna Freeman, who taught for three months. The total enrollment was 45, but average attendance was only 17. Under the leadership of Millar, a schoolhouse was constructed for the school year 1912-1913 with contributions from the community. School was conducted for four and a half months in 1912-1913 by Lacie Webster; the total enrollment was 21 and the average attendance was 13 for the year (Bureau of Education Report, 1913, p. 16).[5]

The year 1911 was notable for the consolidation of the villages of Klinkwan, Howkan, and Sukkwan at the new site known as Hydaburg. Bureau of Education teacher Charles Hawkesworth, with the help of several of the more educated and progressive young men, was instrumental in convincing the villagers that this was the correct step to take. From the standpoint of the government (and the missionaries), this move was a significant break with the past and a step in the direction of full citizenship for the Indians. It would also allow them to cut costs by having all the people in one location. In order to secure the new school, get government support for founding the new village and obtain full citizenship, Hawkesworth had the villagers sign the document quoted below:

> We, the undersigned, Alaskan natives of Hydaburg, Alaska, hereby declare that we have given up our old tribal relationships; that we recognize no chief or tribal family;

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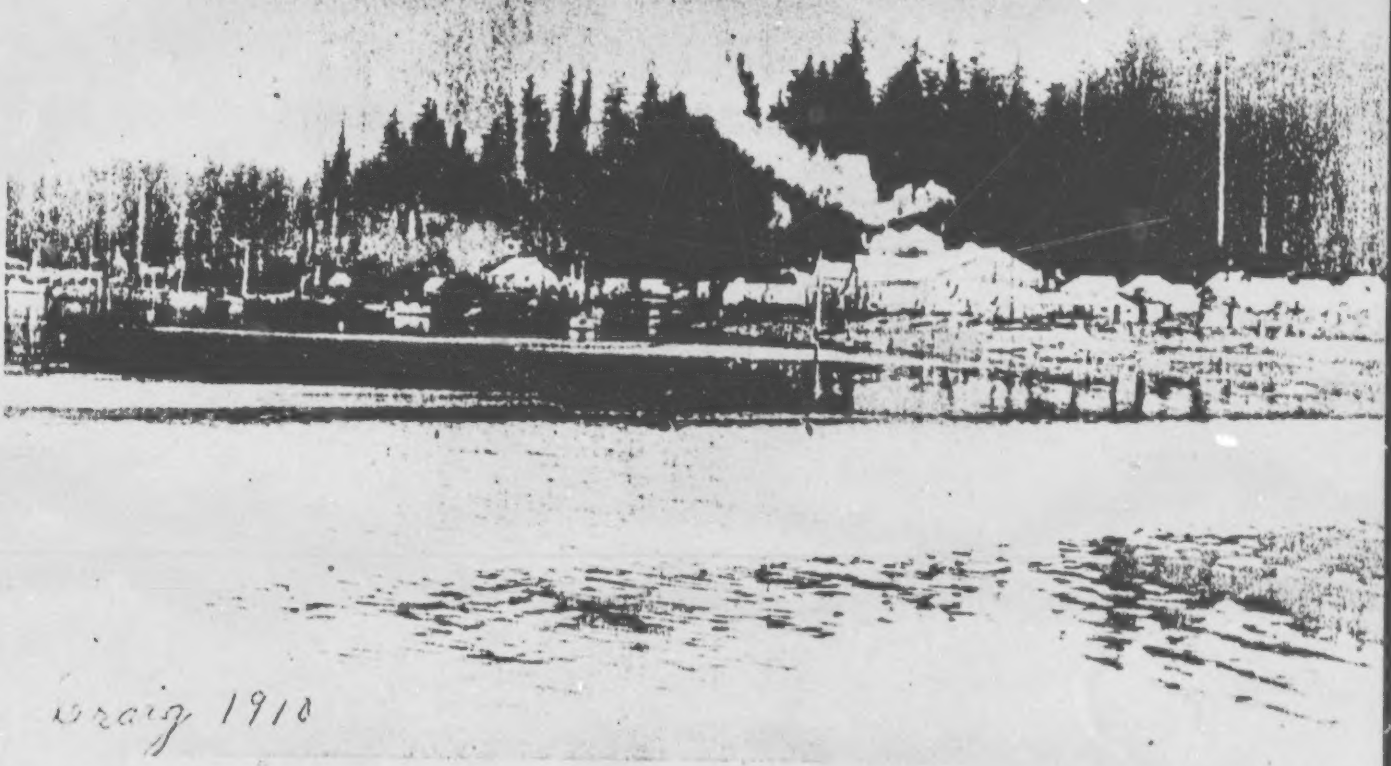
[4] Personal communication from historian R. N. DeArmond.

[5] Later educational developments in Craig are treated in the section, Education in Craig.



Craig 1910

Fig.3. Craig, 1910.

> that we have given up all claim or interest in tribal and communal houses; that we live in one family houses in accordance with the customs of civilization; that we observe the marriage laws of the United States; that our children take the name of the father and belong equally to the father and mother, and that the rights of the maternal uncle to direct the children are no longer recognized and that in the case of the death of either parent we recognize the laws of the United States relative to inheritance of property; that we have discarded the totem and recognize the Stars and Stripes as our only emblem; and that we are a self-supporting and law abiding people.
>
> We therefore believe that we have fulfilled all requirements necessary to citizenship in the United States, and we respectfully request the Congress of the United States to pass a law granting to us the full rights of citizenship" (Southeastern Log, October, 1973).

Twenty-seven Haida men signed the document, at least three of whom were alive in 1972. None of the men who signed the document was over 50 years old when it was signed in either 1911 or 1915. Most had been educated in the classroom of Clara Gould (later McLeod).

Hawkesworth's report of 1913 speaks highly of the people's energy and ambition for the new town. The young men of the city council "went on record to the effect that all the business of the town should be transacted in the English language" (Hawkesworth, 1913, p. 56). He also discussed the success of the community cooperative store, the problems of the sawmill, the building of the boardwalk, and the plans for a "fish business" (_ibid_., pp. 56-59).

At this time, some of the other Haida families decided to move to Craig and Ketchikan. Some of the older, more traditional people remained in Howkan. Kasaan, on the opposite side of Prince of Wales Island, did not join in this unification, although it did move to a new cannery site in 1901. Chief Skowl of Kasaan battled Christianization fiercely, and this community remained distinct from the west coast villages; since that time Kasaan's history and people have been more closely linked with developments in Ketchikan.

GENERAL DEVELOPMENT THROUGH THE 1960s

A brief digression seems relevant at this point in order to put Craig's appearance into perspective with several other developments. One of these is the growth of Ketchikan. Ketchikan, like Craig, has depended on fisheries as its primary economic base for most of its existence, beginning with a cannery in 1886 and a saltery in 1888. In 1900, Ketchikan had a population of 460, but by 1910 it had grown to 1,613--1,184 of whom were white (Rogers, 1960, p. 364). The birth of Craig and the growth of Ketchikan are both the result of growth in the canning industry. Since that time Ketchikan has gradually assumed various higher order "central-place" functions for Craig, including ship repair, health care, long distance communication, banking, airline transportation, as well as other commercial needs which could not be filled by Craig's merchants.

The fish canning industry's structure and development also deserve some brief note as they were decisive in Craig's birth. Following its inception at Klawock in 1878, the industry grew quickly in the 1880s; however, overproduction glutted the market in 1889 and 1890, leading to consolidation and cutbacks. Much as the Tlingits and Haidas had adopted more efficient technological items (guns, axes, iron pots, etc.) from the fur traders, so now in reverse fashion the early white canning entrepreneurs utilized native trap and weir techniques to their own advantage as efficient means of fish production. This was natural because these operations were dependent on the Indian fishermen for the fish supply. Unfortunately the native trap and weir, which were admirably suited to a completely insular economy with relatively fixed requirements, had the potential of being abused when put to use for an export economy. This abuse became apparent relatively early, and in 1889 the federal government imposed its first regulation on fish harvesting methods. "Obstruction of streams up which the salmon passed was forbidden on penalty of a fine and the Commissioner of Fisheries was directed to investigate the fisheries with the aim of gathering the knowledge necessary for adequate protection" (Gregory & Barnes, 1938, p. 45).

In general, the canneries operated their own stores in the early era, ordering large quantities of goods from San Francisco-based firms and shipping them north at the start of the fishing season. Those Indians who worked for the canneries did most of their trading with these stores.

It seems likely that the canneries operated in much the same fashion as did the fur trading companies elsewhere. That is, they would extend credit during the slack season in order to bind the Indian fishermen to the cannery for the next production season. This would seem even more likely in that Hinckley notes the difficulty canneries had in the early going in getting the Indians to bring fish to the cannery once their own limited cash needs were met (Hinckley, 1972, p. 127).

The regulations of 1889 effectively outlawed native traps and weirs used up until that time. The traps, however, were modified in the state of Washington during the 1890s, and a new trap, designed for use away from streams, was introduced into Alaska around the turn of the century (Cooley, 1963, p. 45). The highly predictable mass movement patterns of returning salmon in conjunction with the channeling effect of southeast Alaska's inland waterways made saltwater traps practically as effective as their freshwater forerunners.

The early 1900s also saw important breakthroughs in the canning process itself, including, in 1906, the "iron chink" (a mechanical fish cleaning machine which replaced the highly skilled Chinese slitters) followed by manufactured tin cans and vacuum chamber machines (McKervill, 1967, p. 73). Cooley has summed up the results of these factors thus: "In the early 1900s the industry entered a period of dynamic growth as new markets were opened and great technological strides were made in fishing and canning techniques" (Cooley, 1963, p. 35).

The founding of Craig and the growth of Ketchikan were a result of this new boom in the canning industry. "The war years and especially 1918 gave a sharp stimulus to the exploitation of salmon by bringing a tremendous demand for the product and rapidly mounting prices. In Alaska the number of canneries operating increased from 81 in 1914 to 135 in 1918..." (Gregory & Barnes, 1939, p. 48). Craig's cannery participated in this boom period, packing close to 200,000 cases from 1914 through 1918. The peak year was 1917, when Columbia Salmon Canning Company, which purchased the cannery that year, packed 68,730 cases.

Although the industry was in a state of great economic vigor, its successes came, to a large extent, at the expense of the local fishermen and their families. The new traps were highly efficient, capital-intensive gear; they incurred the enmity of local fishermen who used labor-intensive mobile gear such as purse seines, beach seines, gill nets and trolling lines. In order to battle the traps and the canning conglomerates which financed and operated them, the Alaska Fishermen's Union was founded in 1902. The union's effectiveness must have been limited, as the number of traps grew precipitously. The 1916 Bureau of Education report records a plea from the Hydaburg teacher to the Department of Interior to do something about the traps which were causing financial hardships among her pupils' parents (Bureau of Education, 1916, p. 462). One of the responses of mobile gear fishermen to this situation was to rob fish from the traps and turn around and sell them to the canneries. The usual method was to buy off the trap watchman with liquor, women or money and then take a load while he looked the other way. There are also tales of violent, armed trap robberies. This phenomenon continued up until the banning of traps by the state of Alaska in 1960. Trap robbing was also supplemented by creek-robbing (illegal fishing out of season or behind lines designated by Fish and Game biologists to protect spawning streams) which continue to this day.

The end of World War I brought with it the end of this boom as the demand for salmon collapsed and market prices fell. Reflecting this industry-wide trend, Craig's cannery was closed from 1919 through 1921. Craig's fishermen attempted to fight the drop in prices and struck until July 26th of 1919, but to no avail (Ketchikan Chronicle, July 26, 1919). The slump in prices was all the more devastating to fishermen because many of them had shifted to motor boats, which first appeared in Craig around 1912. The gasoline boat revolutionized the fishing industry. It made the Indian fisherman more dependent on cash, thus binding him further to the market economy. A fisheries commentator of the era wrote the following in 1919:

> It is the ambition of every fisherman to own a [motor] launch and it is achieved with comparative ease when industry backs the wish. When that is gratified his reward is greatly enhanced, for the number of fish he is able to offer the canneries is largely increased through his improved facilities for bringing them to the place where they are made for market (ibid., August 5, 1919).

The end of World War I brought with it problems for Craig's other industry--the sawmill. As noted earlier, sawmills in southeastern Alaska usually appeared in conjunction with other developments. Often, after initial construction was completed around a cannery, mine or town, the mill was forced to close because other market outlets for its low volume of lumber were not available. Opened by Tacoma millman E. M. Streeter in 1912, Craig's mill faced such early difficulties and changed hands to become the Craig Lumber Company. As such it operated profitably during World War I when market demand for spruce logs and lumber boomed. The signing of the armistice, however, caused an abrupt slump in the lumber market, and Craig's sawmill closed. It was taken over in 1920 by O. P. Brown, an early sawmill developer from Juneau, in association with cannerymen Craig Millar and A. J. Duncan. Under their management it was able to reopen and employ around 20 men.

By 1920, when Craig appeared in the census with 212 people, it had become a reasonably secure village with an economy based on fishing, canning and timber processing. Christianity, English and education had been around for nearly 50 years, and innovations in technology were gradually binding the native population closer and closer to the market economy. As a matter of fact, in 1918 a native leader obtained the first mechanical washing machine which he ordered out of a Sears and Roebuck catalogue.

Craig was eliminated from the Tongass National Forest reserve (established in 1910) as of January 1, 1922. Craig had been surveyed and platted by the Forest Service in 1910, 1913, 1914 and became the site of a permanent ranger station around 1919. This elimination allowed residents to apply for patents on their holdings; lots up to this time had been leased from the Forest Service. Sometime in the early 1920s the cannery bought many of the houses around it which were the residences of the native people who worked there. This consolidation gave the cannery seven to eight acres and made it the largest landholder in Craig.

Elimination from the National Forest allowed the residents under the territorial statutes to petition for a municipal government. One clause of the petition declared that "said town is a permanent settlement of white people exceeding two hundered and fifty" (Petition for Incorporation as City of Craig, January 11, 1922). Although incorporation under territorial statutes had no specific "white resident" requirement, it did require citizenship, and most natives at this time were not considered citizens. For this reason, the communities of Hydaburg and Klawock could not become incorporated municipalities under territorial statutes.

The City of Craig was incorporated on June 12, 1922. The City was governed by a Board of Trustees made up of a mayor, clerk and treasurer; these posts were filled at the first election by J. T. Brown, C. E. Hibbs and Clarence D. Spencer, respectively. Hibbs and Brown were merchants in the town. As a second-class city under territorial laws, Craig promised to maintain its "streets" (actually boardwalks constructed in the first couple of years of Craig's existence by the Forest Service), to provide fire protection, to help support its school, and to enact ordinances necessary to those ends. According to Section 4 of the City Charter:

> No person shall be eligible to any office, elective or appointive in the corporation who at the time of his election or appointment is not entitled to the privileges of an elector under the laws and constitution of the Territory of Alaska... (Articles of Incorporation for the City of Craig, 1922, Sec. 4).

This clause meant that no Alaskan native could vote in Craig's elections unless he fulfilled the requirements of a 1915 territorial act which provided that to acquire citizenship, a native must have severed "all tribal relationship and adopted the habits of a civilized life" (Gruening, 1968, p. 363). The document from Hydaburg quoted earlier was an attempt to fulfill the requirements of that statute. In addition, however, the application had to be endorsed by five white residents, and the applicant had to pass an examination which tested his "understanding of the obligations of suffrage and demonstrate his adoption of the 'habits of civilized life'" (ibid.). In June of 1924, federal legislation was passed which extended citizenship to all Indians born within the territorial limits of the United States.

The foregoing underscores an important point--Craig's founding and early settlement clearly made it a white man's town. Of the 31 signatures on the petition for incorporation, only four or five can positively be identified as those of natives. In addition, the 1920 of 212 population was made up of 153 whites and 59 natives. This early white population was highly skewed toward the male half, and most of these men were still mobile and unsettled. But Hinckley argues persuasively that these early Alaskan towns also contained a core of businessmen (cannerymen and store owners) who invested much time and money in their operations (Hinckley, 1972).

From the above, it is clear that the white population was a varied lot. Teachers, missionaries and merchants generally brought wives or husbands with them, attended church and supported or were active in civic affairs. On the other hand, the many single white males were attracted more to the bars, the fraternal organizations and their own personal pursuits.

Some of these men married native women, some lived with native women and some sired children by native women. Salisbury feels that these children were regarded with favor by the Indians (Salisbury, 1960, p. 14). This certainly was not the case in earlier times, when contact with fur traders produced children who were frequently killed. Judge Wickersham ruled in 1904 that, contrary to the Russian Imperial ukase, "a person of half white and half Indian blood was not a 'white person'..." (Rogers, 1960, p. 197). Rogers further observes, "Aside from the official identification of those of mixed ancestry as indigenous, the attitudes and practices of the white population discouraged their considering themselves as anything else but 'natives'" (ibid., p. 198).

By and large, then, racial attitudes and definitions among most of these white men differed little from those of the rest of America at this time. The Craig Moose Club was a formal institutional expression of this philosophy of superiority and separation (Figure 4). Margaret Bell, author of several adventure novels about the area and a descendant of the Millar family, who were among the cannery and saltery builders, maintains that her ancestors were "patronizing" to Indians and admits it as an "attitude of the period" (Southeast Log, May, 1974).

An example of the government's support of these distinctions was the ban on the sale of alcoholic beverages to natives. In 1867, alcoholic beverages were prohibited to all in Alaska, but in 1884 they were made available to whites. There is no doubt that alcohol often presented a serious problem in these communities; Craig's bars and liquor stores made readily available commercially produced liquor, while various private entrepreneurs sold "hoochinoo" as the bootleg, home brew varieties were known. One of the earliest explorers, the Frenchman La Perouse, wrote in 1786 that the introduction of alcohol to the natives would create great stress in their society (Gunther, 1972, p. 145). Hinckley's work conveys the impression that this was a distinct problem in the villages as the government and the missionaries made ineffectual attempts at keeping alcohol out of the hands of the natives (Hinckley, 1972, pp. 45, 50). The teacher's report for 1904 from Klawock mentioned that a particularly low attendance figure for one month was the result of a drinking spree set off by a potlatch. A private letter preserved from that era, written by a government official, directed the native policeman of Klawock to journey to a Haida village and take into his possession a confiscated cargo of liquor. What is often overlooked in all of this is the fact that alcoholism was just as severe a problem among the white population, but its effects were not felt as deeply in the social fabric. Craig's lore is replete with tales of numerous solitary, hard drinking "old-timers"; these single white men essentially provided only for themselves and so their problems in handling old John Barleycorn were not as obvious as those of their native counterparts with families. The question of cultural style or pattern in drunken comportment is also relevant here. The native preference for quick and total indulgence was probably regarded as unseemly by whites, who practiced a more leisurely road to intoxication. There were, of course, many temperate individuals in both ethnic groups.

Law enforcement in Craig came into being in 1912 with the appointment of the first U.S. Commissioner, Oren Kitley. The Commissioner was responsible for registering births and deaths, carrying out judicial duties, performing marriages and at one point also acted as a U.S. Customs agent. In the early days, Commissioners were not salaried but rather worked on a fee basis; that is, a certain fixed amount was charged for each governmental function he or she was called on to perform. A U.S. Marshall was stationed in Craig up until World War II and in 1922, with the incorporation of the city, the office of Chief of Police was created. This post was generally part-time.

In 1919, Dr. Figgons completed a five-room hospital in Craig, which employed a nurse. The population could not support such a sophisticated service, and the hospital folded. Two other doctors made attempts to found practices in Craig over the years. The last of these was in 1945, and the building now known as George Hamilton Elementary School served as the clinic. This pattern repeats itself again and again in Craig's later history as numerous businesses open and then are forced to close by an insufficient demand for services.

During the 1920s, communication with Craig was by twice-yearly steamers from Seattle that supplied canneries in the spring, and picked up the canned salmon pack and brought back the cannery crews in the fall. There were also occasional boats out of Ketchikan. An editorial in the Ketchikan Daily Chronicle in 1919 demanded a larger boat so that more regular mail service to the west coast of Prince of Wales Island could be established. In addition, Craig had a radio station in the 1920s which was established by the government in 1918 but replaced in 1921, when a fire destroyed the first one.

To support itself, the city of Craig assessed property values and taxed residents on the basis of these assessments. The city's residents

Fig.4. Craig's Moose Club, c. 1920.

were not enchanted with paying taxes, and a recurring theme in the minutes of the city council during the 1920s was that of delinquent taxes.[6] In 1926, the city purchased land for a cemetery; 1927 saw an ordinance passed to help provide for the school from the municipal tax. Fire equipment was also ordered that year and street lights (over the boardwalks) were erected in 1928. Odd jobs, such as fixing the boardwalk or clearing a lot for the powerhouse, were put up for local bids. These jobs provided winter cash for many of the native men of the community who generally were awarded the contract. The city treasurer was usually appointed to collect from the various local businesses for the July 4th celebration, which became one of the city's chief festivities.

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[6] Much of the information on Craig for the 1920s and 1930s comes from city council minutes and private documents. Information for later decades has been developed from numerous personal interviews, documents and council and school board minutes. The author would like to express his gratitude to the numerous individuals who have contributed to this document. The author alone is responsible for any errors that appear.

The canning industry, after experiencing some initial difficulty in recovering from the slump after World War I, was making a strong recovery by the late 1920s. In 1929, there were six canneries operating within a 15-mile radius of Craig. Klawock had three canneries, two of which were owned and operated by native families, the Peratrovich family and the Demmert family. Craig had its own cannery, and there were canneries operating at Waterfall south of Craig and Steamboat Bay on Noyes Island. In 1930, Libby, McNeill and Libby abandoned its deteriorating plant in Klawock and bought out Seacoast Packing Company of Craig (Figure 5).

From 1920 to 1930, Craig's native population rose from 59 to 147. This growth is attributable to the fact that the native communities were having a difficult time obtaining economic development to support their own populations. Hydaburg's population fell from 346 in 1920 to 319 in 1929, but many of its people moved to Craig because increasing ties to the cash economy of the white man made it necessary to be near centers where work was available. From 1924 on, native participation in Craig's economy and politics expanded. Throughout the late 1920s and 1930s, the mayor was usually white businessman J. T. Brown, and the clerk was usually Haida leader George Edenso.

The Moose Club continued its important function as a fraternal organization for the white men of Craig and was now joined by the Pioneers. The Moose had a large, spacious hall which was used for community-wide dances and mass meetings for the election of city officers, as well as for private Moose functions. The Alaska Native Brotherhood (ANB), which was founded in 1912, provided, after a fashion, an Indian counterpart to the Moose and Pioneers. Although it was structurally modeled after the white-founded Arctic Brotherhood, the ANB pursued a policy similar to that of the NAACP; it worked for the benefit and welfare of Alaskan natives in the area of civil rights by bringing litigation in the courts. Craig's Camp #19 of the ANB was formed in 1929 or 1930 and took on such social functions as Indian and white style dances for the native community. The ANB was assisted by the Alaska Native Sisterhood, an auxiliary group for women. The joint membership of these two groups contributed money to the regional organization for its court battles.

In addition, the local chapter of the ANS was active as a liaison between the native community and the school; it also acted as a health monitor in the community. The School Committee, a group of three women,

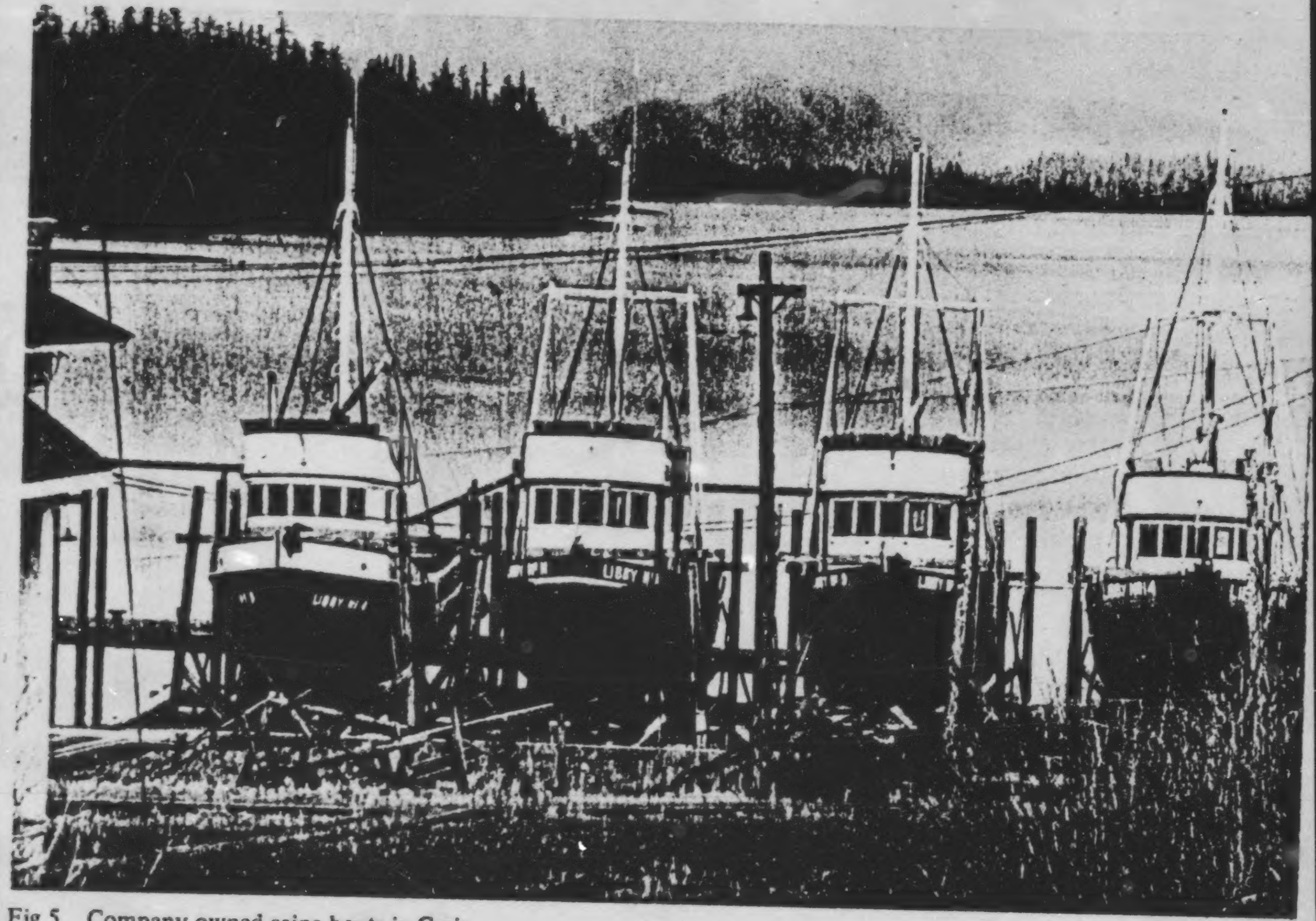


Fig.5. Company owned seine boats in Craig.

visted the school occasionally to interview teachers about students who were discipline problems or behind in their studies. Students were also inspected for cleanliness. Parents of offending youngsters were then contacted and asked to take actions necessary to correct the situation. Another committee of ladies made occasional inspections of grocery stores, restaurants, and native homes to see that appropriate health standards were being maintained.

The year 1931 was an important one in Craig. In March, a large fire ravaged the downtown area, burning several stores, the post office, the jail and several residences. Instant mass communication was taken over by a U.S. Signal Corps radio station. In addition, the city, which had obtained authorization to bond itself for purposes of community improvement, borrowed $3,000 to purchase and operate a power plant. In the next year, $1,500 was borrowed from the First National Bank of Ketchikan to drill a well for the city's own water supply. The drilling was never completed, and people continued to haul their own water from the cannery-constructed waterline.

The closing of the cannery and the sawmill after World War I had brought several mercantile failures and a drop in the white population supported by these businesses. The subsequent reopening of the cannery and recovery of the salmon market was not enough to offset the trend. By 1930, the white population of Craig had dropped from a 1920 level of 153 to 84. This changed dramatically in 1932 and continued up to World War II.

The depression which hit the lower 48 had a startling effect on Craig. As people moved out of Oklahoma, Texas, Kansas and other Dust Bowl states, they went first to California; however, that land of opportunity quickly filled up. No longer were jobs as plentiful as they had been in the "boomin' twenties" and many were forced to become crop pickers. Some of these families ended up in Craig, many at the calling of Bob Scott. The price of salmon had once again slumped sharply in 1931, and Craig's fishermen struck in 1932 to get a better price. Scott, who was both a fisherman and fish buyer, imported a number of these "immigrants" and put them on anything that would float to break the strike. They were scabs and, although people in Craig recognized the newcomers' desperate, poverty-stricken condition, there were still hard feelings among the long-term trollers. Several of Craig's families trace their residence to this period.

The slumping salmon market caused further consolidation in the industry. This trend was reversed in Craig, however, as 1935 saw the opening of the town's second cannery. Canning was supported by the city, which purchased land from the town's leading merchant, J. T. Brown and sold it to the Lindenburger firm with the understanding that it would erect a cannery on it. This cannery provided employment for the growing population and served as a magnet to draw several families down from Klawock. In addition, in 1935, the Libby cannery expanded and modernized its operation, which now included four automated processing lines. This cannery continued to use Chinese and Filipino crews; they had their own separate living quarters.

All was not well in Craig, however, as the general impact of the Depression was exacerbated by the movement of the new people into town. These people did not as yet have the skills to ameliorate the effects of the depression by living off the land. The native population was much better suited to withstand the economic decline. In 1933, the secretary of the city council corresponded with the territorial governor about the appropriation of relief funds for those in need in Craig. The city council also addressed a letter to a Reverend Walker concerning the continuance of relief from the Red Cross. In 1936, the city council made plans to distribute reindeer meat which had been received to the most destitute.

In addition to this overt relief, Craig, Klawock and Hydaburg also benefited from WPA and CCC projects. The totem park at Klawock and the various forest service trails and camping areas, as well as the Craig-Klawock road, are examples of projects which were funded at this time.

Evidence of the town's continued growth throughout the 1930s is apparent from a number of incidental events. The council continued to sell property (at about $35 a lot) to newcomers, requests were made for 20 new light meters, a new city float was built, a new store opened (giving the town three general stores plus specialty shops), a sewer was built, a water project with a dam was undertaken with a loan of $7,000, and the boardwalk was extended to the west side of the island, where most of the new people settled. Their houses were almost all made of lumber salvaged from the abandoned canneries in the area. In 1934, the city council sent one of its members, J. T. Brown (who was also chairman of the school board), to Juneau to lobby for a new school, a road to Klawock, a hospital and better nautical maps of the area. The sawmill operated off and on during the 1930s under the direction of Keeler and Amos.

The native residents of Craig moved into mercantile enterprises as they gradually accumulated enough capital. The first of these was a combination confectionary-restaurant operated by Hannah Cogo in the early 1920s. There were several other similar establishments set up during the 1930s. In addition, several mixed couples were important in the liquor trade. In the 1930s, the Isaacsons ran a hard liquor store, while Tom and Jessie Thompson set up a tavern. This tavern later became a dry goods store and then a hotel and laundromat. The Thompsons also later (1940s) purchased one of Craig's distinctive landmarks, the Hill Bar. This building was originally part of the mining town of Sulzer and was moved piece by piece to Craig in the 1920s. Other entrepreneurs of the 1930s included George Haldane, who owned and operated a dock which was later purchased to become the city dock, and his brother Roland, who along with his wife ran a photo shop. The native presence in the business sector of Craig has gradually increased through time.

The bar, in its various shapes and forms, has always been one of the central recreational and social institutions for Craigites. In 1935, the town had three beer parlors and two other establishments which were authorized to sell hard liquor. Other public recreational facilities included a show hall, card rooms, and pool and billiard rooms. Apparently, radio provided the music in some of the establishments, as numerous complaints were filed about excessive noise. In addition to being noisy late at night, the bars became the scene of raucous, roaring good times during the canning season. Occasionally these good times would turn into brawls, and for that reason the city policeman's wages were increased from $120 to $200 a month during the fishing season to cover the increased vigilance demanded by longer daylight hours, more people, and larger amounts of money spent in the bars. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, the problems that alcohol brought to the community caused a campaign by a religious group who petitioned to make the community dry. Although it ultimately failed, the effort radically split the community.

By 1939, Craig had reached its maximum year-round population of 505. The entire island was covered with houses, and a labyrinth of boardwalks produced a myriad of permutational and combinational connections (Figure 6). Most of these residents' livelihood was related to the canning industry, either directly as fishermen and workers in the canneries, or indirectly as businessmen whose trade was derived from those in the canning

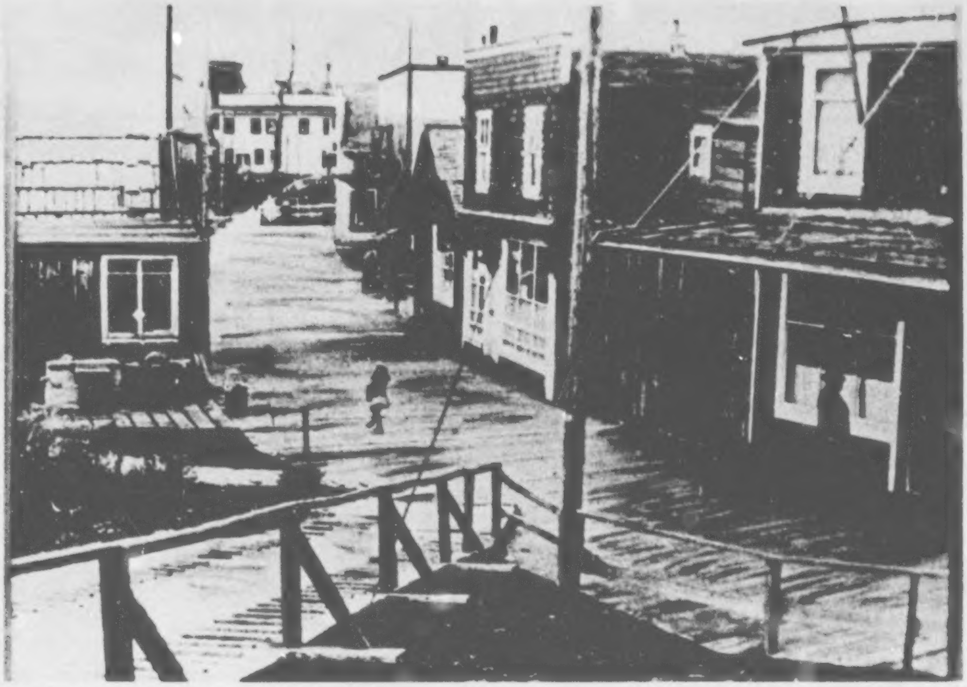


Fig.6. Craig, 1930s.

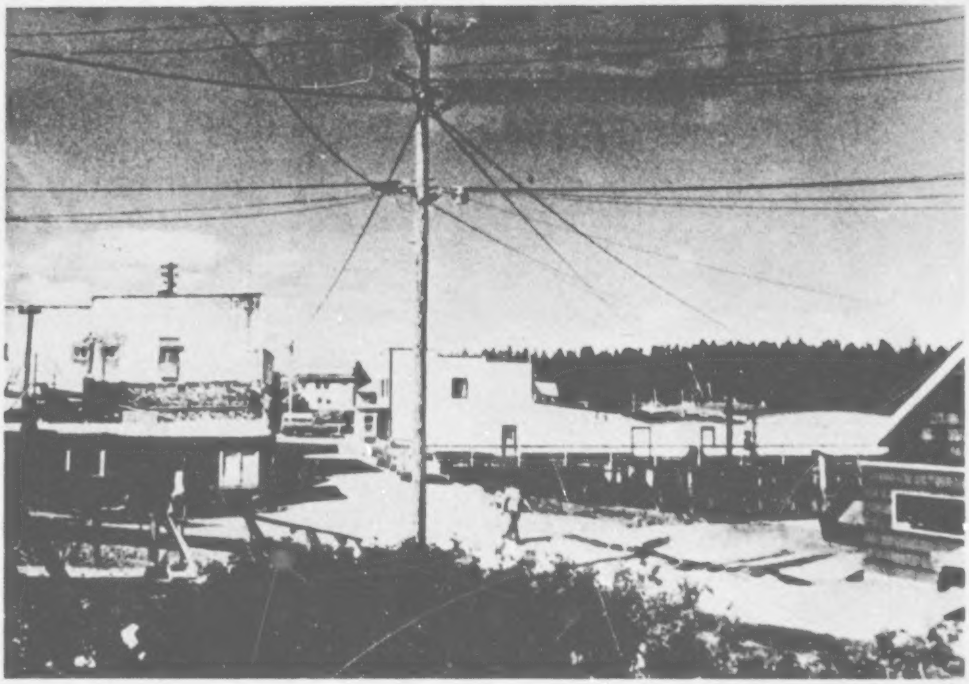


Fig.7. Craig, 1972.

industry. The island on which Craig is situated was attached to Prince of Wales by means of a man-made spit, and in 1937 a one-lane road to Klawock was initiated by the Forest Service and completed around 1950. Klawock at this time also had two canneries, several stores, street lights and a sawmill, as well as its own movie theater (Salisbury, 1960, p. 59). The establishment of an air link with Ketchikan was also made possible in 1936, when Bob Ellis started flying to the west coast. Faster communication was made possible by air mail.

Perhaps the most prosperous year that Craig experienced was 1941, when the southeastern salmon pack reached its all time high. World War II, however, brought a rather abrupt halt to Craig's development. The second cannery, which had experienced financial problems from the outset, shut down in 1943. The draft, in combination with the boom in war-time industry, caused an abrupt reversal in Craig's population flow from into the community to out of it. The very old, the very young and the females were left to run the fishing boats, and many white families who had moved into the town during the Depression left it as war-time industry beckoned with high-paying jobs.

Although it was located in the war zone (Alaska was so designated because of Japan's invasion of several of the Aleutian Islands), Craig experienced no actual problems related to warfare. At the same time, the city did not benefit directly from the massive defense spending which literally built Anchorage and brought prosperity to other Alaskan regions. Craig did, however, serve as a base for two Coast Guard vessels and about 50 men assigned to patrol the coast.

The war was vital in opening many new and varied horizons to the Tlingit and Haida males who went off to serve in the armed forces. Up until this time, the west coast of Prince of Wales Island had been a relatively isolated "refuge region" whose native population had had little experience outside of southeastern Alaska. There were a few who had gone to college (Klawock had a number of local teachers in the 1930s and 1940s) and a number who had succeeded superbly at fishing, but the vast majority had remained in the villages of their birth. Hydaburg, after losing population to Craig between 1920 and 1930, had grown back to 348 persons by 1939. Klawock had grown from 241 in 1910 to 474 in 1940. During the war, Tlingits and Haidas, unlike blacks and some southwestern Indians who had their own units, served side by side with white soldiers. When they returned to Craig after the war, many had experienced and appreciated the amenities of modern, technological life and would opt for them when the opportunity presented itself. Some had also obtained marketable skills, such as heavy equipment operation and mechanical repair, which allowed them occupational and geographic mobility. Most returned, however, to take up fishing. Military service has continued to play this role for many of Craig's native males.

By 1945, Craig's population had dropped to 300, but it rose again to 374 by 1950. Still, the community was clearly on the downhill run of Alaska's developmental "boom and bust" cycle. The sawmill, which had been closed during the war, attempted to reopen in 1946, but met with financial problems and folded. Fishery production, after falling gradually since 1941, dropped precipitously in 1953, and the decrease brought extremely hard times to all southeastern Alaskan village communities. Craig's economic plight took an even sharper turn for the worse in 1956, when the Libby cannery burned down.

The logging and pulp industry which came to southeastern Alaska in 1954 with the opening of a large mill in Ketchikan had virtually no direct impact on Craig. Logging camps almost exclusively employed outsiders, who lived in self-contained communities wherever they happened to be cutting; occasionally the loggers came to Craig's bars. For the most part, no locals entered the industry, and its effects on the community were only secondary. Several families and individual tramp loggers have lived in Craig off and on through the years. The question ultimately for fishing Craigites was how much of the salmon's stream habitat would be destroyed by the logging effort.

By 1958, Craig's population had dwindled to 257. Because of the 1930s expansion there was now no need for new buildings and gradually, as the older merchants died off or went out of business, Craig's one-street business district began to take on that tired, weary and forgotten look characteristic of many small communities today (Figure 7).

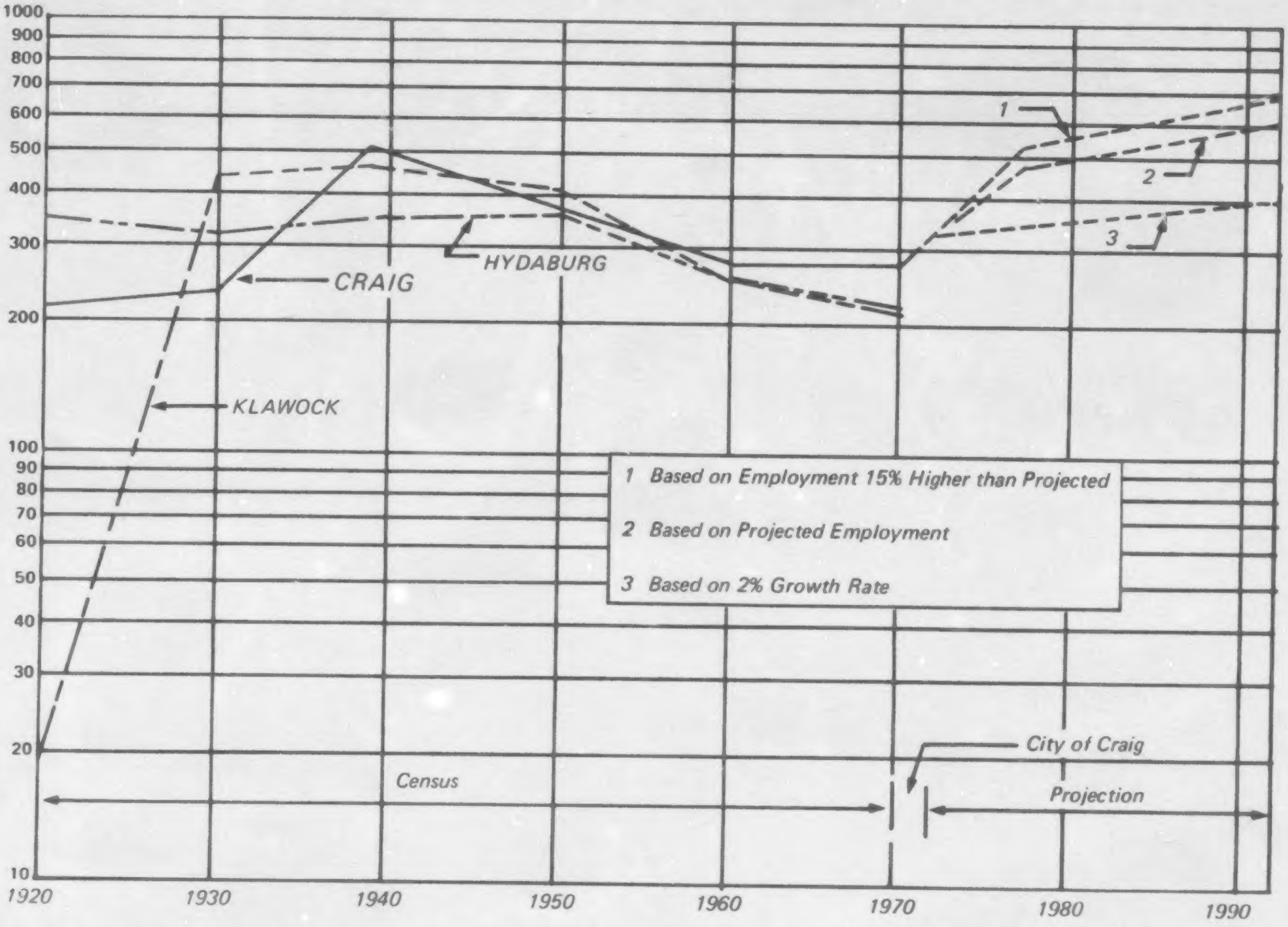
The next event of major importance to Craig was the grant of statehood to Alaska in 1959. One of the first acts of the new governor was to outlaw the fish trap, considered the mortal enemy of mobile gear fishermen,

Table 1

POPULATION FIGURES: 1920-1970

Year	Craig	Klawock	Hydaburg
1920	212	19	346
1930	231	437	319
1939	505	455	348
1950	374	404	353
1960	273	251	251
1970	272	213	214

Source: U.S. Census



Source: Wince-Corthell and Associates.

Fig.8. Population: 1920-1970, with projection to 1990.

particularly purse seiners, who composed the vast majority of southeastern native villagers. This legislation produced a two-pronged result. First, the declining fish population made a slight recovery, although this was partly attributable to a better salmon management program which had gone into effect in 1954 (Gruening, 1968, p. 532). Secondly, there was an increased need for mobile gear to take up the slack which was left by the demise of the traps. These two factors together produced a much better economic climate for the local fishermen. The Forest Service gradually expanded its force in Craig because of the new demand for timber from the Ketchikan Pulp Company. Around 1962 the Service built a large living and working compound and later purchased several additional houses in Craig.

In 1962, the city put its power plant up for bid as continued financial and maintenance problems became burdensome. The plant was purchased by Alaska Power and Light Company of Port Townsend, Washington, which installed new machinery and also brought telephones to the general public.

Craig in the mid-1960s was a slowly dying fishing village like many others which existed along littoral Alaska. The expected rehabilitation of the salmon runs did not occur quickly, and canneries at Steamboat Bay and Waterfall were finally forced to close, leaving Klawock with the only operating cannery on Prince of Wales Island. Craig was now only a maintenance station for the boats of Columbia Wards fisheries which had bought out Libby in 1959.

The people of Craig and Klawock, however, were not giving up without a fight. The year 1967 was a disastrous one for southeastern seiners because the pink run on which they depended for their livelihood never materialized. Two economic development associations were also formed in 1967. The first of these was the Craig Development Corporation, a front or "dummy" corporation through which an SBA (Small Business Administration) loan was obtained to construct a new cold storage facility. Several local merchants were the major force behind the founding of this corporation, and they were able to mobilize over $2,000 worth of stock purchases from the local people. C. M. Jones, Craig merchant, former state legislator and one of the CDC's leaders, was disturbed by SBA's initial lack of responsiveness, and he turned to Senator Ernest Gruening for aid. Shortly thereafter, approval for the loan came through. Construction of this facility provided employment for five to seven men through most of 1968 and 1969. The new cold storage facility was owned and operated by Lou Scott, owner of Tokeen Cold Storage. He was no newcomer to Craig. His father had been responsible for bringing up the strikebreakers in 1932 and had thus given many of Craig's residents their start in fishing. The facility in Craig was more centrally located for the west coast troll fishermen and provided more services--fuel, grocery, retaurant, bar, grid for repairing boats, hotel, hardware store, post office and laundromat--than the decaying plant at Tokeen. The plant went into operation in the summer of 1969, and since then has processed close to 2,000,000 pounds of king and silver salmon as well as halibut annually. It has also generated, in multiplier fashion, income for local merchants, jobs and tax revenue for the city.

The second association, the West Coast Development Association began a vocal, political campaign in March of 1967 to obtain industry for the Craig and Klawock area. After initial organization, it was led by long-time legislator and Tlingit leader Frank Peratrovich of Klawock. The group included a wide range of business and civic leaders whose first priority was getting a timber processing industry, either a sawmill, a green veneer plant or both, for the area. The struggle was opened with the Forest Service in the form of a letter requesting attention to their problems. The Forest Service first directed the WCDA to the Rural Area Development Technical Action Panel, a consortium of government agencies which provided organizational and technical assistance. Out of this came the Overall Economic Development Committee which presented a proposal for economic development to the Economic Development Administration in 1968.

The main thrust of the group was at the Forest Service, but it also addressed itself to the state legislature's Economic Development Committee. The target in the Forest Service was the "working circle" concept, which appeared to allocate all of the timber on Prince of Wales Island for eventual use by the Ketchikan Pulp Company. The WCDA wanted a redefinition of the local working circle which would give Craig and Klawock their own circle independent from that of Ketchikan. They were aiming for some sort of concession or arrangement that would guarantee a long-term timber supply and attract industry to the west coast region.

The initial response from the legislature, the Forest Service and the timber industry was not heartening. Apparently briefed by timber industry representatives in the South Tongass, the legislature's Economic Development Committee proposed that various "cottage industries" such as canoe paddles, smoked fish, handicrafts and possibly berry processing be looked into as alternatives. The Forest Service contended that log supply was not a problem for the area and that "more important...is the interest of a qualified mill operator and adequate financing to permit construction and operation of a new industry" (Hearing on Forest Service policies, 1968, p. 14). The industry, notably Ketchikan Pulp Company, argued that there was no market for green veneer or hemlock cants and no process for successfully converting spruce into suitable material, that there were inadequate transportation services on the west coast (no deep water port, no roads) and that no other supporting facilities such as water or power were available. Ketchikan Pulp Company clearly wanted to protect the timber for its own possible future expansion and use. There was, in addition, some legitimate economic concern about the feasibility of finding a market for the products that might be produced. Finally, as noted by George Rogers in 1960, the southeastern native population (Tlingits and Haidas especially) had apparently not adapted to the timber industry, since they had failed to move into the mills and logging camps and had remained dependent on fishing (Rogers, 1960, p. 151). This supported industry skepticism and also added to the Forest Service's doubts about whether the native population of the two towns would provide an adequate labor supply for the proposed mill.

Peratrovich responded to all of this in the fighting trim that had made him one of the chief architects of the abolishment of fish traps. Blasting the legislature's recommendation as unresponsive and demeaning, he called for a formal departmental hearing to review Forest Service policies. In follow-up letters to various Alaskan newspapers (the WCDA received editorial support from the Ketchikan Daily News), various agencies, and politicians, it was pounded home that the people of Craig and Klawock wanted out from under government assistance and wanted the opportunity to earn a decent living by developing the resources in their area for their own benefit.

An informal Department of Agriculture hearing was held at Craig before the department's Special Assistant John Havelock in January, 1968. The hearing served to highlight the association's concerns, to allow west coast residents a chance to be heard, and to clarify Forest Service policies for the local population. However, no redefinition of the "working circle" resulted because, as was pointed out, the Forest Service does not have "the authority to specify location of plants...." Thus a redefinition would not help guarantee industry for the west coast (ibid., p. 58). The Forest Service position, generally, was that there was enough timber available in the area, over and above KPC's contracted allotment, but that sound financing, good planning and competitive bidding were the necessary touchstones for establishment of new industry in the area. The hearing did produce one minor and helpful concession which decreased from 70% to 50% the amount of materials from Small Business Set Aside Sales that had to be processed by small businesses (those with less than 250 employees). This was an encouragement for industry to locate in the area, as any industry undoubtedly would be a small business.

The efforts of the association probably made the Forest Service a more willing and receptive partner in development and, in addition, the Forest Service's explanations probably made the association plan more clearly and realistically. The efforts of the association eventually stimulated the interest of northern California sawmill developer Ed Head, who had earlier been involved in an unsuccessful effort to obtain a mill for the Tsimshian community of Metlakatla. By 1968, he was actively seeking financial backing for a Craig-Klawock mill.

The next steps were to locate a suitable mill site (with Forest Service approval) and to insure a supply of lumber for the mill. Both problems were eventually solved. Continued negotiation with the Forest Service brought a permit for a site and also created a Small Business Set Aside Sale program. Head acquired several normal Forest Service timber offerings, as well as a Small Business Set Aside Sale in 1971. In addition, in 1969, a large ocean-going Japanese freighter was loaded with uncut logs out of Klawock, proving that the necessary deep water port was available. Old-time residents, of course, who recalled the days of the 1930s when large steamers regularly came in, knew that it was possible. Construction began on the mill in 1971; however, problems developed with the financing and Ketchikan Pulp Company completed the financing of the mill which was then leased back to Head.

Obtaining timber processing industry was only one aspect of the overall economic development program presented to the EDA by the committee. A second aspect stressed the under utilized bottom fish, shrimp, and scallop potentials of the area and proposed expansion of the fisheries into new processing and marketing areas. The committee also presented as priorities a new Craig-Klawock road, a west coast airport to replace float plane service, better law enforcement, improved housing, tourism development, boat repair facilities, a service station, a bank, improved municipal services and buildings, and new school facilities, particularly a high school (Craig-Klawock Overall Economic Development Program, 1968).

By 1970, both Craig and Klawock were clearly making progress in bringing about change in many different areas. In 1970, a trooper was stationed permanently in Craig for the west coast communities and in 1971, two trailers were brought in to serve as the magistrate's court, trooper's office and trooper's residence. In 1967, the Craig city council obtained a federal grant and loan for a new sewer and water system which brought 40% of the city services by 1970. A highway project linking Craig-Klawock to the old logging camp of Hollis on the east coast of Prince of Wales Island was begun in 1968 and completed in 1969; it would eventually link Prince of Wales Island to the state's marine highway system which provides ferry service between the various islands of southeastern Alaska. This road work provided both jobs for a number of Craig and Klawock men and income for Craig merchants, since the crews lived in Craig during construction. By 1971, the improvements on the Craig-Klawock road were being engineered and bids were being let to start construction on the road. The airport project near Klawock had been approved in 1970 and construction would start on it in 1972. The state legislature had also earmarked a $1.1 million appropriation for a Prince of Wales high school. In addition, Craig itself had obtained funds from the state for improvement of city roads. However, the opportunity for a low income housing project for the community was passed by, as the city council decided that it was not in the best interest of the community due to uncertainties about the taxability of the new houses and the property on which they would be built. This was despite the current mayor's assurances that payments on the houses would include taxes.

Social organizations were also participating in this development. The Moose had finished construction of a new home, and they hosted the 1969 statewide convention in Craig. The ANB in 1970 was planning for construction of a new structure for its meetings and other organizational events.

In 1970, Superintendent Bippus campaigned for H. A. Boucher, an old friend of his, who was running as the Democratic candidate for lieutenant governor. Several local individuals perceived political inclinations in the superintendent's actions. When no candidate surfaced in October for the position of town mayor, these people organized a successful write-in campaign for Bippus.

Several factors contributed to Bippus' election. One factor was the shortage of long-term local leadership in the late 1960s, as the leadership which had been prominent through the 1950s and 1960s (C. M. Jones, Ralph Yates, Richard Carle, Lester Nelson, William Demmert) were retiring from political activity. An outsider, an early and unsuccessful mill promoter, served as mayor for several years because he was the only one interested and willing enough to take on the headaches (the mayor was also Chief of Police) that the position brought with it.

A second factor was the superintendent's obvious enthusiasm and energy with which he approached the school system's problems. Especially important to the community was that he had hired five local native women as teacher aides.

A final factor was the congruence of the superintendent's extra-school interests with those of the community. He organized and participated enthusiastically and well in basketball, the community's only real focus for athletic participation. He also valued the outdoor opportunity of the area. He hunted black bear, deer, and brown bear on Admiralty Island. He went scuba diving for abalone and also gathered other local resources such as clams and crabs. In addition, he liked to fish, the primary definition and test of manhood in the community. During the summer, the superintendent fished for halibut with a highly regarded local fisherman and also went seining with one of the community's leading seine boat captains. His wife also established rapport with the community through her artistic and dramatic interests.

Another important development in Craig's history was an outcome of the progress of the Tlingit and Haida political-ethnic movement in southeastern Alaska. Although the ANB had made perfunctory attempts to include native Alaskans other than the Tlingits and Haidas in its pursuit of civil rights, it had failed to become a statewide native organization because of its refusal to restructure the central governing body so that other ethnic groups were represented (Gallagher, 1974, p. 135). Under the leadership of William Paul, a Tlingit and Harvard L.L.B. (1917), the organization also battled for compensation for lands which had been lost when Tlingit and Haida territories were designated as the Tongass National Forest. In 1935, the U.S. legislature passed the law which enabled these peoples to form the Central Council of the Tlingit and Haida, which then presented its case to the Indian Court of Claims in 1947. After many years of delay, dispute and deliberation, the final settlement figure of $7,500,000 was reached in 1966. The release of the funds was contingent upon approval of a long-term development and use plan for the funds. Upon completion of the plan in 1970, the funds were released to the Central Council which in turn, according to the development plans, made $26,000 available to each of the various Tlingit and Haida villages of southeastern Alaska. The councils of Craig and Klawock looked forward to putting their funds to use.

After years of groundwork, the rest of native Alaska joined together in 1966 to form the Alaska Federation of Natives (AFN) and pursue a settlement for their land claims. The state constitution, written in 1955, recognized that these claims had never been dealt with and called for a rapid settlement of the situation. Unlike the Tlingit and Haida settlement, which was handled much as stateside Indian claims had been--that is, through the excruciatingly slow judicial process of the Indian Court of Claims and according to principles of reimbursement which allocated money on the basis of what the land was worth at the time it was obtained by the federal government--the AFN sought a quicker mechanism for restitution: a legislative settlement. Although it was not apparent until 1968, the federal government, the Alaska state government, and the oil industry were as interested (if not more so) as the AFN in a rapid solution, because only with the title question settled could the huge oil resources of the North Slope be brought to market (ibid., p. 194).

Sensing that this legislative settlement was quite possibly going to include land, which their judicial settlement had not done, the leadership of the Tlingit-Haida Central Council joined the AFN and, using the contacts they had accumulated during their own struggle, helped push forward the AFN cause in the years 1966-1971. Because of its involvement in the proceedings, the Tlingit-Haida Central Council was included in the final settlement.

With the passage of the Alaska Native Land Claims Settlement Act in December of 1971, a vast new opportunity presented itself to the native people of Craig and Klawock, as well as to the rest of the villages of Alaska. Under the complicated terms of the settlement, each individual villager would receive approximately $900 distributed over 15 years. In addition, each villager would hold stock in a regional corporation (the Sealaska Corporation) and a local village corporation (Shaan-Seet Corporation in Craig). Both of these corporations would receive a cash settlement, as well as land to use as capital assets in the pursuit of profits. The initial steps in forming both the regional and local corporations were consuming much of the time and energy of Craig's native leaders as the Experimental Schools program came onto the scene.

CRAIG AT THE TIME OF THE EXPERIMENTAL SCHOOLS PROGRAM: 1970-1972

The 1970 census lists Craig's population as 272 and Klawock's population as 213. Approximately 60% of Craig's residents were of either Tlingit or Haida descent, while 92% of Klawock's residents were of native descent, and practically all of these were Tlingits. Craig had 156 males and 117 females, while Klawock had 112 males and 93 females. By early 1972, Craig's population had grown to almost 300 because of the addition of men who were employed in construction on the Thorne Bay road.

Craig's population in 1970 was distributed into 62 families and a number of unrelated individuals. The 62 families showed the following income distribution:

Table 2

INCOME DISTRIBUTION IN CRAIG: 1970

Income	Number of Families
Under 1,000	1
1,000- 1,999	2
2,000- 2,999	0
3,000- 3,999	4
4,000- 4,999	2
5,000- 5,999	3
6,000- 6,999	1
7,000- 7,999	3
8,000- 8,999	2
9,000- 9,999	2
10,000-11,999	11
12,000-14,999	12
15,000-24,999	15
25,000-49,999	3
50,000 or over	0

Source: 1970 Census.

Of these 62 Craig families, 10 families, or 50 people, were below the poverty level. However, if the poverty level criterion is adjusted according to the 25% additional cost of living allowance which the Forest Service pays to its salaried employees stationed in Craig, another three

p. 76 blank

families and 10 to 15 people would fall below the poverty line. An additional 38 unrelated individuals, of whom 24 were age 65 and older, were also below the poverty line. Thus, between 35% and 38% of the population could be classified as below the poverty level. These circumstances were somewhat more exacerbated in Klawock, which is apparent from an examination of the economic structure and employment situation in the two communities.

The work force in Craig in 1970 was essentially a blue collar one. Of Craig's 92 employed males (nine were listed as unemployed), 40 were listed as laborers. The majority of these were seasonally employed as seiners and trollers. In addition, there were five teachers, three self-employed merchants, six carpenters, seven construction craftsmen and five salaried business employees. The employment situation for women was considerably worse, as only 13 out of 61 women between the ages of 16 and 65 were employed.

The Klawock Overall Economic Development Plan's progress report for 1972 provides information to give some basis for comparison between Craig and Klawock on the employment situation. Of 64 employable males between ages 16 and 65, only four had full-time positions. Two were retail merchants, one was the postmaster and the other was the cannery watchman. Forty-two of the remaining males were employed as fishermen, 11 worked at the cannery and seven had other part-time employment. These figures do not include the five teaching positions at Klawock school. Females in Klawock fared somewhat better than their Craig counterparts (although usually five to 10 Craig women worked in the Klawock cannery) in that 26 women worked part-time in the community-owned cannery. This seasonal work for women produced an income of $500-$900, whereas a seiner crewman's share was anywhere from in debt to $5,000. Three of the women in Klawock had permanent year-round jobs, one as a health aide and two as airline agents. To illustrate the skills of Klawock's work force, the progress report cites 24 men with skills in the following areas: marine mechanics, automotive mechanics, electrical repair, carpentry, boat building, boat repair, radio, TV and appliance repair, and wood working.

Assistance from state and BIA sources was important economically in both communities. For October of 1970, Craig had nine families

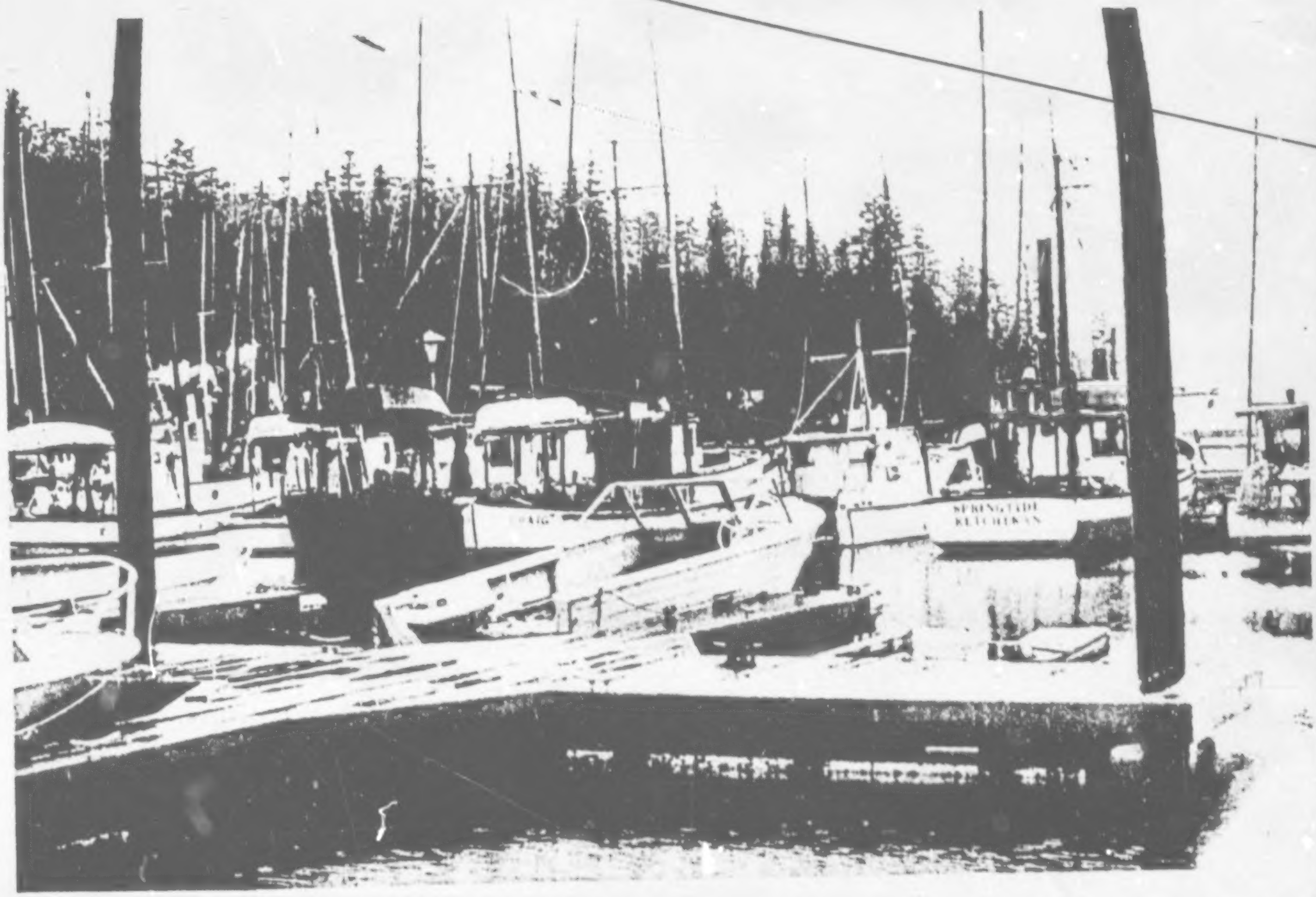

CRAIG
SPRINGTIDE
KETCHIKAN

Fig. 9. Privately owned trollers in Craig.

receiving $1,555 in AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children), while Klawock had seven families receiving $1,186. Eight households in Klawock and 11-12 in Craig participated in the Food Stamp program during January and February of 1970. The BIA's general assistance fund contributed $16,434 to 41 cases in Klawock during fiscal 1970. These funds are only allotted on an emergency basis when a family or individual does not qualify for state assistance. The figures for Craig are not available.

Craig's housing needs continued to be met almost exclusively by the houses which had been built during the rapid expansion of the 1930s. However, by 1972, four new FHA homes with cement foundations (a rarity in Craig) were in various phases of construction. In addition, there were a number of new mobile homes for construction workers and school teachers. The housing situation in Klawock was somewhat worse than the one in Craig, as all houses except one, which was under construction, had been built before 1950. Homes in both communities were crowded, often lacked running water and plumbing facilities, were heated either by wood or oil stoves, and had no sewer facilities. These were facts of life with which most residents had grown up and to which they were accustomed. At the same time, the residents were aware that there were considerably better living conditions in Ketchikan and elsewhere, and they hoped to obtain such services in the near future.

Medical facilities in both towns were still absent in 1972; the sole form of medical service was an occasional visit by the state's public health nurse or by ANHS physicians out of Ketchikan and Sitka. Both towns had a health aide trained by the U.S. Public Health Services as a paraprofessional to serve immediate non-emergency needs of the population. Dental care was provided by the Alaska Native Health Service for native youngsters until they were 18. Dental problems in adults were very common in both communities. Emergency medical transportation was available by Coast Guard helicopter out of Ketchikan. Fishermen who held commercial licenses were eligible for health care at Veterans or Marine hospitals. Health insurance was practically non-existent among the white population except as part of the benefits provided by an employer. Home insurance was also a rarity.

Marsha Fish, the wife of a forest service employee, used the atrophied Craig Health Council (an organization dating from 1948) as her base of action to start a considerable letter writing campaign to federal and state officials on the matter of access to health services. Eventually, the Health Council assumed control of the contract with the Alaska Native Health Service for the town's health aide from the ANB. In 1972, it was still the case that only natives had access to the health aide, but the ANHS doctors and the health aide had begun to see non-native patients on an emergency basis. In addition, the Health Council was successful in getting the state to commit itself to building a clinic in Craig. Finally, a search for a physician who would reside in the community began.

In 1970, Craig's primary religious orientation continued to be nominally Presbyterian, and a minister was shared with Hydaburg. A fundamentalist revival, however, was led by a lay minister of the Church of God, a retired Christian who ran a nondenominational House of Prayer in his home and one of the community's leading businessmen. By 1972, it was having quite a striking impact on the religious practices of many of Craig's age groups. The Church of God had built its attendance in that time from less than 10 people to over 40, and a viable organization seemed to be developing which was making inroads into the Presbyterian laity. Church of God services can be characterized as much more expressive, both physically and emotionally, than Presbyterian ones. A very strong emotional tie with the Lord, founded upon the feeling of being saved, is urged. Prophecies and prayers for specific physical and emotional ailments are both frequent occurrences at the Church of God. In addition, during the week, members of the church often visit each other in their homes to study the Bible or to hold prayer meetings.

Craig has experienced such rapid religious growth before. The Church of Christ, Seventh Day Adventists and Church of God have previously all had ministers in Craig for a year or so, but people gravitated back to the Presbyterians when the other ministers left. It remains to be seen whether this new religious awakening will take hold permanently, however. There is a definite ecumenical flavor about Craig's religious climate, particularly among the native population over age 50, and residents attend whatever services and revivals are available. These religious events serve a decided recreational and entertainment function in this community where alternatives are so limited.

Recreation in Craig is built primarily around outdoor activities. For the men this includes sportfishing, hunting, camping and just cruising around. Women engage in greens picking, berry picking, and some fishing. Picnicking is an important activity for families. Another very important recreational milieu is the bar (there are two) and, for a certain segment of the population, the Moose Club. Dances with music provided by a band from Klawock attract many people from Klawock to Craig's bars on Friday and Saturday nights. Enjoying a social evening at the bar includes visiting with friends, meeting new people, dancing, and having a few drinks. Although it is a recreational setting, the bars and liquor stores also underscore the fact that alcoholic consumption in Craig and Klawock is very high. There are a number of alcoholics in both towns, and also a number of families whose difficulties partly stem from alcoholism. Through the years there have been a large number of drownings in boating accidents attributed to people under the influence of alcohol.

During the winter, basketball is of extreme importance to the community. There are many levels of basketball teams in the school and cheerleaders to correspond to the various teams. There are also adult teams, and those members that have retired are vociferous spectators and harsh judges of the games. Basketball is the only stateside sport that really flourishes in Craig.

In addition to the aforementioned activities, there are bingo games, potluck dinners, movies at the theater in Klawock and in Craig's school cafeteria, as well as private entertainment which takes the form of just visiting or formal dinner invitations.

The relationship between whites and natives is a complex one in Craig and Klawock. In the first place, neither ethnic group is monolithic; i.e., share the same views on a number of basic issues or mobilize in the same fashion behind an issue. Among the whites there is a group of people who do not care to mingle too much with the native population and who feel that the majority of natives are too willing to accept handouts from the government. Although membership in the Moose Club does not necessarily signify such an attitude, the club is an essentially all-white, fraternal organization which holds, on occasion, private functions from which it excludes anyone whom it chooses. Members of the Moose Club have their own bar to which they retire to escape the public bars. There are other whites who refuse to be a part of that organization and whose relationships appear to be more comfortable and complete; i.e., they interact with the native population in more behavioral arenas. For example, they visit natives in their homes. Even in this group, however, there is often an intellectual resentment of the BIA, the ANHS, and other Indian "benefits."

By the same token, the native population cannot be construed as uniform either, however unified they are in defending the legitimacy of the land claims effort and the benefits that they have obtained through it. Some Indians also disparage people who appear to accept too much and who are overly dependent on government subsidies. The native people of Craig pride themselves on their self-sufficiency and many reject all forms of BIA assistance from medical services to welfare. The ANB, ANS, Tlingit-Haida, and Shaan-Seet Corporation (native land claims corporations) are subject to various critical judgments by members on both specific issues and in general.

There are a number of native-white marriages in the village, some of which are successful, some of which have problems that any marriage might have, and some of which have problems related specifically to the different ethnicities of the partners. The offspring of such relationships are generally regarded as native (BIA defines any individual of 1/4 aboriginal American stock as eligible for services), but many physically resemble their white neighbors. Although youngsters appear to associate more with their ethnic peers, ethnic groups are not completely closed social or endogamous units.

Ethnic relationships can best be characterized as an ocean with a relatively calm surface under which flow powerful cross currents. It is remarkable that these currents erupt as rarely as they do. And they are much more likely to erupt individually, that is personally, than they are institutionally. One recent incident will serve to illustrate the way in which the possibility of ethnic dissension is controlled in the town. A group of individuals put together an underground newspaper attacking a number of areas, including the city's leadership, the Moose Club, the state trooper's policies and the school's financial structure.

The paper published a number of inaccuracies, and the individuals who published it did not sign their names. These two issues became the focus of concern and the central topic of conversation in the town. The entire town, both white and native elements, engaged in a massive effort to de-legitimize the document and to purge its possibly unsettling existence from people's minds. The result was successful; the issue blew over and village operations became normal again.

EDUCATION IN CRAIG

After Craig had run its own school for three years, the territorial government took over the school for the 1914-1915 school year. At the time, there were three classes of schools operated by various levels of legally constituted government in Alaska. Schools for natives in larger towns and predominantly native villages were under the Department of Interior's Bureau of Education and were funded by Congressional appropriations. Schools within incorporated towns for white students were supported by federal licenses and local taxes. A third group of schools was under the control of the territorial governor and supported by what was termed the Alaska fund--liquor and trade license fees received from areas outside of incorporated towns. This latter group of schools (of which Craig was one) was legislated into existence by the federal government in 1905 to provide education for white children and children of mixed blood "who lead a civilized life" (Gruening, 1968, p. 124). In 1917, the territorial legislature took on the responsibility for all non-native education and provided that the Territory would "refund to each incorporated town 75% of the cost of operation and maintenance of its schools" (ibid., p. 215). Gruening has written that "For the next thirty-five years primary and secondary education would be the principal item in every territorial budget, incurring its maximum biennial expenditure; and no request by the [territorial] board for the education of Alaska's children would be denied or curtailed by any of the twenty-one legislatures which succeeded each other" (ibid.). Gruening further contends that this special emphasis on education led the legislature to set teacher salary minimums at a high (relative to their penurious level in the 48 states) level and to establish new levies regularly for the benefit of schools (ibid., p. 216).

In 1922, Craig elected its first three-member school board. The district, which was coterminous with the city, obtained 75% funding from the territorial government, but the local board assumed decisions over program priorities (as long as territorial statutes which established uniform standards were followed) and the hiring and firing of teachers. The community was also responsible for its school building. School was conducted for the children of the community (Haida, white, and mixed) by teachers recruited by the federal government from "the lower 48." The local board would have the final say, as board members would review a list of applicants sent them by the Territory and select an appropriate number. As Figure 10 shows, the school population age range in 1915-1916 was wide, and one teacher taught the entire group. School was compulsory through the eighth grade; those who wished to go on had to be boarded out. White youths normally went south to live with relatives and attend high school. Most native children from Craig were sent to Sheldon Jackson boarding school in Sitka. Students from Klawock and Hydaburg normally went to the BIA boarding school in Chemawa; however, some of those who went on to higher education in the 1910s and 1920s attended Sheldon Jackson.

The curriculum at Sheldon Jackson emphasized, in addition to religion, vocational courses such as carpentry, welding and machine work. Girls were trained in sewing, cooking, cleanliness and various other home economic skills which the Presbyterian teachers felt represented a civilized way of life. This school was completely private, supported by the Presbyterian church. Students or their families paid a small tuition charge as well as their own transportation in return for room, board and education for nine months.

When Sheldon Jackson had been special agent for education, he recruited teachers from Presbyterian colleges such as Park College in Missouri and subsidized Presbyterian schools with the federal appropriation. This practice came under criticism in 1905 and led to a stricter separation of church and state. Thus, Presbyterian support was focused at Sheldon Jackson boarding school, while village schools, including the one in Craig, became secular institutions.

By the late 1920s, the school population had grown considerably as more Haida families moved in, and three teachers were hired in 1929-30. At this time, teachers attempted to provide a year or two of high school subjects for those who showed a continued interest in education, but there were no high school graduates until later.

The burst of population growth from 1932 to 1934 caused crowding of the school facilities and in 1934 a plea was sent to the governor by way of merchant and civic leader J. T. Brown for a new building. As a blessing in disguise, the old facility burned

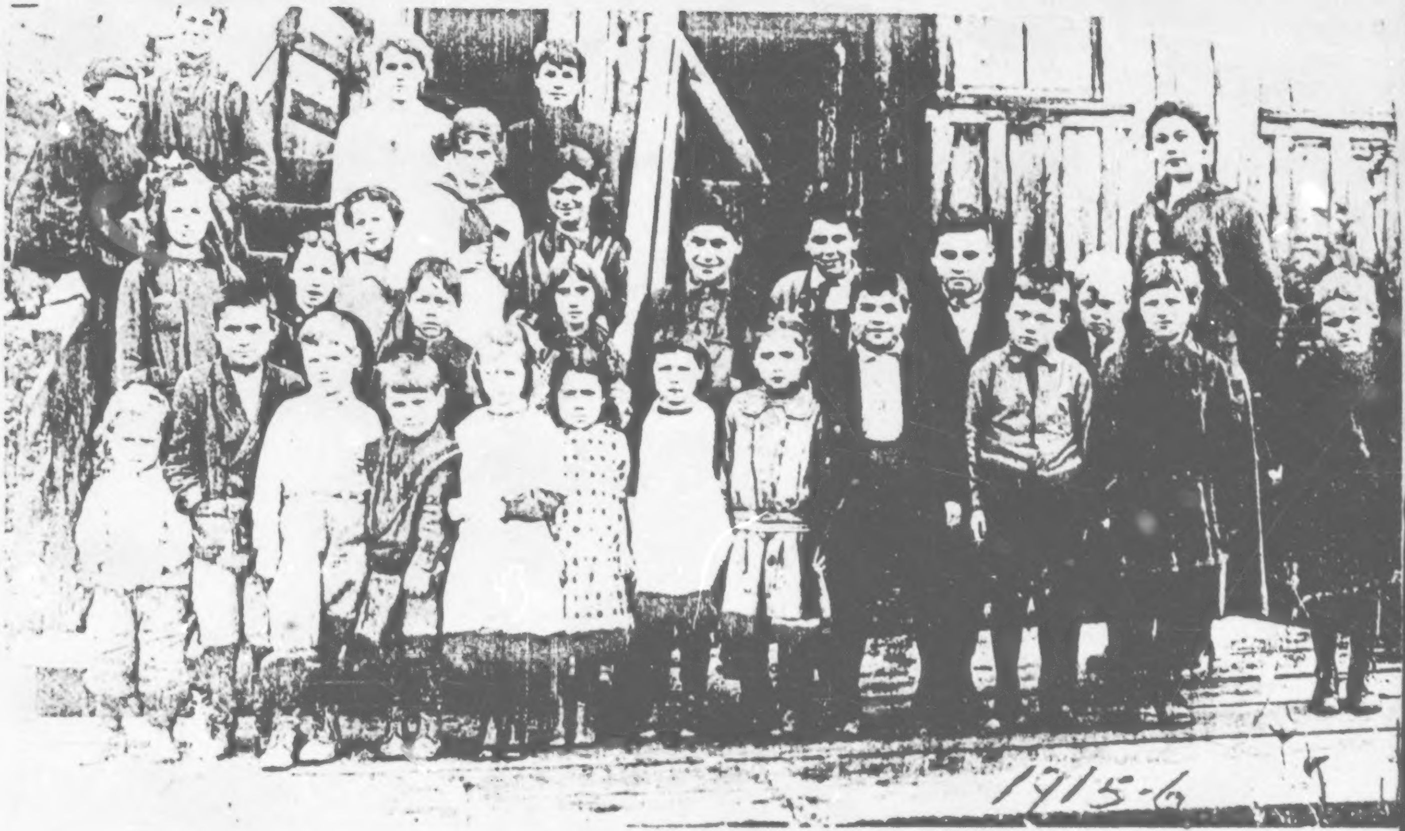


Fig.10. Students and teacher of Craig school, 1915-1916.

in January of 1935. In that year, the school board authorized a fourth teacher to be hired for the 1935-36 school year, since the school population was approaching 100 for the eight grades.

In 1936, the total operating costs for the Craig School were $8,637.50, of which $6,910.00 were paid by the Territory. The Commissioner of Education promised to try to find some money for the new school. In 1937, Craig produced its first high school graduate. With the help of various teachers, Ethlynn Brown was able to complete four years of science and English, three of mathematics, two of history and two of Spanish to qualify for a diploma under territorial law. By 1938, the district had evolved a program in which freshman and junior courses would be offered one year and sophomore and senior courses the next year. If a student hit the sequence right, he could conceivably make it to graduation in four years. The high school continued to operate through 1942 and produced around 10 graduates by that time. Most of the 10-12 high school pupils derived from the influx of new white people in 1932 and 1933, as native children continued to board at Sheldon Jackson.

The first eight grades, which had been compulsory since 1917, were divided into three groups, first and second grade, third through fifth grade, and sixth through eighth grade. The daily schedule was constructed so that one teacher took each of these sections and the fourth teacher taught high school subjects. In the afternoon, the teachers would rotate, each teaching a different subject area to the high school students. Materials and texts were in short supply; however, the first and second graders usually had workbooks to use. In each of the lower sections, each grade of pupils would normally be seated together. The teacher could move from group to group giving a ten to fifteen minute class to a grade grouping. Extracurricular activities were limited, but there was a school newspaper.

The attitude of pupils toward school in the late 1930s was not very positive. A teacher from that time, who came from rural Montana, noted a striking difference between Montana's rural farm population and Craig's rural fishing population. The dispersed farm youths relished school as an opportunity for advancement and getting together with their peers. In Craig, she found a couldn't-care-less attitude among youths, both white and native, who apparently saw little connection between what they were told to learn and how many fish they could catch, or how to raise children and keep a house. Native youngsters were extremely insulated from the larger society, and most had never even been to Ketchikan.

A number of students entered school in Craig when their parents moved down from Klawock around 1935. During the late 1930s and early 1940s, Klawock had a school teaching staff made up of five teachers, all of whom were raised in Klawock and then had gone to college for training in teaching. The war and internal village conflict caused the break-up of this unit. Several of the teachers came to Craig after the war.

Curriculum in Craig School was similar to that in other American schools of the time. Textbooks often provided negative images of what it meant to be a native American, unless they ignored the native Americans altogether. Teachers were paid $150 per month on a nine-month contract and generally went south for the summer. There were no boarding houses as such, so teachers would have to rent a house or one of the few apartments. Rent was $20 a month for an apartment.

The school board during the late 1930s displayed a good balance and cross section of the community's population. J. T. Brown, Margaret Smith (both white) and George Edenso, Jessie Thompson (both native) were frequent members of the board.

World War II caused a large population movement out of Craig. As a result, the number of students declined and the high school program was dropped. After the war the school struggled for several years to regain its high school program. This was largely a matter of finding teachers qualified and willing to teach both elementary and secondary programs at the same time. The new building, newly constructed in 1935-36, was more than adequate for the now diminished student population.

In the early 1950s, the Seventh Day Adventists opened a mission school in Craig. It drew between 10 and 15 pupils from two or three families. The school lasted only a couple of years, because the major supporting family moved over to Ketchikan.

In 1953, Craig's school had 58 students and four faculty members. Two of the faculty, Embert and Larry Demmert, were brothers from Klawock who had gone away to get college training and returned to teach. The school graduated one senior that year, the daughter of one of the staff. School activities included basketball, cheerleading, band, and drama; a school newspaper and yearbook were also published that year. The student population reflected the native predominance in the community, as most whites did not return after the war. Six white families had children in Craig School, while twelve native or mixed families were represented. The school board, too, reflected this relationship, as there were three natives and two whites on it. Of the five board members, only one was a man; local women seem to have taken the lead in school board matters when much of the male leadership was away. Funding by this time was 85% territorial and 15% local. But that local 15% was not easy to come up with, and quite often the school board was forced to borrow money from a bank or private individual in order to meet its payroll. This situation became even more acute following the burning of the cannery in 1956. A pack tax on the canned salmon had been one of the foundations of the education budget.

Teacher turnover in the 1950s was very high. The high salaries set by the territorial minimums initially attracted teachers from the states to Craig or other rural locations. A common pattern then was for teachers to establish contacts in the larger, more urban settings (Ketchikan, Juneau, Sitka, Petersburg, Wrangell) and move to higher paid posts there when the opportunity presented itself.

By the late 1950s, the rebirth of the high school was bearing fruit: 1958 produced four graduates. However, by the early 1960s, the continuing decline of the population put Craig on the verge of losing its high school again. The benefits of locally-controlled education were evidently not clear to all parents. Some students continued to go to Sheldon Jackson, while others attended Ketchikan high school or went south. Those parents with college ambitions for their children would usually send them away.

Although there were a number of high school dropouts during this era, there was not a great deal of concern about this phenomenon. After all, most adults at that time in Craig had become productive without the benefit of a high school diploma. After getting a new gym and three teachers' apartments in 1956, the school board's main concerns were finding enough money to keep the school functioning and getting teachers to carry out the program. Only in the late 1950s did college become viewed as an important step to financial advancement and high school diplomas took on more importance. The general feeling of the board and staff was that they presented a program which students could take or leave, but there was not a great deal of soul searching about the aims or content of that education.

Craig's high school was salvaged when enrollment increased in the mid-1960s. Klawock, which has its own school district for grades K-8, was required by the state and the Bureau of Indian Affairs to send its high school students to Craig. Since the burning of their school in 1957, Klawock's high school students had usually been sent to BIA boarding schools at Mt. Edgecumbe (near Sitka) or Chemawa, Oregon. Residents of Klawock continued to hope for a new high school of their own, but accepted the decision to send their students to Craig because it allowed them to keep their children close to home.

In 1963-64, Craig School had a professional staff of seven and a school budget of $56,000. There were four teachers for the first eight grades and three teachers for high school subjects. Some of the elementary teachers taught high school subjects in the afternoon. High school curriculum continued to be basic four-year sequences in English, mathematics, history and science, with a limited amount of vocational education.

By 1966-67, some changes were being talked about and some were being made. Steps were taken to start a library, and the superintendent at that time spoke of the potential for an agricultural education program on Fish Egg Island. A Head Start program was started for the children of Craig and Klawock in the summer with money from the Office of Economic Opportunity. However, the overall program was virtually the same as it had been in 1958 in terms of curriculum, teaching methods and class structure. One important difference was the increase in professional staff.

Educational record-keeping at Craig of whatever form has been a hit-and-miss affair through the years. The following information was compiled from records in 1969, but it must be viewed with the thought that certain data are missing.[7]

The enrollment that can be effectively accounted for from 1958 through 1968 comes to 89. Of these 89 students, 49 dropped out and 40 were graduated. Of the 40 graduates, 22 were graduated from Craig, while 18 were graduated either from Sheldon Jackson, Ketchikan or various stateside high schools.

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[7] The summary comes from an unpublished manuscript about Craig written by Jay Dilworth.

Of Craig's 22 graduates, eight went on to further education, but none was graduated from college. Further education in the case of native students usually was vocational education at the BIA's Haskell Institute or matriculation at Sheldon Jackson Junior College. Of the 18 one-time Craig high school students who were graduated elsewhere, nine went on to further education and ultimately three of these individuals were graduated from college. Sixteen of the 22 Craig graduates were of either Tlingit of Haida descent while 40 of the 49 dropouts were native.

From 1968-1969 through 1971-1972, Craig graduated 29 individuals, and during that span eight individuals dropped out of school. The presentation of the data in this dichotomous fashion seems to imply that there had been a substantial breakthrough in the four years prior to the Experimental Schools program in keeping students in school and graduating them. A closer look at the data suggests a much more gradual shift in the trend as the vast majority of the dropouts (over 60%) came prior to 1964. Since that time there has been a downward trend in the dropout rate. In addition, the student body was bolstered in 1966 by the closing of Sheldon Jackson high school. Sheldon Jackson has since become a junior college. Several graduates have been added to Craig's rolls from families who traditionally sent their children to SJ.

During this era, teacher turnover continued to be very high. Often the school board had to look late in the summer as the national teacher shortage became magnified by the movement of post-war baby boom children into school.

One ex-Craig teacher has discerned a pattern in the individuals that she worked with. The four categories she describes are 1) those who come as missionaries to bring a better way of life to the rural isolates, 2) those who come as mercenaries; i.e., to make money, 3) those who come as adventurers; i.e., to enjoy either the environmental or human "primitiveness" of the area (cf. Salisbury's Quoth the Raven) and finally, those who came because they have no place else to go, being too incompetent to be hired elsewhere (Dilworth, n.d.). However, through the years, some of these teachers have been seriously concerned about the quality of education and the educational outcomes of the children they taught, without judgmental regard for the life pattern of the children.

The shift from territorial to state status in 1959 did not alter the basic financial structure of the school district. Whereas before the federal government had provided support, now the state was responsible for these payments. These were continued at virtually the same level. In addition, the federal government continued to provide PL 874 monies to cover the Forest Service children who attended Craig's school and lived on Forest Service property.

As noted by Rogers in The Future of Alaska, Alaska's transition from territorial to state status was cushioned fiscally by a gradual withdrawal of federal support (Rogers, 1912, p. 188). Following this withdrawal, the state's early economic outlook was extremely dim until oil was discovered on the North Slope in 1968. Although the subsequent development of this episode in Alaskan history is highly complex (see the treatment of land claims for a part of it), suffice it to say that this discovery led to nearly one billion dollars in lease monies paid to the state in 1969 by oil companies. This ended the lean years and provided the state with monies to invest in its own service sector. One of the areas to benefit from this was education, and the independent districts throughout the state, including Craig and Klawock, received an increment in the state's share of support for educational programs. In Craig, these funds were used to purchase badly needed instructional materials, expand the teaching force, and renovate and decorate classrooms.

The problems in financing the local educational system paralleled those of the state, and the 1966-67 school year in Craig was one of financial crisis brought on by the over hiring of teachers with high salaries due to advanced degrees and years of experience. At this time, the school board began to consider seriously the possibility of creating an intermediate governmental level between the state and the local school district. Alaska statutes provide for three classes of borough, and a third (or lowest class) borough looked like the answer to Craig's problems. It would essentially serve as a larger school district: virtually its only power would be to tax for the purpose of providing education. The local school district has no taxing power, but rather is dependent on the city to fund the local portion of the budget. The state was fairly active in pushing these boroughs, as they would assume much of the responsibility for expanding and administering educational programs. However, whether or not there should be a borough form of government for Craig became a highly controversial and emotional issue.

As conceived by its backers--essentially the business leaders of Craig with some support from Klawock--the borough would encompass all of Prince of Wales Island. The independent school districts of Craig, Klawock and Hydaburg, in addition to the state-operated schools at Thorne Bay and the other smaller logging and fishing communities, would be administered by a single school board and governed by a single educational policy. The major attraction of the borough form of government was its ability to tax. Stumpage fees for timber sales, which at present go directly to the federal government and are redistributed, would instead all flow into the coffers of the borough. In addition, the borough would have the opportunity to tax all the equipment in the logging camps throughout the island. With the firm belief that a good school system could only be obtained with more financial support, the borough study committee, headed by a local school board member, set up a number of meetings in 1968 to discuss the possibilities for a third-class borough.

The logging communities were very definitely opposed to such an arrangement. The owners claimed that a new tax burden would make their operations unprofitable and cause them to close. Additionally, the communities were not pleased about the idea of their schools being dominated by a school board over which they had little control. As part of the state operated school system, these camps' advisory boards made recommendations for hiring of teachers that the state school board always accepted. In the smaller camps, where the population was predominantly Seventh Day Adventist, the hiring decision was crucial to the type of curriculum and classroom style that the community would accept. It was not at all clear that a school board from the island as a whole and pursuing a single educational policy would be flexible enough to allow the diverse communities the autonomy they had enjoyed previously.

Finally, in the background loomed the potential of a regional high school which was getting some airing as early as 1966. This was the state's approach to bringing native students closer to home from BIA boarding schools. The plan was to have students from the various smaller villages board at a regional school near their home. One such school had been completed for the Seward Peninsula area around the regional center of

Nome. Others were in the planning stages for Bethel, Dillingham, Kodiak, Pt. Barrow and possibly other areas. With a third class borough, it could easily be the case that a regional high school for Prince of Wales Island would follow. The logging camps at the time had a boarding home program with Ketchikan, and most felt that the educational opportunities available for their children there far exceeded what would be available in Craig or wherever the regional school would be located. Thorne Bay, the largest logging camp in the United States, was pressuring the state for its own high school at the same time. Craig's school district did not have a good reputation in the camps, and it was the feeling of some in Craig and Klawock that part of that motivation was the unwillingness of the loggers to have their children attend school where native youngsters were predominant.

The meetings at which the borough idea was discussed proved to be a disaster for the borough study committee, largely because they had not solidified their own base of support and had not researched the issue sufficiently. At a meeting held in Ketchikan, the logging communities turned out in full force, making their concerns known and asking questions that went unanswered by the borough study committee. The educational administrators from both Craig and Klawock were present at the meeting, but made no effort to defend the borough concept or to point out the increased educational revenues such a move could bring. The movement for the borough collapsed after this. Although resurrected by school superintendent Stan Bippus in 1970, it was once again rebuffed by the camps and others who this time also saw in it the specter of empire building. This latter view was prompted by the proposal to build boarding facilities in Craig for Hydaburg's students and for those from small logging camps.

In 1969-70 each elementary teacher in Craig and Klawock still handled two grades up through the eighth grade. The two districts shared a kindergarten funded jointly by a federal grant. The high school program in Craig was a traditional college prep program with the standard sequences in mathematics, English and social studies. Science was limited, as there were no lab facilities. Vocational education consisted of business education, some carpentry and small amounts of welding and auto mechanics. In 1969-70, the shop facilities received a major renovation, including much needed new equipment. A simulated office was also started as part of the business education program.

Following the demise of the borough possibility, the Craig and Klawock school boards entered actively into negotiations to consolidate their two districts. But this was definitely a second choice to the borough. One of the primary educational arguments used to support the move was that it would be a superior educational arrangement to have one teacher per grade. The consolidation talks ended in a stalemate during the 1969-70 school year, despite the fact that all five Craig board members voted for it at a meeting in 1969. However, only two of the four Klawock members voted for it, while the fifth member was absent. In the hopes that the talks would again go forward, a tentative trial arrangement was agreed upon which sent Craig's first and second graders to Klawock and Klawock's kindergartners to Craig. The talks did go forward again, and the proposed solution would have bussed Craig's K-6 graders to Klawock and Klawock's 7-12 graders to Craig. However, a rift developed when several teachers became concerned about who would go where, under what conditions, and for what salary. The exchange of kindergartners and first and second graders was not considered for the 1971-72 school year when the consolidation talks finally fell through.

One important area of partial cooperative endeavor between Craig and Klawock was the Teacher Aide adult education program set up by Klawock Superintendent Bill Demmert in 1969-70. Under this program, teacher aides (first used in both districts in 1969-70) from the two towns would jointly take college classes and obtain college credit. Sheldon Jackson, then a Junior College, under a contractual arrangement provided the classes and sent teachers to Craig and Klawock to carry out the program. In Craig, five local native women were hired under this program. Except for substitute teaching and helping during the summer in the Head Start program, these positions were the first ones held by local native Alaskans in the system which had been responsible for educating their children since the early 1950s. This joint program continued through 1971-72 and has been expanded to teacher aides in other southeastern villages. Since 1971-72, each district has funded its own continuing program.

The 1969-70 school year saw several structural changes in Craig's physical plant. Two of the three teacher apartments on the second floor of the school building were converted into classrooms. In addition, the large classroom which had served as gym and auditorium prior to 1956 was converted to a library and, according to Craig's ESP proposal, "our 125 volumes grew to over 1500" (Craig Experimental Schools program plan, 1973, p. 17). To take the place of the teachers' apartments, the school district purchased two trailers which were located on private property. The district retained one apartment for the superintendent's use.

The state also altered its method of subsidizing local education; it adopted what is known as a "Foundation" program. Funds are allocated by 20 student-teaching units under this new system. The local district is still expected to provide some support.

The ideas that have since evolved into the Craig Experimental Schools program were in large measure an imported set of concepts which Superintendent Bippus brought with him from graduate school in 1969. Subsequent attendance at various workshops, conferences and meetings were also instrumental in making the superintendent aware of these new educational approaches and philosophies. The ungraded primary school, individualized instruction, self-directed learning, multi-age grouping and continuous progress were established concepts in schools of education. These conceptual seeds fell in the relatively fertile ground of a superintendent willing to innovate because he was not satisfied with the educational system as he saw it. To implement these ideas, the superintendent used ties with his collegiate alma mater to bring in a pair of consultants who ran workshops on implementing open classroom processes. The consultants also later acted as evaluators and conducted a needs assessment for the district. He had, in addition, several creative, supportive teachers and a staff who were generally receptive. Most importantly for the initial implementation of change, Craig had a school board whose members felt that the district could and should do better for its children. Of the five school board members who approved the continuous progress open elementary school and the mini-course format high school for the 1971-72 school year, three had children who had attended schools elsewhere; these members brought with them expectations for Craig to live up to the standards of these other settings. Two other members felt that what had been available locally was capable of being improved upon.

Community residents as a whole have had a strong conviction in the importance of schooling, but they have varied in terms of the extent to which it is important. On the one hand, the majority of the white population of the community (both long-term and short-term residents) aspired to a college education and professional or semi-professional positions for their children. Long-term residents who wanted to send their children to college did not think that the local school system provided adequate preparation, and most of them sent their children to high school elsewhere.

On the other hand, the native segment of the community felt that education was important, but only a minority aspired to college education and professional status for their children. Of course, few natives had achieved such goals, which were not realistic aspirations for them at the time, especially if they wished to live in Craig and maintain their native identity. What they experienced in Sheldon Jackson or one of the BIA's boarding schools was the most important aspect of their education. Since English was a second language for many native children, these schools emphasized basic language, mathematics, and employment skills.

The two groups also had a varied relationship with Craig's teachers. The long-term white residents shared social and religious activities and educational values with the teachers, and in general, felt they had experienced their lives in similar ways. The majority of the native community shared neither social activities nor similar views of their experience with the teachers.

For these and other reasons, except for school board members, the majority of the adult native community remained aloof from school activities. Teachers were respected for their knowledge but disliked for their predictable transience and lack of concern for the community.

As a result of this split between the community and the school, Superintendent Bippus received little feedback about the early changes which he implemented and there was little opposition to them. The programs were implemented as soon as the school board was convinced of their value. Since that time, various feedback mechanisms have been established.

The administration in 1971-72 felt that the past educational system had failed and that it was the school's responsibility to meet the needs of the students. The school was not to be a holding facility; rather it was to become an attractive, exciting place for young people to come and live and learn. To make this philosophy a reality, the high school program was modified in a number of ways. The school was made a more attractive place,

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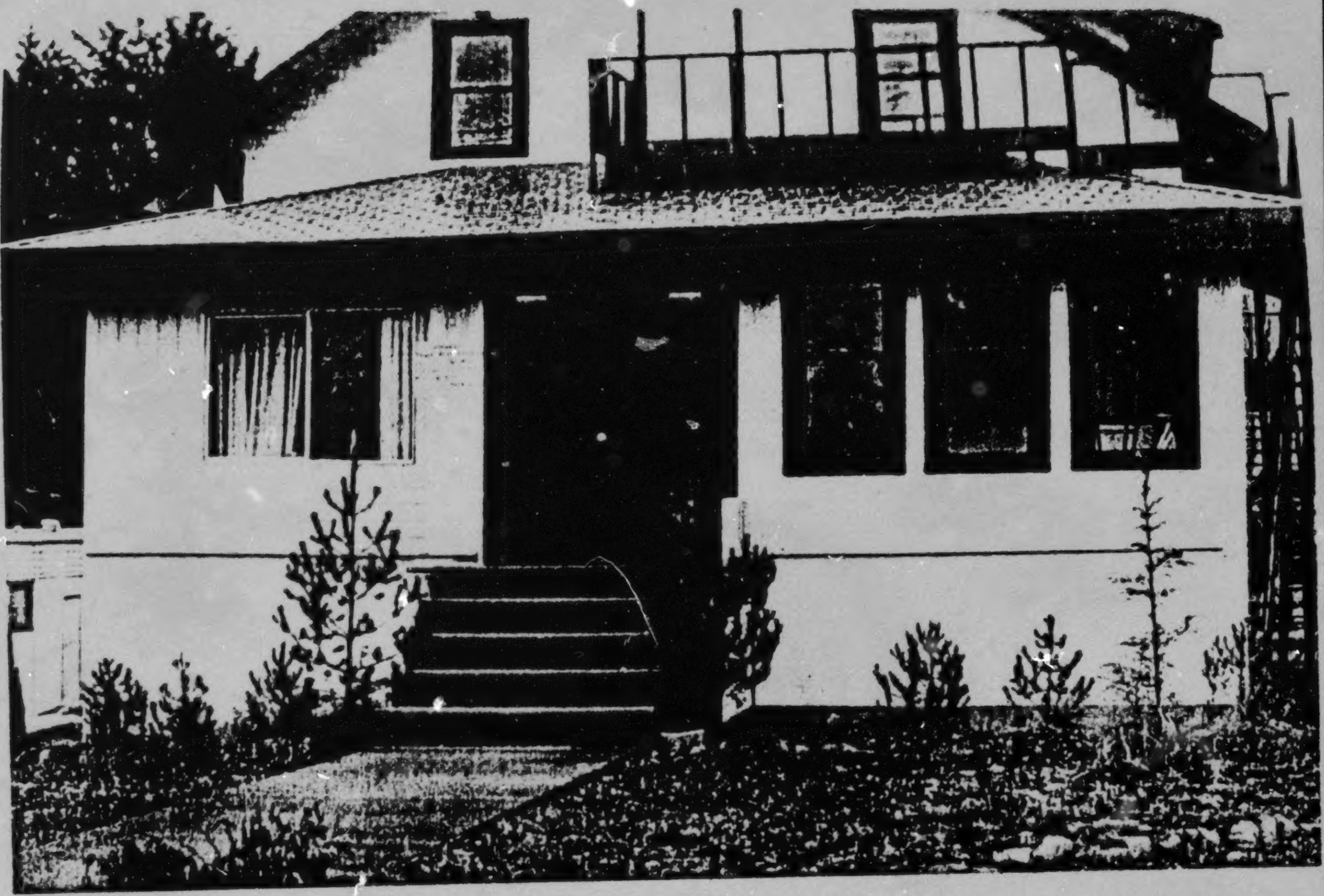

Fig. 11. George Hamilton School (Craig upper school).

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in recognition of the fact that individuals have social, recreational, and aesthetic needs in addition to academic ones. It was further felt that academic success would be enhanced if the student were treated as a total person. To meet these other needs, one of the main classrooms was made into a student lounge with two pool tables and a football game. Any high school student who had a free period was allowed to use these facilities. It was also available at lunch time, as well as before and after school. The elementary students were also allowed to use it before and after school. In addition, classrooms were painted bright colors and carpeting was added. Sophisticated audio-visual materials including films, filmstrips, tapes and other materials were purchased. A landscaping design for the yard in front of the school building was drawn up and implemented by a student class (Figures 11 and 12).[8]

Recognizing the decision making capacity and maturity of the high school students, the administration decided that there would be no requirements either for the subject areas in which classes would be taken or for the total number of classes a student would take during any mini-course period. Thus, students could sign up for a number of free periods in addition to whatever other classes they chose. Course selection, too, was expanded by including such varied classes as water skiing, first aid, black literature, tie-dyeing, calligraphy, halibut hook carving and other exotic choices. Teachers were asked to think of catchy titles for the mini-classes, as it was their responsibility to make their classes interesting and relevant and to attract pupils to them. To encourage a sense of success and minimize the prospect of failure, the grading system was changed to "Honors," "Pass," and "No Credit."

Another program designed to enhance the attractiveness and effectiveness of school was a travel and exchange program. These programs were instituted for three purposes. The first was to broaden the horizons of Craig's children by making them aware of the vast number of other life styles and career opportunities available in the United States. This was seen as an integral part of the educational experience that the school provided. The second purpose of the exchange and travel program was to

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[8] Craig School has two buildings which local residents call the "upper" school and the "lower" school. The names of the buildings refer to their location on a hill, not to grade levels.

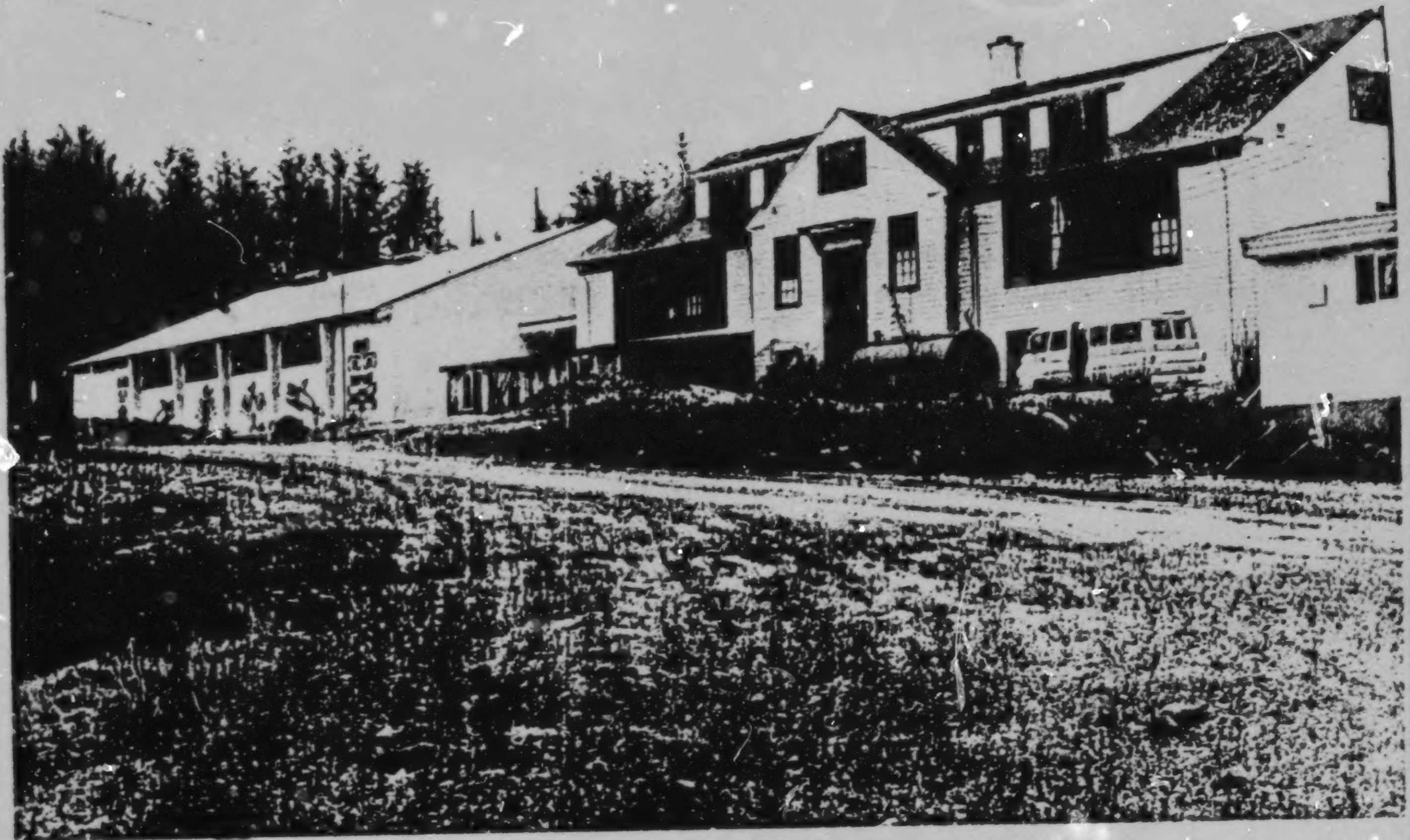

Fig.12. Craig lower school.

Table 3

CRAIG SCHOOL EXPENDITURES 1971-72

Category*	Amount
Administration	
Superintendent's Salary	$ 25,485.65
Total Administration	40,886.88
Instruction	
Classroom Teachers	116,464.46
Teachers Aides	14,349,50
Librarian	5,681.21
Total Instruction	197,218.22
Pupil Transportation Services	13,263.09
Plant Operation	19,543.55
Plant Maintenance	13,173.44
Health Services	84.94
Fixed Charges	10,813.40
Student Body Activities	2,151.28
Capital Outlay	23,946.48
Tuition to Klawock	1,422.56
Food Service	5,923.12
Total Expenditures	$327,626.46

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*Important expenditures are shown in this table, those of lesser importance are not noted but are included in the totals.

acquaint Craig's students with urban and suburban living by giving them an opportunity to acquire the skills for living in such settings. This purpose was rooted in the perception that even successful Craig students who went away to college never finished, because their isolated upbringing did not provide them with skills and attitudes necessary to adapt. In order for these students to succeed in college or trade schools, they would need an opportunity to become self-confident in the surroundings of urban America. The third purpose was to expose the student to a competitive environment, which the administration felt Craig did not have. Exchanges had students going to Texas, Colorado and California, and the 1971-72 travel program included 17 students who took a trip to Europe. Part of the money was supplied by the school, while the student was expected to finance a portion of it also.

Clearly, then, the Craig school system, as well as the Craig economic, political and social systems, was experiencing change at the time that the Experimental Schools announcement soliciting Letters of Interest appeared. The school population had grown from 83 during the 1968-69 school year to 112 in the 1971-72 school year, and more growth was anticipated because of the impending opening of a mill. The school budget rose from $80,000 in 1968-69 to over $300,000 in 1971-72. A school lunch program had begun in 1968-69 with the help of Johnson-O'Malley monies, and a Head Start program operated during the summers of 1966, 1967, 1968 and 1969. Major changes in the physical plant had occurred as well.

As with most events, these changes were spurred by a number of reinforcing factors. At the federal level, funds were available from a number of sources, such as the Johnson-O'Malley Act, and the various titles of the National Defense Education Act and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. At the state level, the success of the state in the oil lease sale made money available for increased foundation program grants, expanded vocational education and created a special education program. The state Department of Education was supportive of the innovative programs and granted several waivers from state statutes where Craig's programs would conflict with them. At the local level, there was an active superintendent interested in innovating and changing with the energy and willingness to seek out and apply for these various funds. In this light, the Experimental Schools program appeared on the scene as an opportunity to bring the new system to reality. It was perceived as the tool to further fill out and operationalize a program that already had much of its form.

Table 4

CRAIG SCHOOL REVENUES: 1971-72

Source	Amount
Local Funds	$ 8,258.66
State Funds	
Foundation	292,782.00
Transportation	12,492.14
Non-Resident Tuition	981.96
Revenue Sharing	35.80
Total	306,291.90
Federal Funds	
Johnson-O'Malley Act	26,500.00
Vocational Education	11,180.62
Title VB2	3,820.00
Title II NDEA	------
Title III NDEA	2,947.32
Title I ESEA	------
Title II ESEA	1,000.00
Title III ESEA	------
PL 874	10,096.00
Total	55,543.94
From Klawock	13,613.29
Total	$383,707.79

EXPERIMENTAL SCHOOLS IN CRAIG

The federal government's formal implementation of the Experimental Schools program dates from December of 1970, when the first announcement soliciting Letters of Interest was circulated throughout the nation. Following the award of three grants to school districts which made their programs fully operational by September of 1971, a second competition was announced by the Experimental Schools Office in March of 1971. Craig School District responded with a Letter of Interest, even though Superintendent Bippus recognized that the district did not qualify in that the 2,000 pupil minimum criterion was not met by the district. This "extra" application, however, serves to underscore an important point: the superintendent was quite aggressive in searching out supplementary funds for the district. It was his feeling that the application's quality might be enough to warrant an exception being made for Craig and, if not, would still put it in a good position should a later competition be opened up for smaller school districts.

When the Announcement of a Competition for Small Rural Schools appeared in March of 1972, the superintendent, in conjunction with his grade school principal and two "key" teachers, met on several occasions to write and submit a new letter of intent. It should be noted that Experimental Schools was perceived as an opportunity to support and expand, with planning and financing, innovations which had been in process for two years. Several other grants had already been obtained from other state and federal sources, including Johnson-O'Malley and Title III.

On May 9, the superintendent was informed by telegram that a site visit would be made in order to obtain more information before a final decision on the application could be reached. Subsequently, two staff members from OE visited Craig on May 22 and 23. On June 30 the district received formal notification of a $90,500 planning grant for 1972-73.

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Chapter III

A Social and Educational History of Willcox, Arizona

by

Allan Burns

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A Social and Educational History of Willcox, Arizona

Area: 925 square miles. Population (1970): 4,535. Elevation of City of Willcox: 4,167 feet. Latitude: North 32°15'; longitude: West 110°. Willcox is located in Cochise County in southern Arizona about 80 miles east of Tucson. It was incorporated in 1915.

INTRODUCTION

In August of 1880, General Orlando B. Willcox rode into the railroad camp called "Maley" on the first Southern Pacific train to cross the Sulphur Springs Valley (Elliot, 1884, p. 242). In honor of this event, the camp was renamed for the General, and the modern history of the city of Willcox began.

Throughout its history, Willcox has had literate citizens who have spoken well of the community. By 1912, a booklet entitled, "Why Willcox?" was sponsored by the town, and the author began by stating,

> The citizens of Willcox take pleasure in sending out this little booklet to acquaint you somewhat with the beauty of the scenery, excellency of the climate, richness of the soil, abundance of water and a few other facts which combine to make this valley the most favored section for investigation by the tourist, investor, and home builder (Anderson, 1912?, p. 1).

The most recent Community Prospectus (1972), describes the community in a more straightforward style, but with a similar intent:

> Willcox, Arizona is located in southeast Arizona adjacent to Interstate Highway 10, 52 miles west of the New Mexico state line, and 80 miles east of Tucson. At an elevation of 4167', Willcox lies in the North Central part of the Sulphur Springs Valley and is the dominant community of northern Cochise County. The Sulphur Springs Valley, nearly 100 miles long and 15 miles wide, is the core of a wide agricultural area with the City of Willcox acting as its trade and service center...Willcox has been planning for improvement, and achieving it, for approximately 90 years (Arizona Department of Economic Planning and Development, p. 1).

A sense of pride combined with a continual effort to attract economic growth have characterized Willcox's view of itself as indicated by these two examples.

While the goal of this report is in part signified by the phrase, "Why Willcox?," it is also signified by the phrase, "What is Willcox?" Here the emphasis will be on answering the "why" through looking at the "what": What the community is from the geographic standpoint, what the historical trends have been in the early days of settlement as well as the more recent days of modern Willcox, what the people have been like, what they do to make a living, interact socially, and to carry out the myriad activities which make up their lives.

Throughout this work there is reference to "the Willcox Community." This appellation of "the community" refers to a geographic unit, and a social unit. The geographic center of the Willcox community is the city of Willcox (see Figure 1); it is the center for many social activities of the area (churches, markets, major highway crossings). The outer boundaries of the community are less precise. In part they correspond to the school district boundaries (Figure 1), but can extend and contract depending on the activity or range of travel that community members make. For example, some members of the Willcox community live entirely within the city limits. They work within the city limits, market there, and have occasion to go outside the city only on trips to the nearby city of Tucson (85 miles to the west), or the marketing center of Safford (45 miles to the north). Other community members live outside of the city limits and are acquainted with the hinterlands that surround the city, through working on ranches or farms. For them, the geographic boundaries of the community extend through the farming areas of the Kansas Settlement and the Stewart District, and also through the ranching areas beyond these farming areas. To these people, the Willcox community corresponds to the Sulphur Springs Valley. The particular definition of the Willcox "community," then, depends on the variables of 1) the individual or group one is discussing, 2) the activities of that group (economic, social, etc.) and 3) the past history of the area within which the community is located. These variables will become more explicit through the social and economic conditions which have shaped the community. It is not necessary to come to a geographic or social definition of the Willcox community which will satisfy all individuals under all activity conditions throughout the community's history. Instead, through understanding some of the possible limits of the Willcox community, the reader can better appreciate the forces which pull, push, and shove the community today, for each of the forces are felt from a different place within the community.

BASIC GEOGRAPHY, GEOLOGY AND ECOLOGY OF THE WILLCOX AREA

> *The climate is superb. World travelers concede it to surpass California, the Mediterranean sections, and Northern Africa. Its latitude of 4,000 feet tempers the summer heat and the southern latitude eliminates the winter. The dry, pure atmosphere, blue skies, sunlight and moonlight, the southern breeze, the cool and refreshing nights, the absence of death dealing tempests and rude northern blasts combine to make conditions as nearly perfect as can be obtained. In the soft waters is found a panacea for kidney and liver disorders. With the health giving water combined with the dry and crisp atmosphere, rheumatism will vanish, and pulmonary trouble cease to exist, and shattered nerves are fully restored. The dream of the mystics who for centuries ago longingly gazed over the Western Seas for the enchanted land, where sparkled the fountains of perpetual youth, have at last been partially realized* (Anderson, 1912?, p. 5).

People are both products and shapers of their environment. In the language of the ecologist, mankind's "niche" consists of most of the terrestrial world, with the exception of the polar regions. But while it is humanly possible to adapt to almost any geographic and climatic condition, the adaption is not without consequences. The semi-arid desert basin of the Sulphur Springs Valley affects the way people make a living, how they construct their homes, and what they do during their leisure time. In the words of a contemporary resident of the area, one has to understand the fact that Willcox is located in a basin and the lives of the residents are inextricably linked to that fact: "This basin is like a sink without a drain. People tend to stagnate in the middle of it if they're not careful."

The area around Willcox has been shaped by man as well. Old-timers tell about the once fertile grasslands of the valley, so high that they reached "up to the belly of a horse." Photographs of the area taken in the late 1800s show running streams coming down from the mountains (Hastings & Turner, 1965). The nearby San Pedro River, which bisects Benson, ran all year round at the time that Willcox was settled. Since that time, overgrazing of the ranges, extensive irrigation, and a small earthquake in the late 1880s have resulted in the present-day desert appearance of the region.

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But man's influence has not been all negative. Watering tanks and irrigation ditches built by ranchers and farmers have enticed large numbers of bird and other animal life into the area. More deer and antelope are present in the valley because of the increase in surface water.[1]

This section will describe the physiogeology of the area, the soil and mineral conditions, water resources, and other environmental factors which are relevant to the residents of the community. The human population of the valley need not be mentioned until approximately 10,000 years ago when the first people probably entered the valley; since that time the shape and quality of the land have become interrelated with the activities of man. Thus the history of the Willcox area begins with the ancient lifting of the mountains that surround the valley; more recently the listing of the soil for agricultural purposes has come to rival the events of the past millenia as far as the form of the Sulphur Springs Valley is concerned.

Geography of the Region

In the time of the Mid-Tertiary, a geologic period some 60 million years ago, the contours of the present-day Sulphur Springs Valley began to take shape. As this epoch of dramatic geologic change began, the area around what is now Willcox was flat and desolate. The edge of the ancient Western Sea reached within 60 miles of the area. Large scale faulting and uplifting during this period created the now familiar mountain ranges which ring the valley (Shreiber, et al., 1972).

To the north, the Pinaleño Mountains arose. Of these, Mt. Graham rose up to the height of 10,713 feet, 6,500 feet above the valley floor. Mt. Graham remains the highest of the surrounding peaks. To the south and slightly to the east of the Pinaleños, the Dos Cabezas Mountains were formed (elevation 8,363 feet). The Dos Cabezas, so named for the two prominent granite peaks ("Two Heads") which serve as a familiar landmark in the area, are the closest mountains to the town of Willcox,

---

[1] Victor Evans, Project Coordinator, Coronado Resource Conservation and Development Project, personal interview.

15 miles away. To the southeast of the Dos Cabezas, the Chiricahua Mountains were lifted to a height of 9,795 feet.

To the west of present-day Willcox, the Winchesters (7,631 feet), Little Dragoon, and Dragoon Mountains were formed. As a result of these geologic events, the Sulphur Springs Valley came into existence, running in a generally northwest-southeast direction from a northern point near Bonita to the Mexican border in the south (see Figure 1).

The Sulphur Springs Valley is one in a number of such valleys or basins in southern Arizona, separated by mountain ranges running in generally north-south directions. Geologists refer to this region of the country as the "Basin and Range Province."

More recently, in the late Pleistocene, a second major geologic event occurred which put the final touches on the Willcox area. Somewhere around 13,000 years ago pluvial Lake Cochise was formed (Schreiber, _et al_., 1972, p. 134). Lake Cochise (now known variously as "The Dry Lake" or "The Willcox Playa") appeared in the northern portion of the Sulphur Springs Valley. Unlike most other high valleys in the region, the Willcox Basin was closed off at both ends, and the drainage was forced to accumulate on the floor of the valley. The formation of the lake was due to the culmination of alluvial deposits brought down from the mountains through thousands of years as well as to the generally wetter conditions which occurred during the time of the Wisconsin glaciation in the northern part of the country. Although the glaciers never approached the southern part of the country, their effect was felt in the area as cooler temperatures, wetter climate, and corresponding floral and faunal changes. Pollen samples from the lake bed reveal that the swampy area around the lake supported pine and other more temperate vegetation (Schreiber, _et al_., 1972, p. 173).

It is the drainage area of this ancient lake which forms one of the better defined geographic boundaries of the present day Willcox community (see Figure 1). The area covered by the Willcox basin, as this drainage area is called, is approximately 1,500 square miles, of which 950 square miles are valley floor (Schreiber, _et al_., 1972, p. 133).

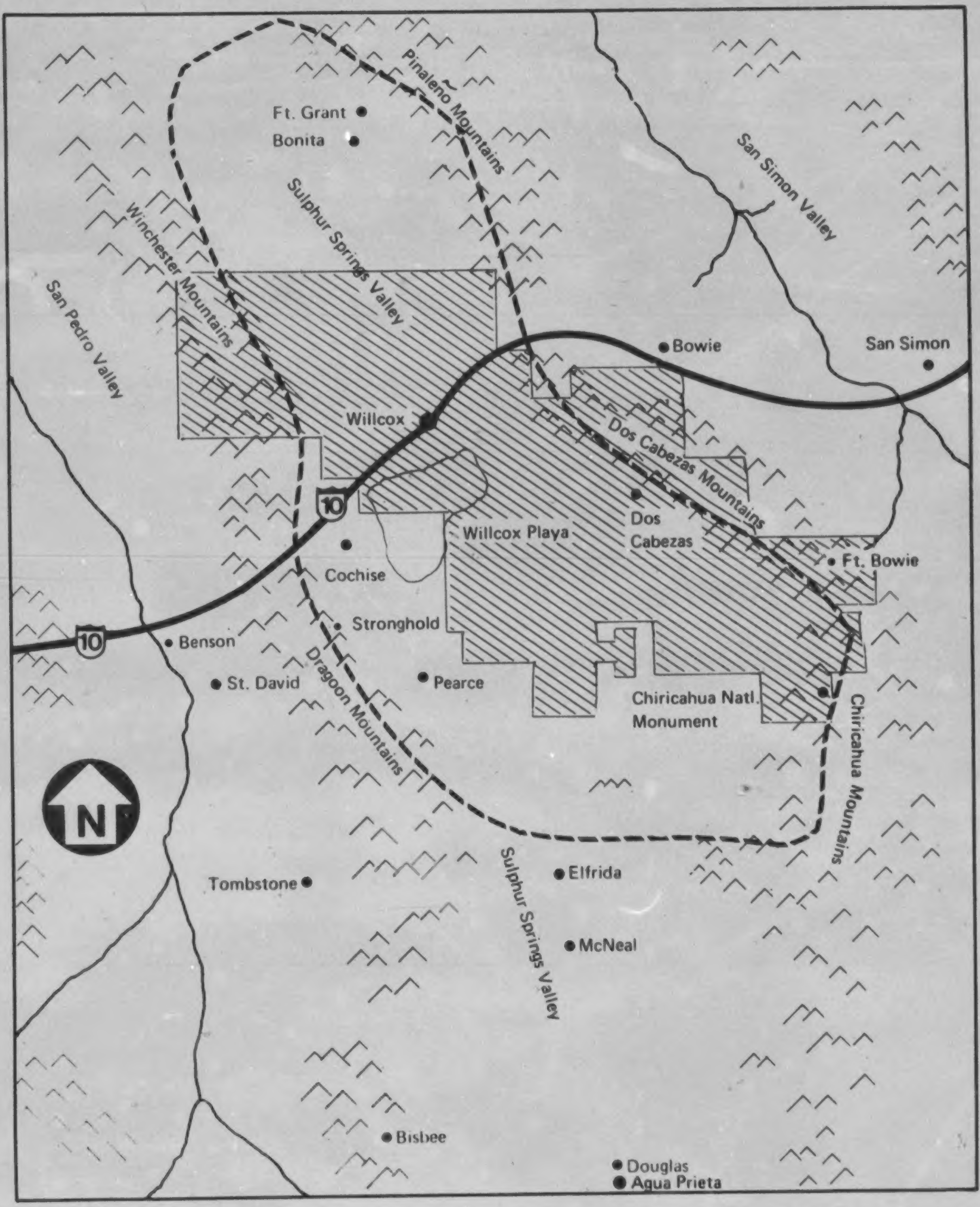

Ft. Grant
Bonita
Pinaleno Mountains
San Simon Valley
Sulphur Springs Valley
Winchester Mountains
San Pedro Valley
Bowie
San Simon
Willcox
Dos Cabezas Mountains
10
Dos Cabezas
Willcox Playa
Cochise
Ft. Bowie
Stronghold
10
Benson
St. David
Pearce
Dragoon Mountains
Chiricahua Natl. Monument
Chiricahua Mountains
N
Tombstone
Elfrida
Sulphur Springs Valley
McNeal
Bisbee
Douglas
Agua Prieta

Fig. 1. The area around Willcox, Arizona.

▨ **School District Boundary.**

– – – **Willcox Drainage Area.**

The region has been drying up for 10,000 years. This is again coupled with the retreat of the last major glaciation of the continent, the Wisconsin. But it would be helpful here to stop for a minute and review what the Willcox basin might have looked like at that time, for 10,000 years ago was the eve of man's entrance into the valley (cf. Willey, 1966, p. 188).

The climate of the basin was, as has been noted, cooler and wetter than it is today. Rainfall was probably twice what it is today (12 inches per year), and the average annual temperature was probably in the 40s rather than in the high 50s as it is today. Pine forest covered the valley floor as well as the mountain slopes. The lake itself, into which ran the many streams coming down from the mountains, was long and wide, and averaged 35 feet deep. Schreiber estimates its width at that time to be 11.3 miles and its length to be 20 miles (1972, p. 172). Because of the generally flat nature of the valley floor, numerous swamps and ponds dotted the landscape.

Aside from the marine life that the lake itself supported, a number of now extinct mammals were in abundance in the region. Sloth (Nothrotherium shastense), camel (Camelops hesternus), bison (Bison occidentalis), horse (Equus pacificus) and mammoth (Parelphas columbi) were prevalent (Sayles & Antevs, 1941). Mammoth remains continue to be found in gravel pits around the Willcox area.

Present-Day Geography and Climate

The Willcox area today has little resemblance to the same area 10,000 years ago. The mountains still ring the valley, the Dry Lake is still a major feature of the drainage basin, but the climate has changed immensely and with it the biotic features of the landscape.

Lake Cochise is now only a mirage occasionally seen from the highways that surround it. Sometimes water does collect on the old lake bed, but seldom stays longer than a few weeks to a month. The lake is now a flat expanse of crusted clay and powdery dune estimated to be about four feet lower than the original lake bed. The dry winds of the spring months have blown much of the surface away through the years (Schreiber, et al., 1972, p. 181). The rest of the valley floor is devoted to range land and farming, two types of land utilization which have affected the vegetation cover drastically. When the area was settled in the later part of the nineteenth century, the range land was lauded as one of the richest in the country. By 1890, the area supported some 1.5 million head of cattle (Schultz, 1964, p. 51). But over-grazing and the resultant erosion of much of the land have changed the grasslands to a more scrub-dominated vegetation. The mesquite, which previously had been confined to river bottoms, was carried by cattle across the valley floor. Quickly adapting to the new environment, mesquite flourished at such a rate as to choke off the natural regeneration of the grasses. Proper range management has been accomplished in parts of the valley, and the areas around the old Hooker ranch to the north and the Riggs ranch to the south provide an indication of the once rich grazing land that was found before the turn of the century.

Farming has also drastically changed the vegetation of the valley floor. Although some dry farming was attempted in the period of 1905-1910, irrigation quickly took over and changed much of the area into profitable farmland. It is estimated that up to 140,000 acres of the basin are now being farmed through the use of extensive irrigation. Areas which were once thought of as "no man's lands"--too poor to raise cattle on--are now producing lettuce, sorghum, maize, and cotton. An aerial view of the valley today underscores the dramatic effect on the area that recent agriculture has brought. Bright green fields of crops contrast sharply with the surrounding semi-arid desert vegetation.

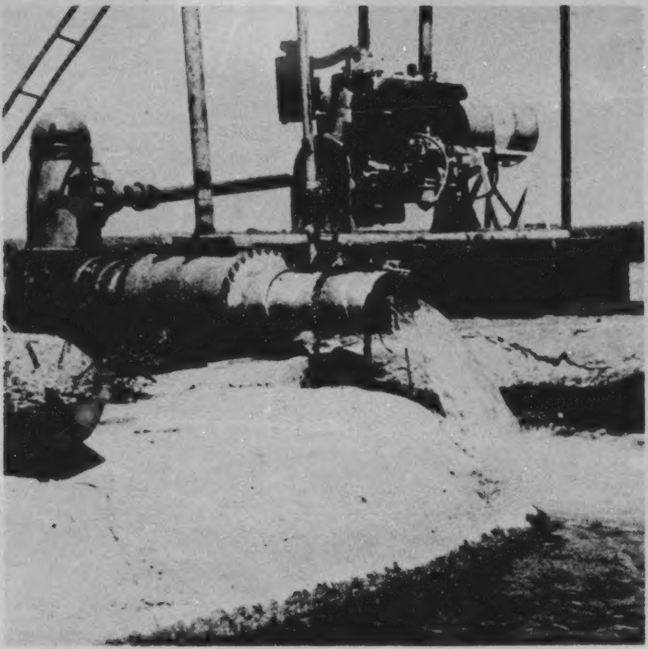
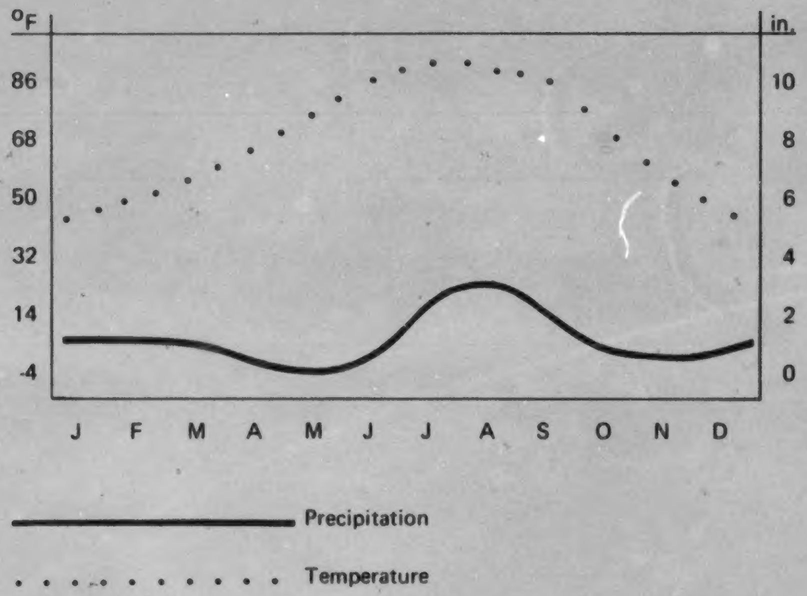


Fig.2. An irrigation pump. While dry farming has been practiced in the past, irrigation is now used to supplement the annual rainfall.

As the quotation which began this section indicates, the climate of the area today consists of mild winters and warm summers. Although spring and fall make an occasional appearance in the area, the two dominant seasons are summer and winter. The latitude of the area (32°15') precludes the cold winters of the northern areas of the United States. The frost free season ranges from 155 to 220 days and averages 186 days (Despain & Associates, 1971, p. 86). As a balancing factor, the elevation of the basin and surrounding mountains (4,100-10,000 feet) serves to keep the summers from becoming excessively hot. Temperatures average about 10° warmer or cooler, depending on the season, than in the city of Tucson, 2,000 feet lower than Willcox, but at about the same latitude. The average temperature and precipitation amounts for the 12 months of the year in the city of Willcox are given in Figure 3.



Mean annual precipitation = 11.76 inches

Mean annual temperature = 58.7°F

Fig.3. Temperature and precipitation averages for the City of Willcox.

The rainfall of the area is dependent on the elevation even more than temperature is. The surrounding mountains are cooler and wetter than the valley floor. The ranges of temperature and rainfall that are found within the Willcox drainage area are given in Table 1.

Table 1

TEMPERATURE AND PRECIPITATION AVERAGES FROM SURROUNDING STATIONS

Station	Mean Annual Precipitation	Mean Annual Temperature	Elevation
Willcox	11.6	58.7	4,190'
Cochise	13.35	59.9	4,180'
Fort Grant	12.57	62.3	4,875'
Chiricahua National Monument	18.63	57.6	5,300'

Source: Adapted from Green & Sellers, 1964, as cited in Schreiber, et al., 1972, p. 137.

The warm temperatures and low humidity have attracted many people from more temperate climates in recent years. Retirement communities have sprung up to the south (Sunsites, Arizona), and others are planned or are being developed immediately to the east and to the southeast of the city of Willcox.

The temperature and low rainfall may be an attraction to retirees, but these two aspects of the climate have at times caused problems for the ranching industry. The rainfall is irregular; some years may be very wet, while others are very dry. Most of the rain falls in the winter months of November and December and in the summer months of July and August. When one of these two seasons does not produce rain, the growth of range grasses and cattle suffer accordingly. When the rainfall is insufficient, cattle often turn to prickly pear cactus for forage, which results in serious sickness.

The other major variable in the climate of the area is the wind. Southerly winds bring the summer rains, which can be quite intense. During the months of March, April, and May, southwesterly winds gust up to 40 mph, raising huge clouds of dust in the air. The sand from the Dry Lake is carried up and blown across the valley farming areas to the south of the city, often obscuring the surrounding mountains and creating dust storms which can be dangerous for highway travel. As these are the months in which dry fields are plowed, the dust so raised can become a discouraging nuisance for city and country residents alike.

Life Zones

Although it is common to divide arbitrarily the area into two categories, valley floor and mountain, biologists have identified four major plant communities and corresponding ecological zones in the Willcox area. A desert shrub zone is found at the lower elevations (below 4,500'), with saline and calcareous soils. Mesquite, creosote bush, whitethorn alakli sacaton, and salt brushes are the major vegetation types found here. Irrigation has turned much of this zone into cropland in the Willcox area. The desert grasslands zone, extending up to 6,000 feet, contains the rich grasses utilized by the cattle ranchers in the area. A chapparral zone also found from 4,000 to 6,500 feet contains many species of oak, manzanita, and other similar types of vegetation. A fourth zone is the coniferous forest zone found in the higher mountains of 6,000 to 10,500 feet. Ponderosa pine, gambel oak, juniper, and pinyon are all found in this zone as well as mountain meadows containing fescues, muhlies, and mutton grass. This zone, now confined to areas of the Chiricahua National Monument and the Cochise Stronghold, provided an important resource base during the early settlement days of the area when wood was cut down and transported to the valley for mine and railroad construction. At present, most of this zone is under federal control and is used for recreation.[2]

Along with this varied vegetation system, the area contains a corresponding variety of wildlife species. To quote from the Coronado Resource and Development Plan,

> There are approximately 16 species of toads and frogs, five species of turtles, 32 species of lizards, and 41 species of snakes. There are 26 species of major mammals plus a host of lesser known species of rats, mice, moles, gophers, and similar animals. The number of bird species varies with the seasons. There have been over 200 species sighted...(1973, p. 88).

---

[2] The zones reported here are summarized from Coronado Resource Conservation and Development Project (hereafter referred to as "CRC&D"), 1973, pp. 69-74. Covering a larger region than the Willcox Basin alone, this publication gives in-depth information on socio-economic, natural, agricultural, and recreational features of the area.

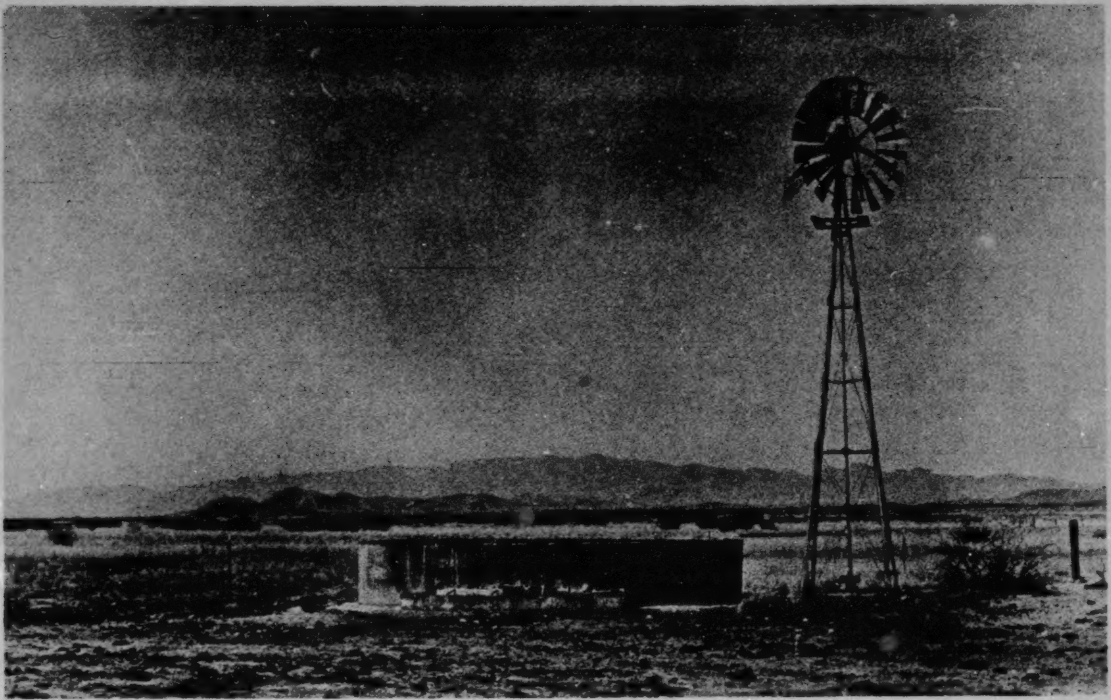


Fig.4. Windmills are still used on the valley floor to pump water for cattle tanks.

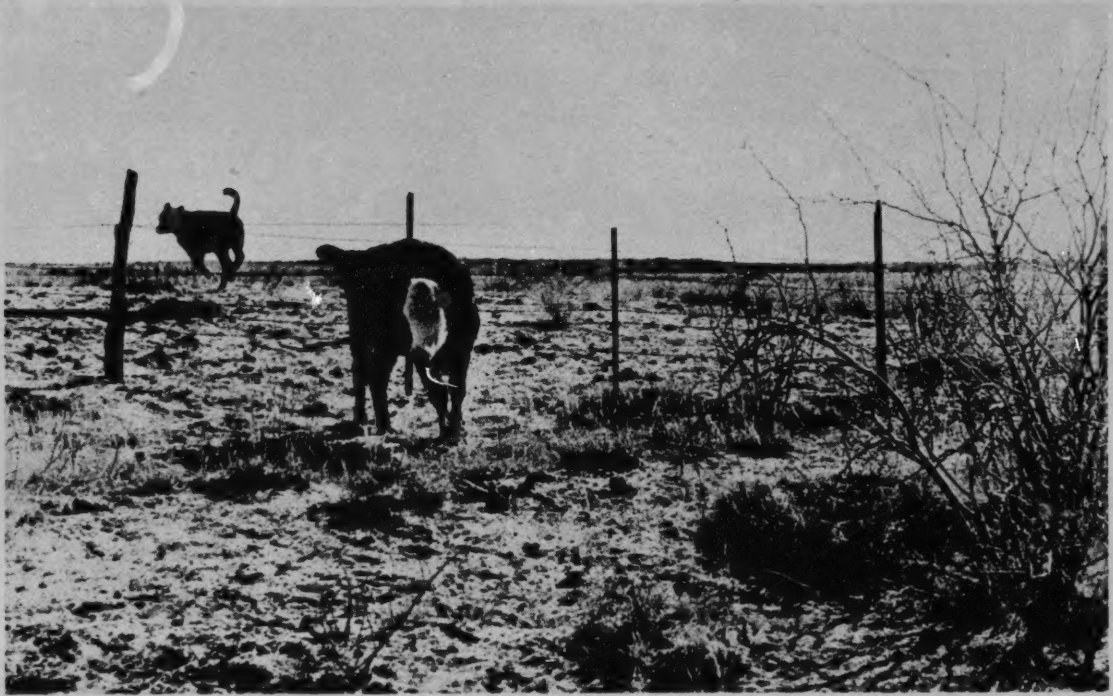


Fig.5. Cattle grazing is difficult during the spring dry season.

Aside from the large numbers of deer and antelope mentioned earlier, the mammal population includes coati mundi, javelina, and some black bear. The most common snake encountered is the rattlesnake, with many varieties represented. Gopher snakes, resembling rattlers, are also prevalent. The variety of bird species is especially apparent. The area contains Mexican birds not found in any other part of the United States and is considered a focal point for bird enthusiasts across the country. Lower elevations, such as the valley floor, are inhabited by scorpions and tarantulas during the warm summer months. Of the natural species that occur in the area, javelina, deer, and quail are presently hunted regularly. The deer population, including mule and whitetailed deer, has increased in the last few decades because of the availability of water on the range land in tanks constructed by the ranchers.

Soils and Minerals

After the depletion of the range resources on the valley floor at the close of the last century, the "dry desert" as it became known, did not seem to offer much for the continued growth of the Willcox community. True, mineral deposits including copper ores, zinc, silver, and gold were known to be present in the mountains surrounding the basin, but the resources of the valley floor did not look promising.

The soil was highly alkaline. Alkali-based plants seem to have been the only kind to do well in the area. One resource, however, was suprisingly plentiful: water. As the director of the Coronado Resource and Development Council has stated, "water in the Sulphur Springs Valley can well be considered a mineral. It is retrieved from the ground like a mineral, and is of finite quantity like any other mineral."[3] On the valley floor, water was often within 10-15 feet of the surface. Windmills easily pumped sufficient water for ranching purposes, and the development of steam and later gasoline and diesel driven pumps made the retrieval of this precious mineral worthwhile for farming purposes. When the soils did get water, they produced quite well. In the early part of the century, through a combination of natural rainfall and supplementary irrigation, large numbers of acres of the valley floor were put under cultivation. The booklet "Why Willcox?" described the situation as follows:

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[3] Victor Evans, personal interview.

> In this valley irrigation is supplementary only as our rainfall is usually from 12 to 14 inches.... A great many crops can be matured with from one to three irrigations.... With an abundance of water, cheap fuel for pumping, level land, rich soil, producing everything excepting tropical fruits, an unrivalled climate, this valley is fast becoming sought by those who desire a home in ideal surroundings.... (Anderson, 1912?, p. 9).

But as might be expected, the finite quantity of water has become increasingly important to agriculturalists in the area over the years. Water levels in some areas have dropped as much as 46 feet a decade (Schultz, 1964, p. 96). The lower limit of the water tables in the Willcox area is often high in fluorides, unusable in its natural form for domestic purposes. But the hydrologic situation in the Willcox basin is highly variable. Some areas have very steady and unfailing wells while others suffer dramatic drops in the water strata each year. The water supply for the city of Willcox has also been a problem for the residents. The older city wells were very high in fluoride content, which results in stained teeth and other dental problems. In the early 1970s, after years of working with the wells located within the city, new wells were purchased to the north of the town, approximately eight miles away. The water from these wells has a low fluoride content and is felt to be well suited for the city's future growth.

The availability of water and its quality continue to be very important in the area, more so than the more common minerals such as copper and silver which held so much importance in the first periods of settlement. With the new system installed in the early 1970s, the city now has an adequate supply of water to last it many years. The good water has not yet, however, served as an inducement for any light industries to locate in the city, the hope of many residents.

Water in the farming areas continues to be used at ever increasing rates because of the larger acreages under cultivation. Higher prices for grain and other crops in the last few years have induced farmers to reinvest their capital in more efficient pumping and irrigation systems. But with this efficiency, the supply of water in the ground continues to be depleted. Careful planning is being carried out by the agriculturalists in order to conserve this resource, but the risk of depletion remains high. The water base of the area goes back to the last great glacial period of North America. Given the present rates of water level decline, the loss of this base could take place in a geologic instant.

Discussion and Conclusion

The area of the Willcox basin has many different geologic and climatic features. Although the flat valley floor contrasts sharply with the granite-hewn mountains which surround it, a closer look reveals many intermediate life zones, each with unique floral and faunal assemblages. In the eyes of contemporary as well as earlier residents, the area is simply beautiful. This natural beauty of the area is one of extremes. The Willcox Playa is almost barren of any vegetation. Its flat, crusted surface appears almost to be a frozen remnant of a past geologic age. The pine covered Chiricahua Mountains offer an opposite extreme in environmental conditions. Their unusual rock formations, including balancing boulders, columnar faces, and volcanic flows provide majestic examples of other geologic forces, mixed in with cool coniferous forests.

The impressions left by man on this environment have only added to the number of scenic areas which contemporary residents regularly visit. To the west of the city of Willcox, on the other side of the Dry Lake, the Butterfield Stage Depot of Dragoon Springs is located in the desert grassland life zone. Further south is Cochise Stronghold, a wooded chapparral zone with granite outcroppings, utilized as a natural fortification by Apache Indians in early historic times. Southeast of Willcox are the Dos Cabezas Mountains. Mining activities in these mountains brought the first settlers to the area, and the mining camps nestled in the canyons and uplands of these mountains still draw many people for outings and picnics. Apache Pass and the historic Fort Bowie are also to the southeast of the city. Fort Bowie, now a national historic park, served as a market for many early settlers and ranchers.

These and other areas, including many abandoned mining towns (ghost towns), provide present-day residents with many opportunities to engage in a dialogue with the environment even if they are not tied to it for direct economic livelihood, as are the ranchers and farmers.

The variety in natural and cultural aspects of the geographic setting of Willcox is manifest in the system of land ownership in the area. Within the Willcox school district, six separate categories of land ownership are found. The first category, private ownership, encompasses most of the valley floor. The second category is land administered by the U.S. Department of Defense, and is found in the Willcox Playa or Dry Lake. The Playa served as a bombing range during World War II. Today, it is not used for bombing practice, although army personnel from Fort Huachuca, located 70 miles southwest of Willcox, use it for ground maneuvers. The third category of land ownership is comprised of state-owned land found as one leaves the valley floor and begins to climb into the lower mountains. This state-owned land, plus the fourth category, that administered by the Bureau of Land Management, is often leased to ranchers and farmers. The fifth category, land managed by the National Forest Service, is found in the mountains surrounding the valley. Much of this land is used for cattle grazing and is leased to ranchers for that purpose. A portion of the Churicahua National Forest makes up the sixth category of ownership, National Park Service land. The Wonderland of Rocks National Park was dedicated in 1924. Today its campgrounds and hiking trails draw local and out of town tourists during the warmer months of the year. It is a monument to the powers of wind and erosion which have created huge balancing boulders of granite. With a little imagination, it is easy to see the likenesses of animals, people, and other unusual forms in the rocks which make up the monument.

The geography, geology, and ecology of the region have not been and are not always pleasant. But the sheer variety of these features has forced residents of the Sulphur Springs Valley to adapt in many different ways. Ranching, farming, and mining are obvious exploitations of the environment which are important in the area. But also important are the subtle adaptations of a changing history represented by the railroads, conflicts with the Indian populations, and service economies. The political geography of the area is an important and often overlooked factor as well. The international border of Mexico is 75 miles to the south of Willcox. As will be pointed out in the next section, the region has strong ties to the country which once included the Sulphur Springs Valley. Cattle and the cowboy, maize and squash, place names and personal names have all resulted from activities first carried out in Mexico. The give and take of cultural communication, resulting from this proximity to the border, have influenced the development of the valley.

THE HERITAGE OF THE WILLCOX COMMUNITY

> *I was born in the Dragoon Stronghold, Chiricahua Reservation, Territory of Arizona, on February 20, 1874. My grandfather, Chief Cochise of Arizona, died there of old age on June 7, 1874. My father, Tahza, the eldest son of Cochise, died in the whiteman's citadel of peace, Washington, D. C., on November 15, 1876 (Cochise, 1971, p. vii).*

> *The (Sierra Bonita) ranch was founded in 1872 by Col. Henry C. Hooker and is in the same family today. It has seen the days of the open range when the only criteria of size was how much land a cattle baron could control. Its history is filled with tales of Indians, gunfights, a fortress ranch house, and homesteaders, or "nesters" as the cattlemen called them (Arizona Range News, Vol. 81, No. 4, 1964, p. 3).*

> *For many years a friendly rivalry has existed between Cochise and Maricopa counties, the two largest counties in the territory, as to which had the largest amount of taxable property...Since the construction of the Roosevelt Dam,...Maricopa has taken the lead, but with the development of agricultural resources of the great Sulphur Springs Valley, the land values of this county will far exceed the Phoenix section, and in a few years Cochise County will again be found at the head of the list (Anderson, 1912?, p. 3).*

Early History of Sulphur Springs Valley

In July of 1972, the Cochise Visitors' Center and Museum was officially opened in Willcox, Arizona. Represented in this museum were the early historic artifacts of the area, as well as artifacts related to the ranching history of the area. But the significant attraction of the museum was that of the Apache culture which flourished in the Sulphur Springs Valley at the time of settlement. The highpoint of the Apache exhibit was Niño Cochise himself, a grandson of Chief Cochise. Niño Chochise now spends a portion of each week working in the Center greeting guests and providing a living link to the indigenous American heritage of the area.

Recently Niño Cochise was asked if there were any other Indians left in the Valley. "No," he said, "not any that'll admit it. Most are now up on the San Carlos Reservation. There may be a few left out on the ranches to the south, but they won't say they're Indian."

Niño Cochise is the last thread of a heritage that spans the last 10,000 years in the Valley. Waves of big game hunters, gatherers, agriculturalists, and most recently, the Apache, inundated the Valley throughout this time. Today only Niño remains, keeping vigil at the Visitors' Center and Museum. In the words of a brochure produced by the Center, "...we have not forgotten our heritage, and hope in some small way to capture and commemorate it in the Museum of the Southwest."

This section of the report will summarize the prehistory of the area, beginning with a description of the earliest occupation of the Valley and continuing until the end of the nineteenth century, when the native American population ceased to be a viable force in the area. Following this, the early historic period, the time between 1541 and 1915 will be discussed. This period was one of settlement, conflict, and eventual hegemony of the Anglo population in the valley inhabited by Indians, Mexicans, and finally United States settlers.

Native American Prehistory of the Valley

Archaeologists believe that man first came into the New World via the Bering Strait between 20,000 and 40,000 years ago. Following game through northern Siberia and down across Canada, these early hunters and gatherers had reached the southern tip of South America by 10,000 B. C. (Willey, 1966, p. 33). Although stone tools have been found in the many sites which mark this inhabitation sequence, no projectile points have been found; thus the term "pre-projectile point horizon" has been used to describe these earliest sites. Although the Sulphur Springs Valley does not contain any recorded "pre-projectile point" sites, evidence from Tolchaco in northern Arizona suggests that this early population was certainly in the general area. Little is known about their cultural and technological organization. The lack of sophisticated stone tools suggests that this widespread horizon represents the base of stone tool technology in the New World (Willey, 1966, p. 37). The time periods of this horizon (20,000 to 40,000 years ago) contained many now extinct animals. Unlike the Big Game Hunter tradition which followed it, this horizon seems to have limited itself to small game hunting and plant gathering.

A more definite record of man's early history in the area is connected with the Big Game Hunter tradition of western North America (Willey, 1966, p. 37). In the immediate vicinity of the Sulphur Springs Valley, the important sites of Lehrner and Naco have provided archaeologists with records of the Big Game Hunters in the area who subsisted on large herd mammals: bison, mammoth, camel, and horse. The environment within which these hunters worked looked very much like that which was described for the Willcox basin in the preceding section: rolling grasslands, shallow lakes, and mountain canyons into which the large mammals could be driven and killed.

The characteristic element of the Big Game Hunter tradition is the fluted, projectile point, most likely attached to a spear, as it was too heavy to be used as an arrow point. The craftsmanship of these projectile points was extremely high; their appearance in the New World in many areas around the same time (approximately 10,000 years ago) has suggested to some archaeologists that the Big Game Hunters may represent a later migration of people out of Asia than the "pre-projectile point" horizon mentioned earlier.

The social life of these early settlers of the Valley centered around hunting large mammals. Most archaeological sites are areas where large kills have taken place, some with temporary camps nearby (Willey, 1966, p. 39). It is very probable that smaller game as well as plant foraging was utilized by the Big Game Hunters, as the rich biotic environment of the area during that period would have had an abundance of supplementary foods. The Big Game Hunters were highly migratory, shifting camp locations as the mammoth and other large mammals moved. Social groups were accordingly small, probably ranging in size from 10 to 25 per band.

While the Big Game Hunter tradition persisted in other parts of North America, the Sulphur Springs Valley saw the development of another type of cultural tradition, the Desert Tradition.

The Desert Tradition was characterized by the use of basketry and milling stones (metates) rather than an existence centered around the hunting of large mammals. The significance of these two items is that they are the tools of seed collectors and agriculturalists. Indeed, it is out of the Desert Tradition that the agricultural traditions of the southwest most likely arose. But the early Desert Tradition people who lived in the Sulphur Springs Valley were seed collectors and did not domesticate crops. It is possible that they existed along side of the Big Game Hunters. The earliest site in the area, the Sulphur Springs Site (Sayles, 1949), has been dated through radio-carbon techniques at 8,000 B. C. At this site, barbed projectile points were found along with simple manos and metates. Along with these artifacts, the faunal assemblage included the now extinct dire wolf, horse, and prong-horn antelope.

The Desert Tradition in the Sulphur Springs Valley is divided into three chronological phases, each succeeding phase containing more sophisticated stone tools. These are the Sulphur Springs phase of 8,000 B. C., the Chiricahua phase of 8,000 to 3,000 B. C., and the San Pedro phase of 3,000 to 500 B. C. These periods of the Desert Tradition in the Sulphur Springs Valley (referred to as the Cochise manifestation), were followed by a period of cultural incorporation characterized by the influence of the Mogollon and Hohokam cultures who introduced pottery and irrigation farming to the Valley.

The introduction of pottery and maize at the beginning of the Christian era into the Sulphur Springs Valley signalled a period of cultural mixing. The Sulphur Springs Valley was at the western perimeter of the influence of the Mogollon tradition (see Figure 6), but through it the inhabitants of the valley learned about corn farming, pottery, storage pits, and year-round dwellings. In the nearby San Simon Valley, an early Mogollon site (Cave Creek) was found. The pit houses at Cave Creek indicated that sedentary village life was a feature of Mogollon Culture as it affected the Sulphur Springs Valley as early as 30 B. C.

Corn, introduced into the valley from the center of Mogollon influence in New Mexico, was originally brought up from Mexico. Along with it, beans, squash, gourds, and possibly pumpkin were introduced into the southwest. The earliest Mogollon site with corn is the San Simon Cave Creek site dated at 300 B. C. (Willey, 1966, p. 184).

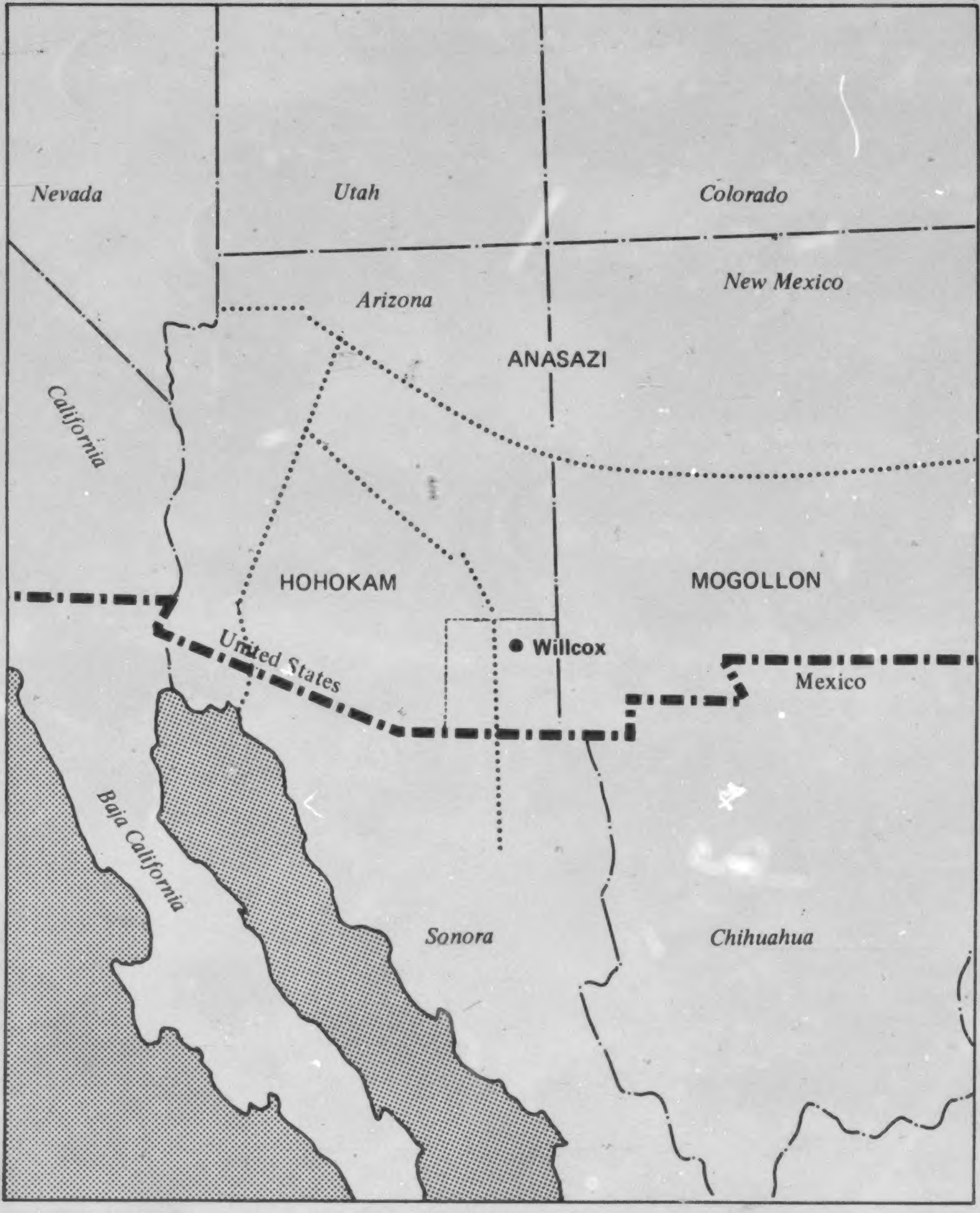

Nevada
Utah
Colorado
Arizona
New Mexico
ANASAZI
California
HOHOKAM
MOGOLLON
Willcox
United States
Mexico
Baja California
Sonora
Chihuahua

Fig.6. Major archaeological zones of the greater Southwest.
(After Willey 1966:180.)

The introduction of agriculture, as opposed to collection of wild plants and seeds, resulted in new types of social organization. Settled villages emerged, and the settlement of these villages was no longer determined by migrations of game or availability of natural plants. With agriculture, specialists in religion, curing, and other non-food production occupations came into existence. Pottery, which is too easily broken to be carried along as a part of a nomadic existence, became refined and artistically decorated during Mogollon times. Trade networks were also developed, and areas or villages which had an abundance of some material (such as salt) began extensive trading with others.

The inception of agriculture in the Sulphur Springs Valley was then due to the combination of Desert Tradition elements such as the mano and metate and possibly the pit-house and domesticated plants brought in from Mexico. Unlike the Mesoamerican societies which first domesticated corn, beans and squash, the Mogollon cultures, including those of the Sulphur Springs Valley, did not seem to have been stratified.

To the west of the Sulphur Springs Valley, the Hohokam cultures of the central part of Arizona developed a more intensive type of irrigation agriculture than the Mogollon cultures to the east. Indeed, the less-specialized agriculture found in the early periods (300 B. C. to 600 A. D.) of the Sulphur Springs and San Pedro Valleys has caused Di Peso of the Amerind Foundation to propose a separate cultural base for the area, the Ootam (Di Peso, et al., 1956). Di Peso believes that the Cochise manifestation of the Desert Tradition later developed into the Ootam culture. This local culture was then invaded by Hohokam groups from the west, causing large-scale changes in village social organization, agricultural techniques, and other cultural patterns. The resultant culture, Hohokam in character, was characterized by cremation, intensive irrigation of flood waters for corn farming, "ball courts" derived from Mexico, and new pottery techniques and designs.

Whether the Sulphur Springs Valley is best considered a "blending" area between the Mogollon and the Hohokam, or whether an indigenous culture, the Ootam, inhabited it in the early Christian era, cannot be fully decided here. The importance of this period is that agriculture, including the cultivation of corn, beans, and squash, began to be practiced in the Valley around 300 B. C. Successive influences of the Hohokam, either through trade or through invasion, resulted in the introduction of irrigated farmlands. Some of the techniques of Hohokam irrigation were later to be used by early settlers in the Stewart and Kansas Settlement area, such as the construction of dikes and ditches for the storage and movement of flood waters captured during the rainy season. The original Sulphur Springs, located 20 miles to the south of Willcox, contains evidence of this early exploitation of the Valley floor.

The Sulphur Springs Valley would probably have developed a culture similar to that of the Pima and Papago Indians further to the west, had it not been for the migration of the Athebascan speakers into the area during the early sixteenth century (Gunnerson, 1956). One of these Athebascan groups, the Chiricahua Apache, became one of the most famous Indian groups in the United States because of the long war they carried out against the United States Army in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

The record of the pre-Apache Indians in the area is extensive: petroglyphs mark the caves of the area, signifiying the thoughts of the Desert Tradition peoples. Manos and metates, pottery, and corn cobs are found in abundance near old stream beds, the legacies of centuries of occupation of the Valley by sedentary agriculturalists. The coming of the Athebascans, migrating from the Western Plains, was as dramatic a change from this way of life as was the coming of the non-Indians from the south and the east a few centuries later. The Athebascans were not tillers of the soil; they were hunters and gatherers living in small bands, adept more at periodic raiding to supplement their diets than trading or farming. The Apache utilized baskets rather than pottery for storage and cooking. The Chiricahua Apache, as with other Athebascan groups such as the Navajo, adapted themselves to the environment with ease.

The Apache soon became the dominant inhabitants of the Valley, and it was the Apache and a few remaining sedentary villagers that the first Spaniards met when they traversed the Valley in 1539. After this time, the Hispanic and later United States heritages must be

Date	Cultural Manifestation		Traits
1900	Chiricahua Apache removed from valley, 1875. Re-located in North Mexico. San Carlos Reservation.		Under U.S. government jurisdiction.
	Athabascan (Chiricahua Apache)		Hunting and gathering, raiding, cattle, horse.
1500	Hohokam/Mogollan or Ootam		Larger villages, some mesoamerican influence on pottery styles, figurines.
1000	Hohokam		Intensive irrigation, ball courts, new pottery styles, cremation
500 A.D.	Peripheral Mogollon or Ootam		Pit houses, sedentary villages, kivas?, corn, beans, squash, pottery.
B.C.	Cochise manifestation of Desert Culture	San Pedro	Mortar and pestle, some cremation.
2000		Chiricahua	Larger milling stones, seed gathering.
5000		Sulphur Springs	Milling stones, hunting of extinct mammals, basketry?
7000	Big Game Hunting Tradition		Clovis and Folsum points, mammoth hunting.
10000 50000	Pre-projectile point Horizon		Rough stone tools, hunting and gathering.

Fig. 7. Prehistoric chronology of Southeastern Arizona.

included when speaking of the native American (Indian) heritage of the Sulphur Springs Valley.

Spanish American History of the Valley

Prior to the coming of the Athebascan speakers in 1500 A. D., the Sulphur Springs Valley and the southwest region in general had been primarily influenced by the middle American cultures of Mexico. From Mexico came the major crops, pottery styles, and perhaps even the idea of pottery. Geologically, the Sulphur Springs Valley is similar to northern Mexico and forms the northern periphery of the Sonoran Desert. It is no surprise, then, that the first settlers of the region who were not native Americans were from Mexico.

In 1539, Fray Marcos de Niza entered what is now Arizona and claimed the area for Spain. A year later, Coronado journeyed through southern Arizona and up into what is now New Mexico in search of the "Seven Cities of Cibola." Coronado's route took him close to the Sulphur Springs Valley as he passed up the San Pedro River and crossed over the Arivaipa Valley (Bolton, 1941, p. 32). While Coronado did not stay in the area, his travels introduced two new elements into the Southwest, horses and cattle.

Even though no further exploration of the region seems to have taken place by the Spaniards until over a century later, these two animals diffused quickly throughout the area. The horse became a central element of Apache culture, offering a mobility far greater than that which the semi-nomadic people had known previously. Cattle became prized animals during this same period. Wild cattle roamed over the grasslands of southern Arizona and were hunted much the same way as buffalo on the Great Plains. As the Apache became more and more adapted to an equestrian existence, their range of hunting and raiding expanded accordingly. Bolton (1949, p. 244) notes that their raids for cattle took them into central Sonora as well as most of the outlying ranches and missions. In the Sulphur Springs Valley itself, the Chiricahua Apache quickly became the dominant residents, forcing the older sedentary cultures to migrate elsewhere.

In 1700, Fray Eusebio Kino established the first mission at San Xavier del Bac close to present-day Tucson. But Spanish colonization of Arizona never took place at the rate it did in other parts of New Spain, such as California or New Mexico. The lack of water and the poor land mitigated against agricultural exploitation of the area by the Spaniards. Mineral resources were not known to be plentiful in the area, although some silver was mined in the Dos Cabezas area by Spaniards in the eighteenth century. The Apache discouraged further inroads into the Sulphur Springs Valley. By 1800, an estimated 2,000 Spanish or Mexican settlers were in Arizona, most of whom were in the southern region (Meier & Rivera, 1972, p. 17). By 1850, most of these were forced to missions like San Xavier del Bac because of the increased efficiency of the Apache in raiding cattle.

Prior to 1848, all of what is now New Mexico, Arizona, California, and portions of Colorado were a part of the Mexican Republic. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 gave the United States possession of the lands north of the Gila River in Arizona, as well as New Mexico and California. It was in 1850 that the Territory of Arizona was formed from this cession. Still, the area of the Sulphur Springs Valley remained Mexican. But the building of a southern railroad route across the United States in the mid 1800s caused the U.S. government in 1853 to purchase the southeast part of Arizona in the so-called Gadsden Purchase. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the Gadsden Purchase were a direct result of the war between the United States and Mexico in the 1840s. Referred to generally as a period of "Manifest Destiny" in the United States, the westward expansion of the U.S. boundaries was accomplished at the expense of the Mexican Republic, which was torn by internal strife and a lack of political and military control over the northern third of its territory.

The ties of the Sulphur Springs Valley with Mexico thus go back more than a century. Many Mexican-Americans in the area today are descendants of the early Spanish and Mexican settlers of Arizona, and their families lived in Arizona before it became a part of the United States.

The heritage of the Spanish or Mexicans in the Sulphur Springs Valley did not end with the signing of the Gadsden Purchase. Large ranch owners in northern Sonora continued to graze cattle in the southern part of the valley. Even today families from the Douglas/Agua Prieta area graze cattle on both sides of the international border.

The building of the Southern Pacific Railroad across Arizona and the Sulphur Springs Valley in the 1870s and 1880s drew many Mexican citizens from Sonora and neighboring states into the United States. Once here they continued working on ranches or moved northward into the larger cities.

After the turn of the century, Mexican citizens continued to immigrate into the Sulphur Springs Valley and so kept strong many of the cultural patterns which make up the heritage of the area. A look at the map of the area (see Figure 1) indicates the influence of the Spanish language on the place names of the area. Dos Cabezas, the Pinuleños, the Willcox Playa, all stem from Spanish appellations. As was mentioned earlier, cattle were first introduced by the Spaniards in the late sixteenth century. Along with cattle the vaquero or cowboy became a common figure in the Valley. Many elements of what we know as cowboy paraphenalia were developed from Mexican models: chaps to protect the legs from cactus and brush, wide brimmed hats to shield against the sun, spurs; even the basic economic unit, the ranch, had beginnings in the northern Mexican society of the 1800s. The list of these influences continues into other areas besides ranching such as architectural styles, foods, and the English language. As with most cases of cultural communication, many items are almost fully incorporated so as to make them as much the product of one culture as the other.

Along with many items which have been incorporated into the total culture of the Sulphur Springs Valley, there are traits of Mexico that continue in the Valley which are unique to the Mexican American population, such as food preparation, patterns of religious observance, familial celebrations, and the use of the Spanish language.

Both internal pressures of Mexico and the internal pressures of the United States have kept the movement back and forth across the border continuous throughout the modern history of the Sulphur Springs Valley. Ranching and the railroad industry drew many Mexican citizens into the Valley prior to 1900. Later, the Mexican Revolution of 1910-1920 served as a second impetus for outward migration from Mexico.

The need for a cheap farm labor supply after 1920 and the accommodating immigration laws allowed the easy movement of Mexican nationals across the border. This movement increased until the mid 1960s, when the "bracero law," Public Law 78, was terminated. Since 1964, Mexican labor has continued to be used on the farmlands of the Valley through commuting laborers ("Bluecarders") picked up and brought back to Mexico each day or long-term workers who have immigration papers ("Green Cards") allowing them to live and work in the United States. Illegal immigrants are also used for farm and ranch work.

Along with this movement from Mexico to the Valley, there has also been a pattern of movement back from the Valley to Mexico. Many residents, themselves long-term citizens of the United States, frequently visit relatives living in Mexico. Temporary and permanent laborers, working for the railroad, farm, and cattle industries often send portions of their paychecks back to their families in Mexico. This currency exchange has been a major factor which has historically kept the Mexican government from restricting emigration from the country.

The closeness of the Mexican border has also induced many non-Spanish speaking residents of the Valley to travel and shop across the border. Prior to the Revolution of 1910-1920, the international border was not well defined, and ranchers from both sides traded cattle regularly.

The Spanish heritage in the Sulphur Springs Valley is not as elaborate or visible as in areas of New Mexico, California, or even Tucson. The influences are more subtle in the Sulphur Springs Valley, accomplished in such a way as to produce relatively smooth assimilation of United States and Mexican ideas, values, and techniques for making a living.

Willcox on the Map: Heritage of a Railroad Town

In 1851 members of the U.S. Boundary Commission, led by John R. Bartlett, entered the Sulphur Springs Valley through Apache Pass in the Chiricahua Mountains (Schultz, 1964, p. 1). Their impressions of the valley were favorable, noting the natural springs at the pass as well as others in the valley. They also reported seeing wild herds of cattle and abandoned ranches between the Valley and Tucson: the legacy of earlier Spanish settlement of southeastern Arizona.

Figs.8. & 9. Mexican heritage: High school students celebrating El Dia de la Raza.

In 1854, after the conclusion of the Gadsden Purchase, the Valley was opened up for railroad and stage companies seeking an economical land route between the east and west coasts of the United States. The Butterfield Overland Stage Route was the first transportation concern to come through the Valley. Established in 1858, the stage company carried mail and passengers from St. Louis and Memphis to San Francisco, crossing the Arizona-New Mexico line near Stein's Peak, the present crossing point of Interstate Highway 10. The route entered the Sulphur Springs Valley through Apache Pass, where a stage depot was located. In the Valley itself, two stations were built, one a few miles from Ewell Springs near the present location of Dos Cabezas town and another on the far side of the dry lake at Dragoon Springs.

The Butterfield route was only followed for three years. In April of 1861, the company was disbanded, as a new route through Salt Lake City was more economical than that through southern Arizona (Schultz, 1964, p. 9). The Civil War also added to the demise of the Butterfield line, as Confederates confiscated equipment and stock on the route in the southeastern states. Added to the problems of the Civil War and competition from a more economical route to the north, the Butterfield line experienced many difficulties with the Chiricahua Apache living in the Valley. Raiding wagons for goods, just as they had raided sedentary villages and Spanish ranches previously, the Apaches continued to discourage foreign encroachment on their lands.

Today the stage route can no longer be seen in the Valley, although the remains of one station can be seen at Dragoon Springs on the west side of the Valley (see Figure 10). The station at Apache pass, in the area where Fort Bowie was later built, has not been identified with certainty.

In 1862, Fort Bowie was built in Apache Pass in order to contain the Apache and protect the surrounding area for settlement and travel. The camp existed until 1894, when it was disbanded and the troops stationed there sent to Colorado (Schultz, 1964, p. 14). The fort had an illustrious history, as the Apache leaders Cochise, Geronimo, and Nachez successively led raids against soldiers and incoming settlers between 1850 and 1900. During the period of 1872 to 1875, a reservation was created for the Chiricahua Apache which included most of the Valley (see Figure 11). The agency under Tom Jeffords was peaceful, but the reservation was closed in 1875 and the Chiricahua were moved to the San Carlos Apache reservation to the north.

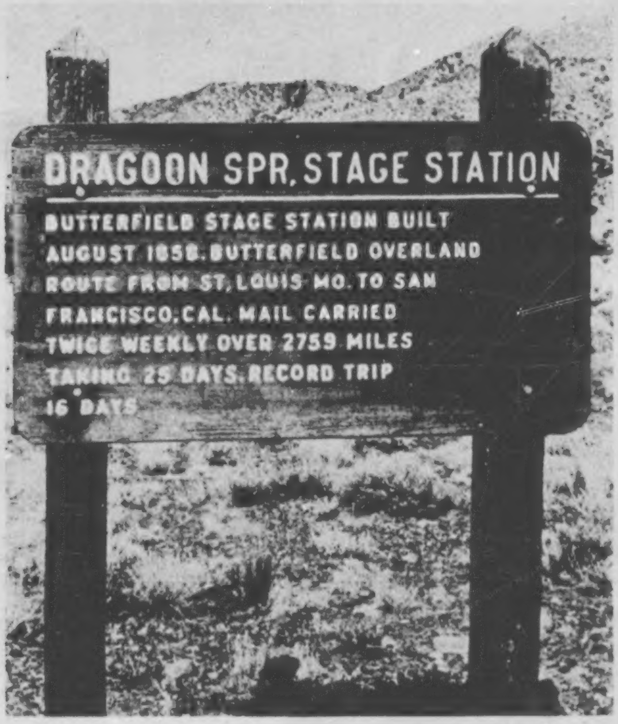

DRAGOON SPR. STAGE STATION
BUTTERFIELD STAGE STATION BUILT
AUGUST 1858. BUTTERFIELD OVERLAND
ROUTE FROM ST. LOUIS MO. TO SAN
FRANCISCO, CAL. MAIL CARRIED
TWICE WEEKLY OVER 2759 MILES
TAKING 25 DAYS. RECORD TRIP
16 DAYS

Fig. 10. The Dragoon Springs stage station had a brief history during the time that the Butterfield Overland Stage was in operation.

The pre-railroad days of Sulphur Springs Valley have become immortalized through books such as Blood Brother, a fictionalized account of the very real friendship between Tom Jeffords and Chief Cochise. In the 1950s a television series, "Broken Arrow," was produced from this same base. From this period came the stereotypical view of the Apache as "bloodthirsty savages." While there is no question that the Apache were adept at raiding, the reason for their animosity in the Valley against whites stemmed from the famous "Bascom incident" when an army officer at Apache Pass illegally arrested Cochise and put to death some of his followers. Previous to that time (1859), the relations between the Apache and the white people were friendly (Schultz, 1964, p. 10).

In 1878, the Southern Pacific Railroad Company began building the southern transcontinental railroad through Arizona. During the building of the line, company policy required the establishment of work camps every eight miles along the route. Starting at Tucson, these camps sprang up, still noted on current Cochise County maps: Cavot, Vanar, Bawtry, San Simon, Olga, Bowie, Raso, Drury, Willcox. Today little remains of these small camps, except where they grew into towns, such as Willcox, Bowie, and San Simon (see Figure 12).

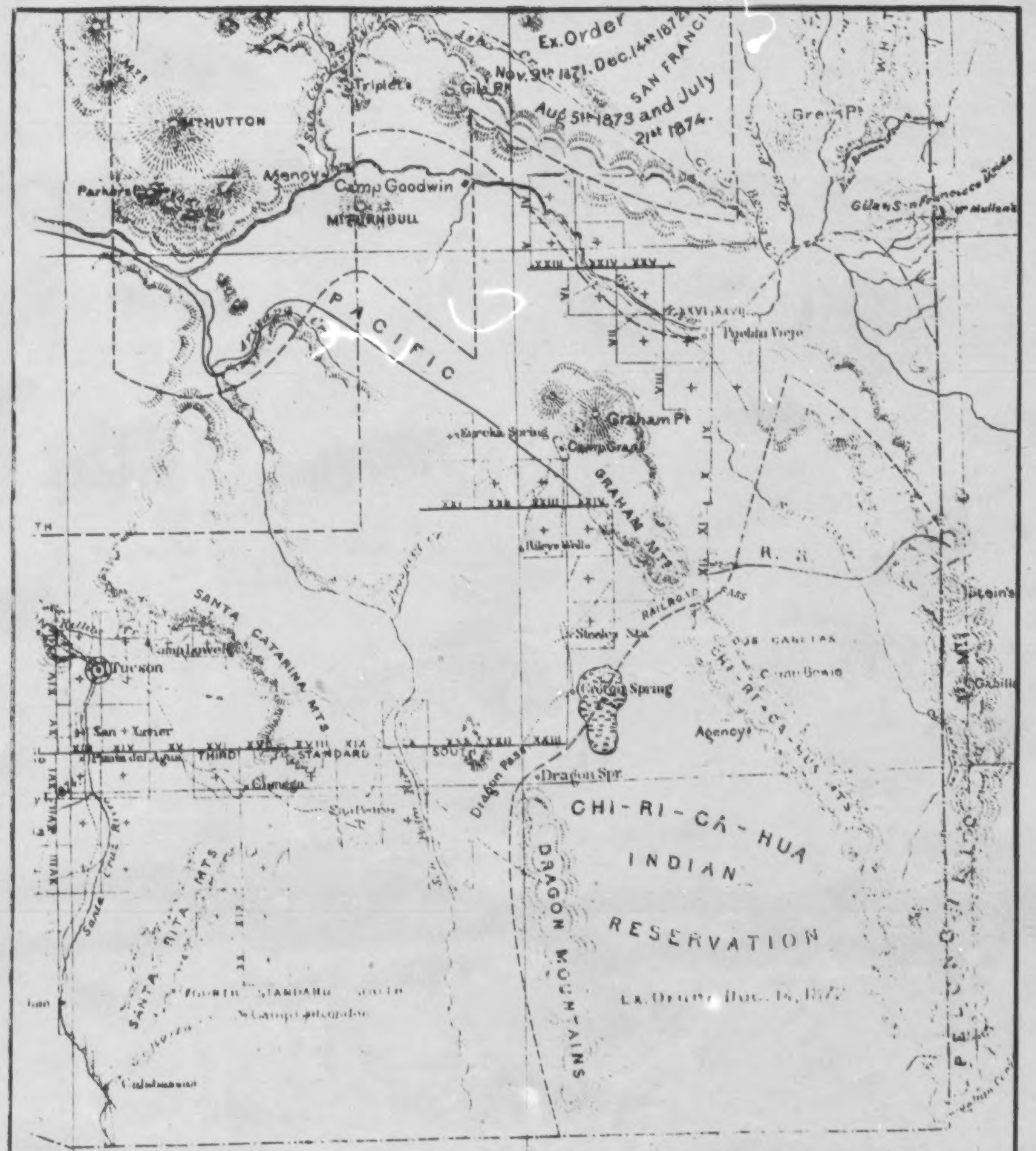

Ex. Order
Nov. 9th 1871. Dec. 14th 1872
Aug 5th 1873 and July 21st 1874.
SAN FRANCI
Triplets
Gila Pt
MT HUTTON
Parkers Pt
Camp Goodwin
MT TURNBULL
PACIFIC
Pueblo Viejo
Gila & San Francisco Divide
Mullen's
Graham Pt
Eureka Spring
Camp Grant
GRAHAM MTS
Rileys Wells
R. R.
RAILROAD PASS
Stookey Sta
DOS CABEZAS
Croton Spring
CHI-RI-CA-HUA MTS
Agency
Dragon Spr
Dragoon Pass
SANTA CATARINA MTS
Camp Lowell
Tucson
San Xavier
Punta del Agua
THIRD STANDARD
Cienega
CHI-RI-CA-HUA INDIAN RESERVATION
DRAGON MOUNTAINS
Ex. Order Dec. 14, 1872
SANTA RITA MTS
FOURTH STANDARD SOUTH
Santa Cruz River
Calabasas
Steins
PELONCILLO MTS

Fig. 11. Southeastern Arizona, showing boundaries of Chiricahua Apache Indian Reservation.

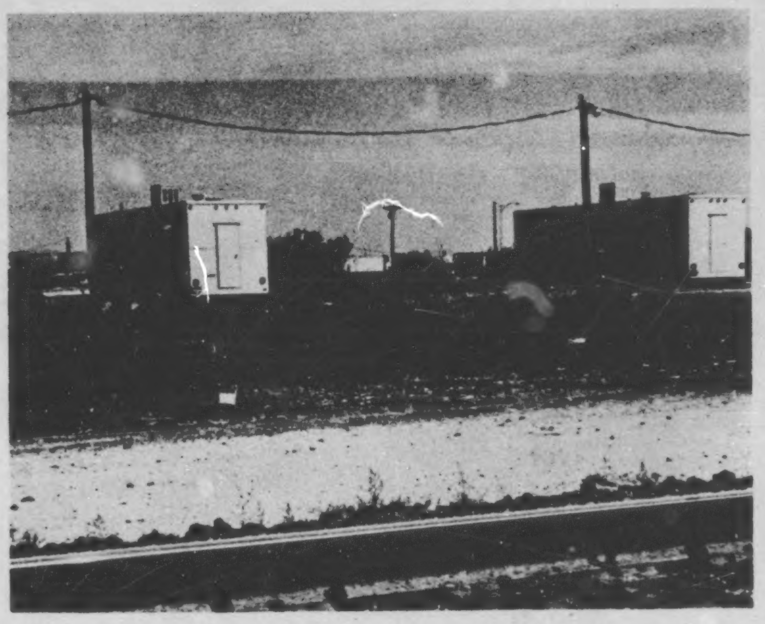


Fig.12. Present-day railroad camp in Willcox.

Willcox had the good fortune to be located at the crossroads of the Sulphur Springs Valley. To the north, Colonel H. C. Hooker had established the Sierra Bonita Ranch in 1872 which supplied cattle and other produce to Fort Grant. To the south a number of ranches had been developed, the largest of which was the Riggs Ranch south of Fort Bowie. Brannick Riggs, a native of Alabama who fought as a Confederate during the Civil War, came through Apache Pass on his way west with his family and dairy herd in 1877 (Schultz, 1964, p. 48). There he settled, and finding Fort Bowie a good market for farm and ranch products, developed the ranch. Coming as they did soon after the dissolution of the Chiricahua reservation, the Riggs family had their choice of some of the best range land in southern Arizona. Their friendly attitude toward the Apache proved useful in that they were never raided on their ranch.

Because of the strategic location of the railroad camp of Willcox, the town was chartered in 1881. From Willcox, supplies were shipped out to the two forts of Bowie and Grant. The rich range lands

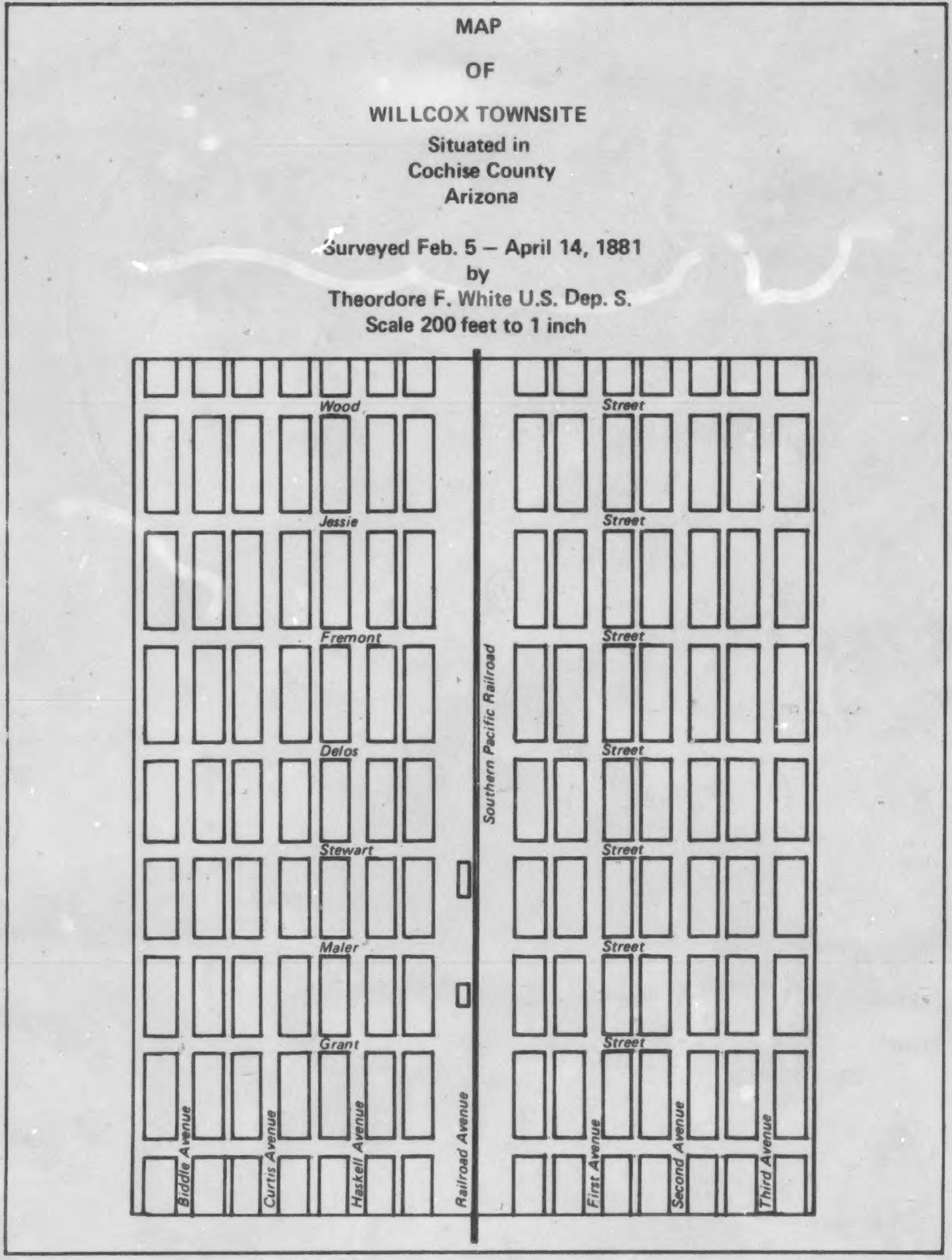

MAP
OF
WILLCOX TOWNSITE
Situated in
Cochise County
Arizona
Surveyed Feb. 5 – April 14, 1881
by
Theordore F. White U.S. Dep. S.
Scale 200 feet to 1 inch
Wood Street
Jessie Street
Fremont Street
Delos Street
Stewart Street
Maler Street
Grant Street
Southern Pacific Railroad
Biddle Avenue
Curtis Avenue
Haskell Avenue
Railroad Avenue
First Avenue
Second Avenue
Third Avenue

Fig. 13. Official Map of Willcox of 1881.

that were present in the Valley quickly made the town the shipping point for the huge cattle herds developed on the ranches. The mining operations which began in Dos Cabezas in the 1870s also increased the importance of Willcox as a market center. Shipments of coke to the mines of Globe, 128 miles to the northwest, added another transportation activity which spurred Willcox's early growth.

Willcox grew rapidly in its role as a market distribution center between 1880 and 1915. In 1915 it was formally incorporated as a town and henceforth would be known as "The City of Willcox." An unofficial estimate of the population in 1884 set the size of the town at 500 people, and settlement continued at a regular rate for the next 35 years. At the time of incorporation, the town probably had a population of nearly 1,000, with another 600 people living in the outlying areas (Schultz, 1964, pp. 19, 97). Although direct work with the railroad did not enter into the development of Willcox after the mid-1880s, the services attached to the transportation industry continued to broaden.

The first businesses of Willcox were based on freighting and servicing military and ranching concerns. John H. Norton and M. W. Stewart set up a warehouse in the town and later added a stage line which ran from Willcox to Camp Thomas, Fort Grant, and finally Globe (Schultz, 1964, p. 20). By 1881, Schultz notes that Willcox already boasted of a meat market, a lumber yard, a news agency, as well as

> five general stores, five saloons, three forwarding and commission merchants, three stage lines, two blacksmiths, and wagonmakers, and two hotels...(1964, p. 22).

Willcox, like nearby Tombstone, was touched by the violence which has become legendary in the area. The Earps, John Slaughter, Johnny Ringo, and many lesser known characters of the era filled the early saloons and caused trouble, robbed trains, killed each other, and caught bandits in ways which seem almost heroic from our current viewpoint. The activities of the sheriff, the cowboy, and the bandit have all been documented in novels, paintings, and television programs through the years. It should be remembered that at the same time that these dramatic events were taking place, the town of Willcox continued to add new stores and business establishments, build churches and schools, ship cattle, and support outlying towns, mines, and military camps.

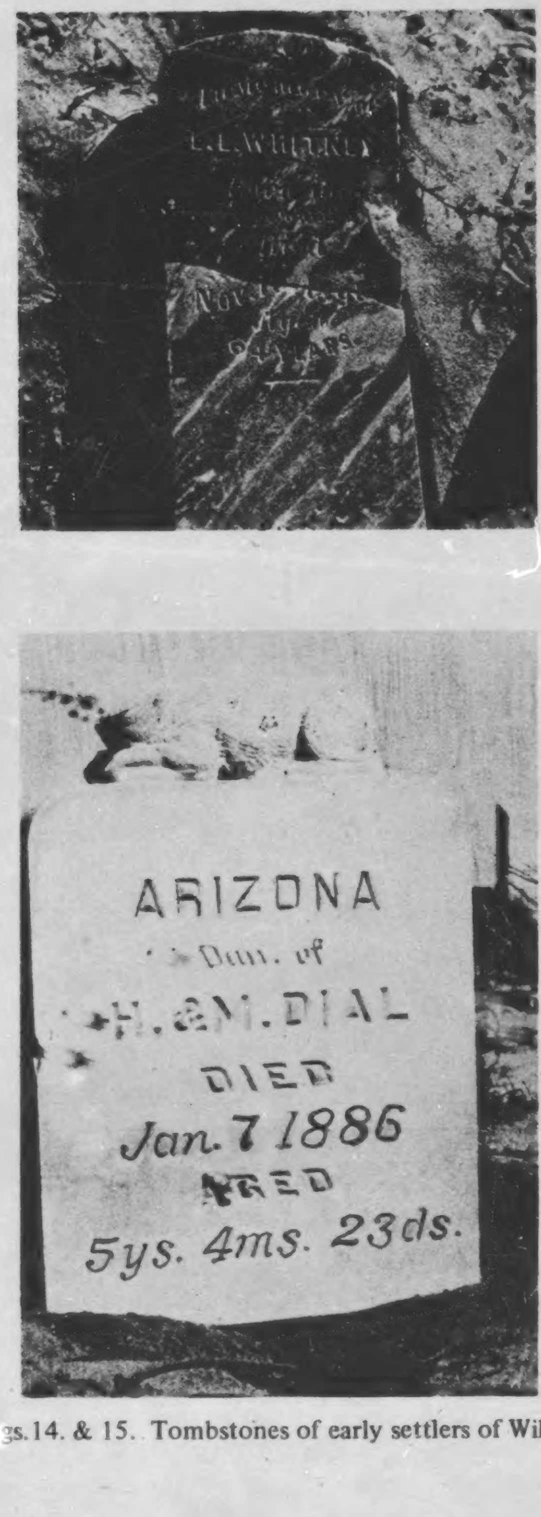
When the application for a town site was filed by the founders of Willcox in 1881, provisions were made for churches and schools. The application included setting aside "one block for school purposes; also four lots each for the Methodist, Baptist, Catholic, and Presbyterian churches" (Schultz, 1964, p. 19). The first church built in the town was Baptist, constructed in 1886. Other churches, including the Methodist Episcopal, Catholic, and Christian soon followed. Religious observance was thus very important in the early settlement of the town, and churches provided leadership in civic affairs as they do even today, particularly now that there are 17 churches in the community.

The first school was built in 1881, soon after the town site was declared legal. This school was ungraded; the first grammar school was established in 1885 with 39 students. By 1889 it enrolled between 50 and 60 pupils (Schultz, 1964, p. 33). Other grammar schools sprang up in surrounding communities like Dos Cazebas and Cochise. In 1890 a new four-room building was built with the help of a $7,500 bond issue, and in 1908 high school classes for seven students were held in this building; the next year, there were 13 students (Black, 1945, p. 54). The school population grew; by 1911 a new high school was built on El Paso Avenue and enrolled 21 students. By 1912, there were 37 high school students; in 1914, 39 students and in 1922, 108 students (ibid.). Kindergarten was added to the school probably in 1911.

Schools were financed through the property tax. This meant that in the early days the Southern Pacific Railroad contributed a major share (i.e. more than 50%) of the schools' revenue, with other taxable property, such as ranches and mines, making up the remainder.

According to early residents, the schools served as a "civilizing" force in the town: the schools hired teachers, most of them women who then married local businessmen or ranchers. This trend continued and resulted in a high respect for schools and education in this early period of Willcox's history.

The present quantity of service organizations was also set during the early period of Willcox's history. Before 1900, the Masons, Ancient Order of United Workmen, and Knights of Pythias had been formed (Schultz, 1964, p. 35). The Willcox Board of Trade was


E. L. WHITNEY
ARIZONA
Dau. of
H. & M. DIAL
DIED
Jan. 7 1886
AGED
5ys. 4ms. 23ds.

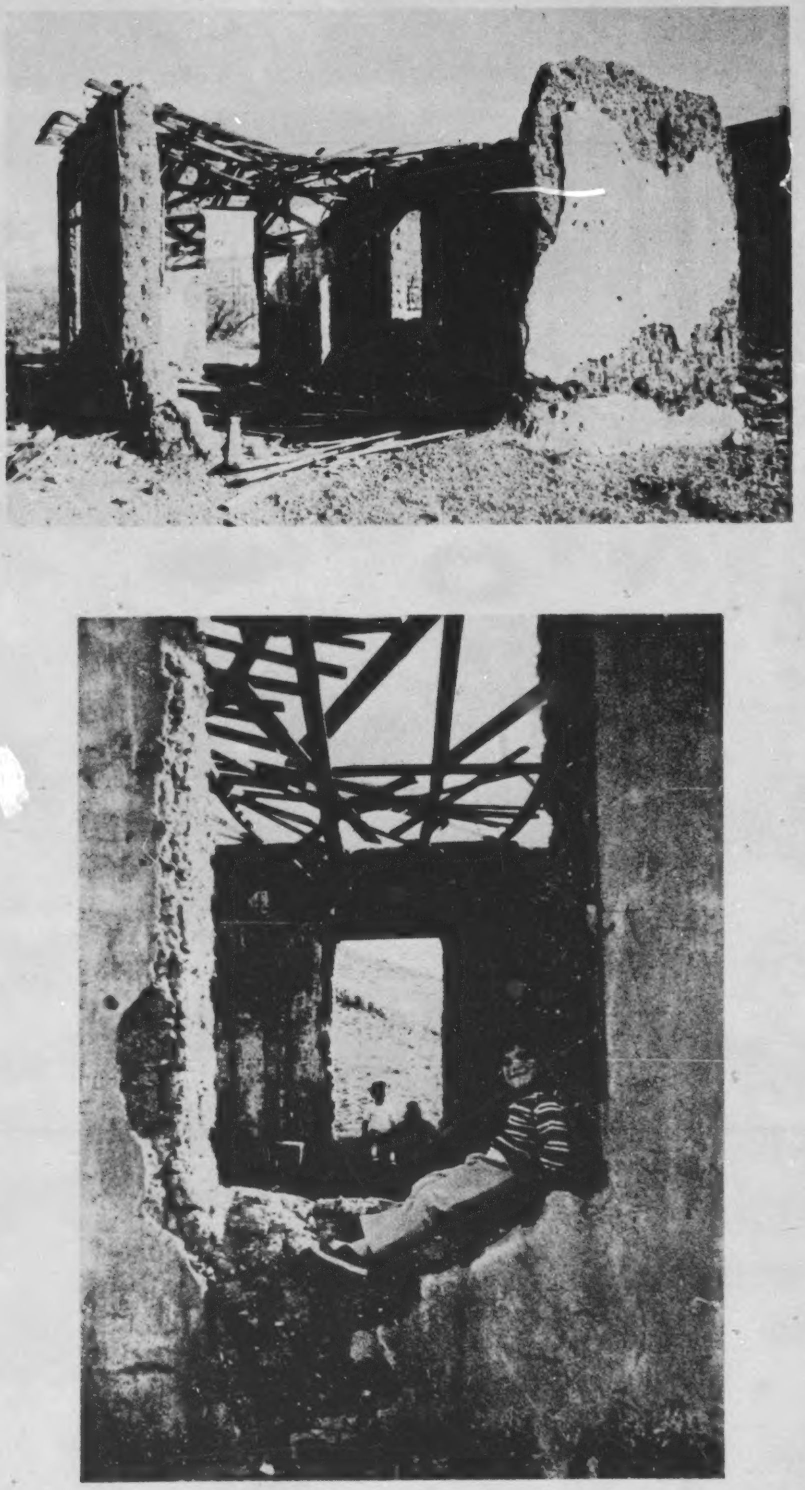
Figs. 14. & 15. Tombstones of early settlers of Willcox.

established in 1908, developing later into the Willcox Chamber of Commerce and Agriculture. This Board of Trade carried on a campaign of public relations for the town and the Valley between 1908 and 1915; the booklet referred to earlier "Why Willcox?" (Anderson, 1912?) was one of its products.

All in all, Willcox was well prepared for township status in 1915. It already had a newspaper, the Arizona Range News (still published today), telephone service, a number of banks, electricity, and numerous businesses. A beer bottling factory was in operation, bottling some 1,000 bottles of beer a day (Schultz, 1964, p. 23).

The hinterlands of the town were likewise developing an underlying strength built on diversity as Willcox came into existence. Ranching, as has already been noted, was highly successful in the grasslands of the valley. On the Sierra Bonita Ranch, some agriculture was also practiced. Colonel Hooker raised corn and sorghum as well as some garden crops on acreage close to the ranch headquarters (Forbes, 1913, p. 214). Hooker utilized diverted flood waters from mountain runoffs to irrigate these fields, and economically used the water that ran off the lower end of the fields to irrigate some pasture land. The Hooker ranch sought to be as self-sufficient as possible in the early days of its history, and this attitude of self-determination persisted through the later history of the ranch.

Other farms were started in the area previous to 1900, many by miners discouraged at the low return on their prospecting adventures. But the most dramatic introduction of commercial agriculture came to the valley in 1905 and 1906, when record rainfall lured large numbers of farmers from the midwest into the area south of Willcox. This area soon became known as "Kansas Settlement," as most of the new residents came from that state. Through a combination of heavy rains and homesteading legislation, these settlers quickly filled up the area around the edge of the dry lake and began dry farming. Scant rainfall in 1910 and succeeding years convinced most of these settlers that dry farming was not practicable in the valley. Agricultural bulletins from the University of Arizona extension office underlined this fact (Thompson & Gray, 1925). A number of these Kansas settlers left after



Figs. 16. & 17. The falling remains of the oldest schoolhouse in Cochise County are found in Dos Cabezas town.

1910, and their abandoned windmills have since become the sites of water tanks for the ranchers who reclaimed the area.

But many of the Kansas settlers stayed on, and experimenting with supplemental well and flood irrigation as well as crops suited to the hot climate, expanded the agricultural base of the community. County figures for 1910 indicate that 2,500 acres of land were under irrigation and another 45,000 acres were dry farmed (Bakarich, 1958, p. 14). The majority of this farmland in the county was within the Willcox basin.

The third important adaptation to the environment of the Valley which strengthened the base of the community was mining. Silver was first claimed in Cochise County in the 1850s (McCool, 1967, p. 4), and through the 1870s and 1880s, the mountains surrounding the valley were prospected. From this activity Tombstone was born, 40 miles to the southwest of Willcox. In 1878 the first mining claim was registered for the Juniper Mine at Dos Cabezas (Schultz, 1964, p. 73), and in that same year the first school house of Cochise County was built in the fledging town of Dos Cabezas (Black, 1940, p. 18) (see Figures 8 and 9). After the railroad was completed through the Valley, mining operations developed in earnest, as the ore could be economically shipped to smelting plants in other parts of the state. Mines were dug in all of the mountains surrounding the valley. The towns of Pearce, Gleason, Courtland, Johnson, and Dos Cabezas suddenly came into being, forming a wheel around the hub of Willcox.

A fourth outlying activity which added to the early diversity of the Willcox area was supplying the nearby federal forts. Fort Grant and Fort Bowie received supplies through the town of Willcox, and the Schwertner house which still stands today (see Figure 18) was built as a way station for officers traveling to these forts.

The shape of the Willcox community in the Sulphur Springs Valley was fairly well formed by 1915 when the town was incorporated. It already had a long history by this time, going back at least 10,000 years when the first American Indians entered the Valley. The cultural systems present in the Valley during the period of the settlement of Willcox are summarized in Figure 19.

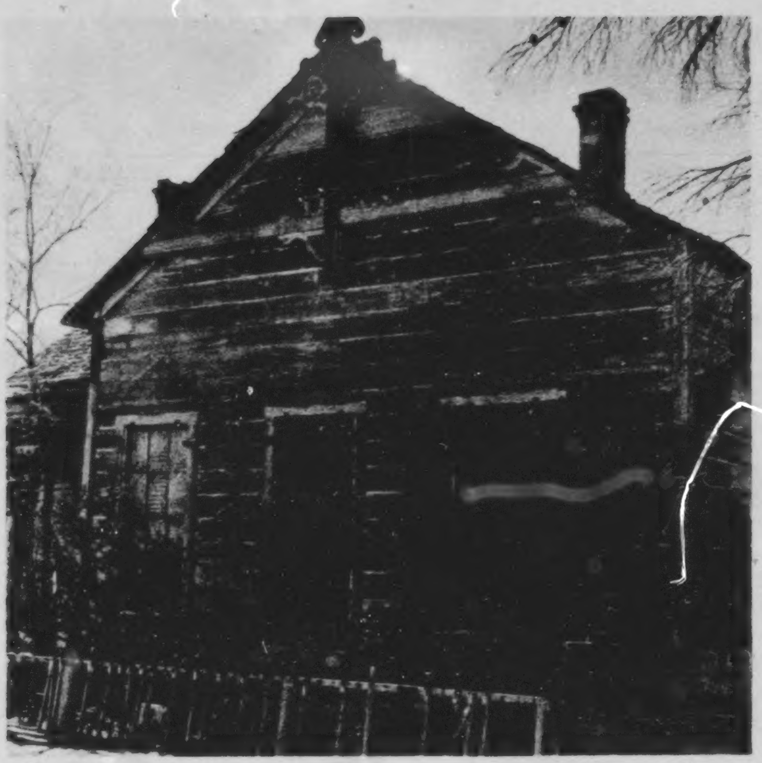


Fig. 18. The present-day Schwertner house in Willcox once served as a stopover for military officers while Fort Bowie was active.

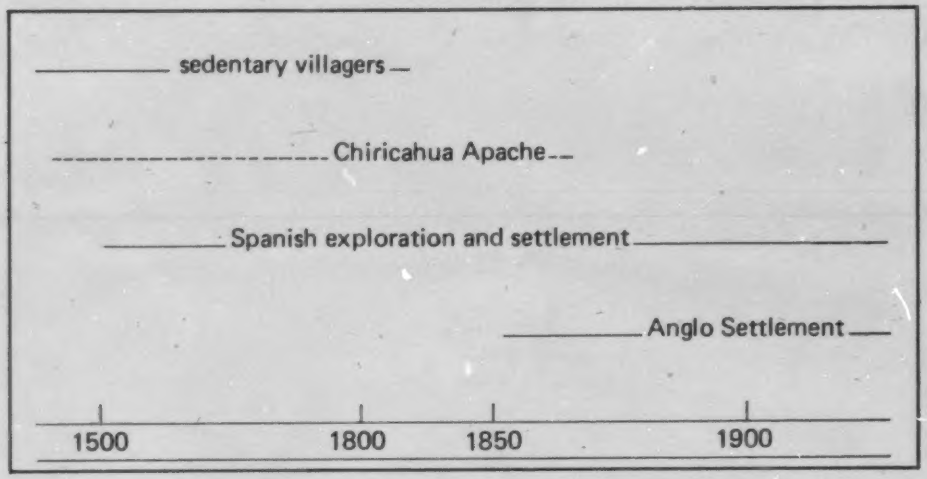


Fig. 19. Cultural chronology of the Willcox area until 1915. Time scale has been enlarged for later historic period.

Along with the economic influences which affected the town during the period of its inception, social and personal values were developing as well. The changing importance of the major activities of the area as well as some of the dominant values which were associated with them are listed in Figure 21.

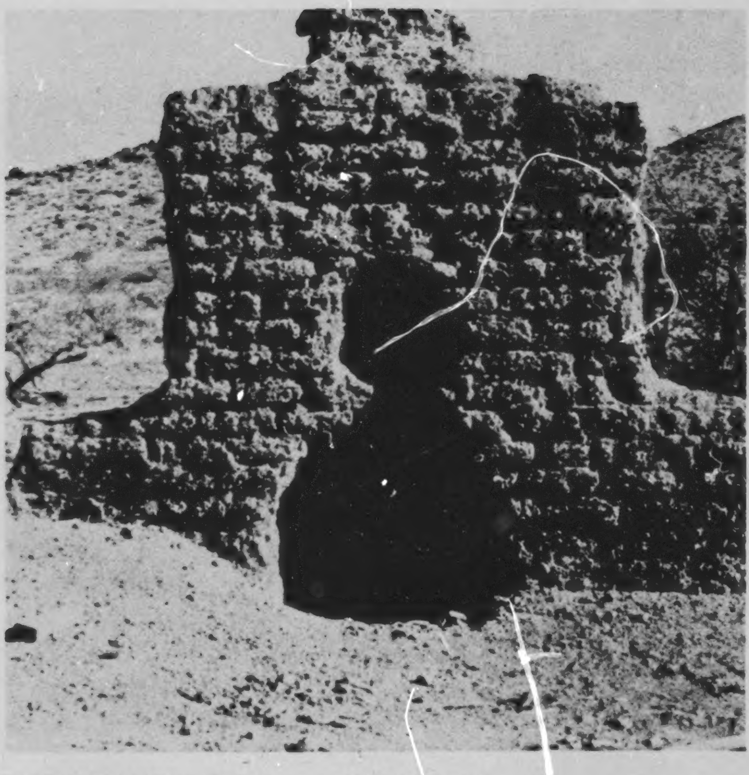


Fig.20. Adobe ruins of an early homestead.

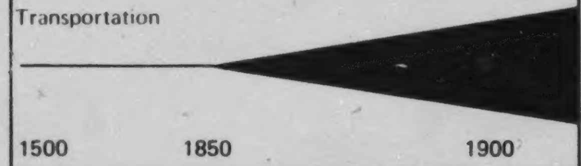
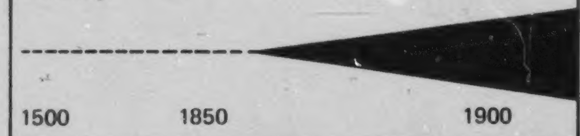
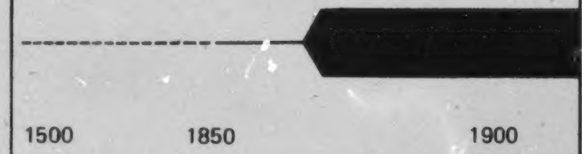
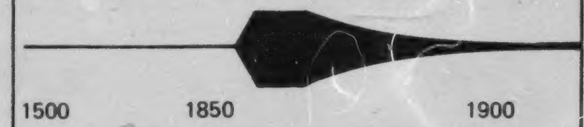
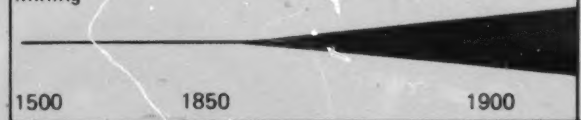
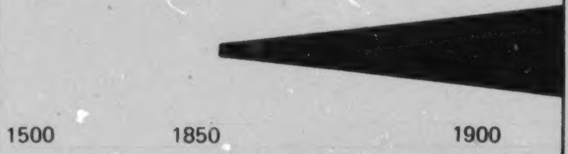
Activity	Values and Traits of People
Transportation  	Little commitment to land or its use, cosmopolitan link to east and west coasts of U.S., knowledge of national marketing system, short-time residence in community.
Ranching  	Pride in independence and self-sufficiency, knowledge of and commitment to environment, familial strength, pride in physical labor, sub-culture of cowboy formed and admired.
Farming  	Pride in commitment to environment and its productivity through agriculture, innovation and experimentation valued, conflicts with ranchers sometimes inevitable, outside (governmental) aid valued as necessary.
Federal Government (forts and reservations)  	Participate in national network of military life, transiency, ability to contain and protect valued, little commitment to environment, formal organizational bonds important rather than familial.
Mining  	High risk ventures, thus "gambling" outlook, isolation and individualism important, ability to adapt to changing fortunes, occupations, conditions valued.
Business and service  	Conscious creation of "community," organizational bonds important for common good, civic pride, cooperation with outlying population for economic good, ability to develop economy through investment and capital growth.

Fig. 21. Changing activities of the Sulphur Springs Valley and values associated with them. Width of black line indicates importance.

WILLCOX THROUGH THE YEARS: 1915-1970

> *Willcox Misrepresented in Indiana Newspaper*
>
> *A recent newspaper article by a VISTA employee in the Wayne (Indiana) Journal-Gazette has drawn "fire" from leaders of the Willcox Chamber of Commerce and community this week...(The VISTA volunteer was quoted as saying that) "Willcox is a Mexican American farming community of twenty thousand residents located in the Southeast corner of the state. It is a poor community where the farmers and their families live a marginal existence without the benefits of modern farm methods or machinery. Poor roads, coupled with decrepit autos make the transportation of farm goods to the markets laborious..." (Arizona Range News, Vol. 86, No. 27, 1961, p. 1).*

Between 1915, when the town of Willcox was officially incorporated, and 1970, the population increased from about 900 people to 2,568 (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1970). The population of the basin, or "trading area" as it is known, grew to over 10,000.[4] The economic strength of the community continues to lie in the land around Willcox, and the different adaptations people have made to that land.

Land use has changed dramatically over these years. The aerial photograph of the valley (Figure 26) illustrates that even from the eye of a satellite orbiting the earth the effect of agriculture on the valley is highly visible. Mining, a once vital aspect of the area's economy, has diminished in importance in all but the southern edge of Cochise County. Fort Bowie was abandoned in the 1890s, but the federal government's influence over the area has not diminished. The creation and subsequent management of the Chiricahua National Monument and the directing of the many areas of the Coronado National Forest around Willcox have kept the government's importance high. Ranching continues to be the long-term mainstay of the economy. The Southern Pacific Railroad, so important to the birth of Willcox, has been limiting its services to the town, and the major transportation link with the greater region and country has come to be the interstate highway.

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[4] The Willcox trading area has been defined as the area within a 50-mile radius of Willcox. McCleneghan & Stone (1961) include in the trading area the limits of local newspaper circulation, bank receipts, and commercial trading.

Service businesses, such as markets, equipment dealers, and gasoline stations continue to be an important sector of Willcox, but their clientele has changed from those who are primarily land users (farmers, ranchers, and miners) to a mixture of land users and tourists.

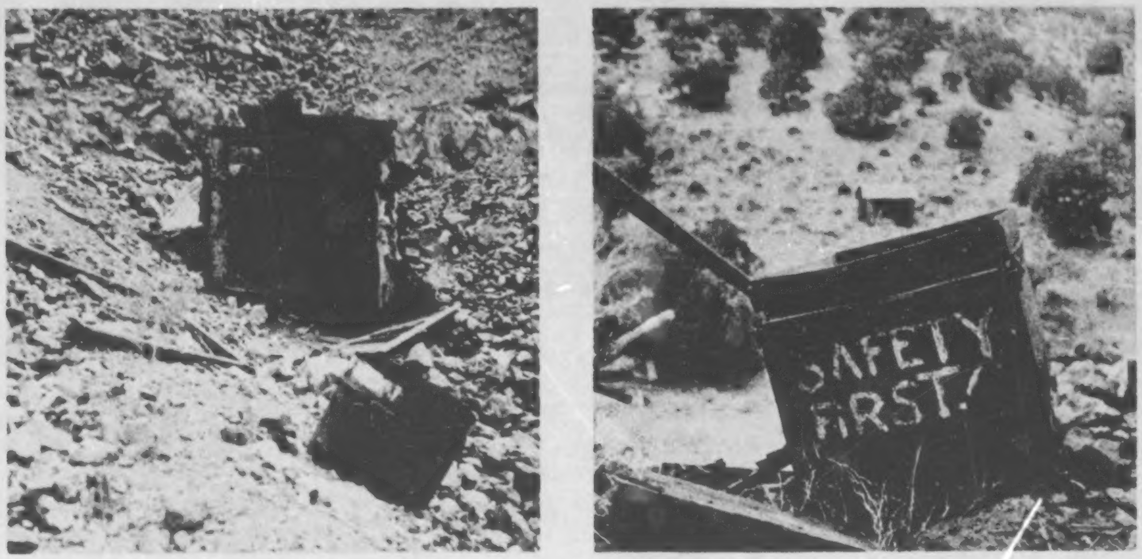
This section will describe some of the fluctuations that Willcox and the surrounding community have experienced over the years since the incorporation of the town. The growth of the Willcox community has never been independent of the larger economic and social pressures of the region and country. But while national population trends and market conditions have led to the disappearance of the small town in many parts of the country, Willcox has shown itself to be on solid enough footing to withstand these national trends.

This section is divided into three parts, each dealing with a major period of the history of the community. The first period runs from 1915 to the mid 1930s, the second from the early 1930s to the late 1940s, and the third from the 1940s to the beginning of the 1970s. Obviously, the beginning and ending dates are not exact. The history of Willcox has been one of gradual, not precipitous change. The periods delineated here serve a heuristic function for surveying the trends and major activities of the community through the last 60 years.

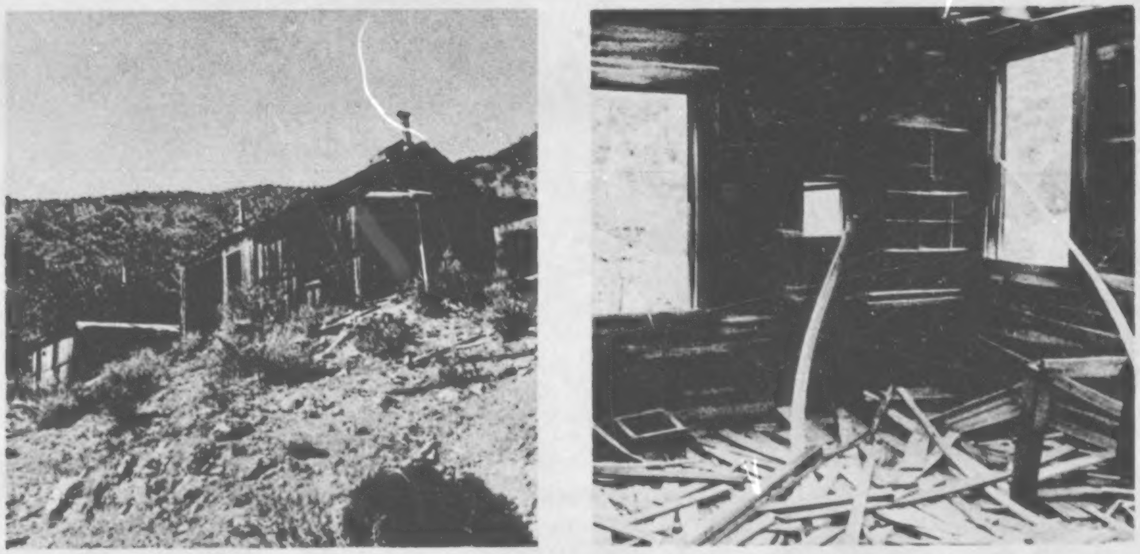
The Early Period: 1915 Through the Early 1930s

One of the dominant influences on the community of Willcox between the time of its incorporation and the depression of the 1930s was the mining industry. Precious minerals have never been found within the town of Willcox itself, but the outlying mountains have seen much activity. In the last chapter, the circle of mining districts around Willcox was described. By far, the most important of these was the Dos Cabezas mining district, situated about 15 miles to the south of the town.

The history of the Mascot and later the Central Copper Companies which did most of the mining development of the Dos Cabezas area is one of speculation and eventual financial dissolution. The Dos Cabezas Mountains were first found to contain silver and copper producing ores in the late 1870s, and the town of Dos Cabezas grew under this early impetus. By 1890 the town had come to a standstill, but in 1907 the Mascot Copper


SAFETY
FIRST!

Figs.22. & 23. Abandoned mining operation in Dos Cabezas area.



Figs.24. & 25. Mining camp in Dos Cabezas area.

Company was formed to carry out large scale mining in the area (Schultz, 1964, p. 74). Through promotion of stocks in other parts of the country, the company underwent rapid growth, and by 1926 there were an estimated 1,000 people living in the mining camp (ibid., p. 78). Shafts and tunnels were constructed, heavy equipment was brought in, and a small railroad line was built between Willcox and Dos Cabezas in 1915.

By the early 1920s, signs of the financial difficulties of the mining area were becoming apparent. A report issued in 1920 listed the firm's assets at $12,0000 and the liabilities at $472,000 (ibid., p. 77). However, by shifting the ownership of the company to another larger concern, the problems of the mining company were mitigated, at least on paper. By 1924, however, the New York Supreme Court granted an injunction against the sale of the company's stock in that state; Michigan and California soon followed suit (ibid, p. 77). By 1928, most mining activity in the Dos Cabezas area had ended, and the Central Copper Company (the name of the reorganized Mascot Copper Company) and its chief promoter disappeared.

Other mines of the area, while not based on speculation as was the Dos Cabezas operation, were subject to the changing market value of the minerals they contained. Throughout this period the mining camps and towns around Willcox contained nearly 5,000 people (ibid., p. 82), while the population of the town itself was never over 905. This large population in the hinterlands provided a steady market for ranchers and farmers in the area, as well as for the service businesses of Willcox. Willcox served as a shipping center for most of these mining districts and also as a market center for the employees.

By 1905 open range ranching had become uneconomical in the Willcox area, and the influx of settlers in the Kansas Settlement between 1905 and 1906 only underlined this fact. From the start there were conflicts between the ranch industry and the agricultural industry in the area. Ranchers resented the incoming people and the homesteading that was possible under the various federal homestead acts. The homesteaders from Kansas found it difficult to keep range cattle out of their fields, and some complained of cowboys deliberately pulling down their fences to discourage them.[5]

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[5] Personal interview with early Kansas Settlement residents, April 15, 1974.

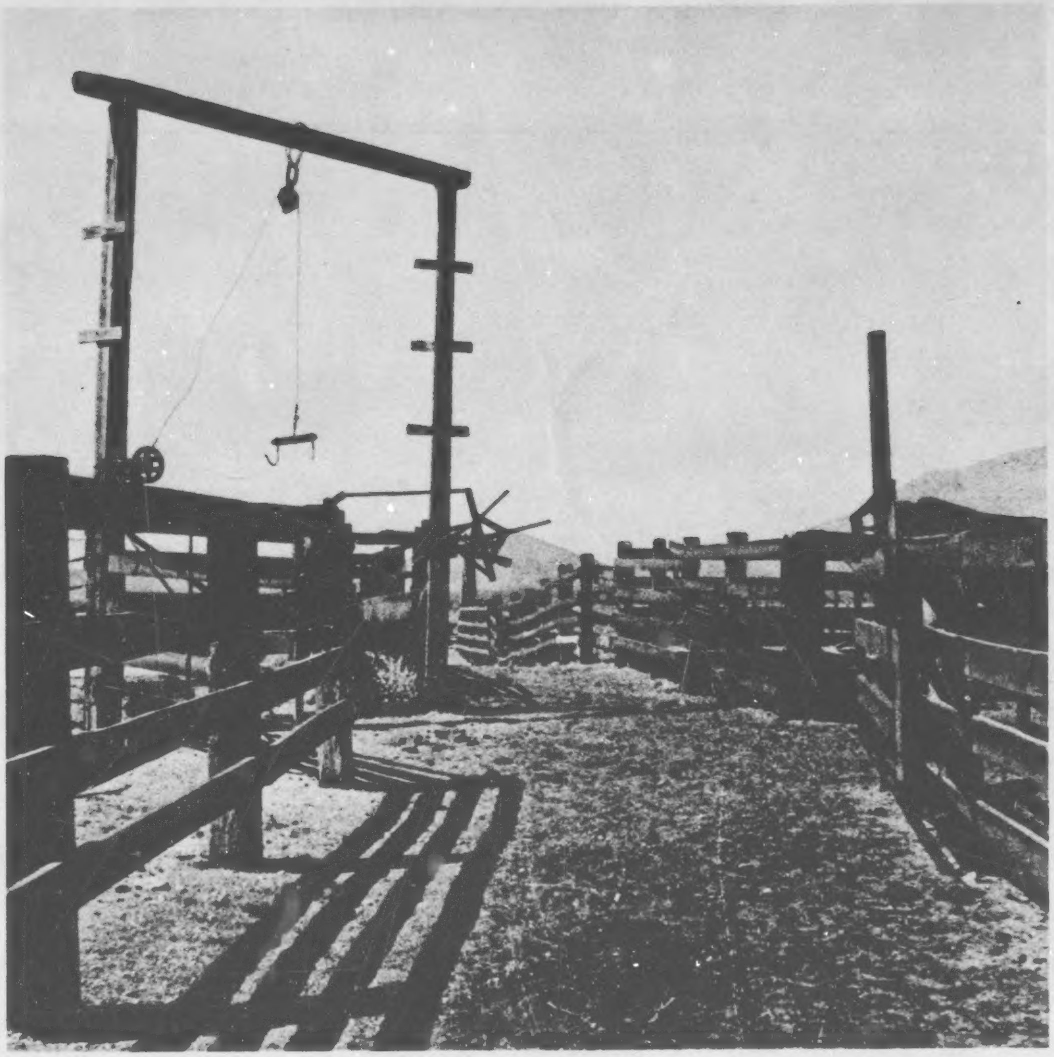

Fig.26. Cattle yard.

Farmers in the Willcox area were quick to adapt to the conditions of the dry valley, and in 1906 even experimented with a solar powered engine for water pumping. A 36-foot diameter mirror was built, and by focusing the sun's rays on a small boiler, the steam engine so powered was able to pump up to 1,500 gallons of water a minute. This experiment continued to work amazingly well until a hailstorm broke the mirror system. The mirrors were not replaced, and the farming population turned to more tried and true methods of extracting water from the ground, such as windmills and later electrical and diesel motors (Schultz, 1964, p. 91).

The solar engine, while now only a part of the local history, illustrates the attitude of experimentation and innovation that farmers in the area held. Coming from a region where dry farming (i.e., farming without supplementary irrigation) was possible, settlers from Texas, Kansas and parts of the Midwest adapted to the dry climate by developing irrigation systems, by planting grains and later commercial crops such as cotton which are resistant to wilting, and by sufficiently diversifying their activity to ensure some semblance of successful farming. By 1940 dry farming was no longer being practiced in the area, and the irrigated land had risen to 8,300 acres (Arizona Agriculture Bulletin, 1941).

Farming began in the period immediately preceding the incorporation of Willcox. Although the initial attempts at dry farming did not succeed, the agriculturalists who entered the area before 1910 formed the base of the farming community. The lack of a connection to national markets kept farming at a small scale until after the Depression. In addition, gravity-fed pumps, powered by wind or motor, were not efficient enough to produce water in large quantities for large scale irrigation. But by the end of this period, the base of Willcox agriculture was present in the Valley. The need for diversification and innovation was known to these farmers, and an agricultural experimental station was built near Cochise in 1914 to meet it.

The cattle industry during this period grew steadily. Over grazing of the rich grasslands of the basin had put ranching into a precarious state at the time of the incorporation of Willcox. But high beef prices during World War I and the opening of the California market immediately afterward revived the industry. This trend continued through the 1920s, but the severe droughts of the early 1930s slowed the industry considerably, so much so that in 1934 the government enacted an emergency cattle buying bill, which allowed cattle growers in the area to sell to the government at supported prices (Schultz, 1964, p. 66).

The relationship between the cattle industry and the government has affected the community throughout its history. The army forts of the area provided an important market for the ranchers in the first 20 years of the modern history of the basin. During the period of 1915 to 1930, the relationship revolved around the use of land in the area. The Enlarged Homestead Act of 1909 allowed 320 acres to become the property of the rancher if he improved it. Later, the Grazing Homestead Act, passed in 1917, increased the maximum acreage to 640 acres. Through these and other acts, the ranchers increased their patented land holdings during this period (ibid., p. 62). But patented land was only one portion of a ranch. In addition, land was leased from the state and from the forest service through "grazing permits." In 1929, for example, the Sierra Bonita ranch had 35,000 acres of land under private ownership, 20,000 acres leased from the state, and 45,000 acres leased from the Forest Service (ibid., p. 64).

The service businesses of Willcox, after an initial spurt of activity between 1915 and 1920, leveled off up through the early 1930s. The failure of dry farming, the winding down of the Dos Cabezas mining operations, and the general recession following the first World War all contributed to this trend. By the early 1930s the population of the town had gone down to 806, and of the three banks operating in the 1920s, only one remained (ibid., p. 99).

The Middle Period: 1930s through 1945

During the mid to late 1930s the Willcox community began to take on its present shape. Mining, so important to the first part of the community's history, declined in importance. In its place, ranching, farming, and transportation became the mainstays of the community. The federal government remained important to the ranching industry for reasons discussed previously and had an indirect effect on the community as a whole through the increased commodity prices caused by World War II.

The population of the town grew from 806 in 1930 to 884 in 1940, but then jumped to 1,266 by 1950 (U.S. Bureau of Census). Thus, while the population was fairly constant during the 1930s, the constellation of better prices, demands for farm, ranch, and some mining products, and the generally brighter economic picture of the nation prior to World War II, resulted in better times for the Willcox community.

Farming became more efficient during this period. With the development of the turbine or submersible pump, more water could be taken from the earth. Deeper wells were now possible, which opened up much more land for irrigation farming. By 1945, over 12,000 acres of land were under irrigation in the county (Arizona Agriculture Bulletin, 1946). In 1938, the Sulphur Springs Valley Electric Cooperative was formed with a loan from the Rural Electrification Administration, and by 1941, 490 members were connected to the system (Schultz, 1964, p. 92). The availability of electric power aided farming by providing the means to run more irrigation pumps. With these two advances (turbine pumps and electric power) farming became possible for ranchers as well as farmers, and provided ranchers with a more diverse land use base.

The demand for minerals during World War II also caused the reopening of some of the mining camps around the area. Pearce, for example, had a population of 660 in 1940 (ibid., p. 87). This resurgence was short-lived, however, and today the towns of Pearce, Dos Cabezas and other mining camps are virtually deserted.

The most important event of this period for the community of Willcox was the paving of the Steins Pass road (Highway 86) which runs from New Mexico through Willcox and on into Tucson. Before 1939, travelers had to drive south through Bisbee and Douglas before turning back north to get to Tucson. The new road saved many miles of travel, and after it was opened, Willcox became a transportation center for road traffic as well as railroad traffic. New motels and gasoline stations started business during this time, and the town began to cater to the tourist economy.

Along with the economic trends which occurred during this period, the community of Willcox also began to develop a desire for self-improvement. The building of the Stein's Pass highway was indicative of this. Before the route was officially recognized by the county or state, local volunteers carried out extensive improvement on the dirt road (ibid., p. 105). In 1937, the Women's Club of Willcox completed the community center with the aid of the Work Projects Administration, and the Sulphur Springs Valley Chamber of Commerce was reorganized as the Willcox Chamber of Commerce. During this same period, the first City Hall was constructed (1936), the first sewage treatment facilities were built (1939), and the first paving of residential streets was begun (1941) (ibid., pp. 100-105). In short, the community began to be self-conscious. Civic improvement flourished, and the town became more than a collection of people serving the surrounding areas: it became a town in business for its own sake as much as for the larger community.

Community interest in improving the school system also became manifest. The high school, which had been built in 1911, first became accredited in 1916 from the University of Arizona. It was remodeled in 1922 through a $100,000 bond issue, and in 1930 a new agriculture shop was added using WPA funds. In 1932 the high school had six recitation rooms and four labs, including one each for physics, chemistry and biology, agriculture, and domestic science. The curriculum was diverse; in addition to standard courses such as English, algebra, biology, history, chemistry, Spanish, and geometry, it offered agronomy, journalism, management training, music history and appreciation, glee club, piano, architecture, physical education, shop drawing and mathematics, stenography, typing, and bookkeeping. The curriculum was divided into four tracks: college preparatory, commercial, home economics, and vocational and agricultural. The school system emphasized college preparation and regularly sent students to the University of Arizona in Tucson. Education was a source of pride to the community: "Another contributing factor to the improvement of the community is the fairly high intellectual quality of the citizens, there being approximately 32 college graduates and 115 to 125 high school graduates in the town" (Larsen, 1932, p. 8). In 1930 the cost per pupil for elementary students was $126.81 and for high school students it was $302.10. Redistricting was also carried out extensively in the years from 1920 to 1940 as a way of improving the schools. By 1930, the school district had been enlarged from the boundaries of the town of Willcox to include the whole southern region of the basin, or 275 square miles.

Although the community was proud of its school system, it was also aware of its difficulties. One problem was that there were two different cultural groups, the Anglo American and the Mexican American, in the same school system. As early as 1930 the difficulty which Anglo Americans experienced in teaching Mexican Americans was recognized. The attitude of the school system toward Mexican Americans was expressed in a report written in 1932: "...The Latin American, strongly Indian in his composition, subjected by years of servitude and influenced by superstition, needs particular sympathy and understanding" (Larsen, 1932, p. 13). The problem of cultural differences was strongly compounded by the language barrier, as the school system realized. "Understanding Spanish helps in the appreciation of Spanish people" (ibid., p. 73). In addition, the fact that few local people returned to the community to teach and that most teachers were recruited from outside the area may have added to the difficulties of teaching in a bi-cultural region. Larsen noted that there were four Mexicans enrolled in the high school in 1932.

Both educational and commercial leadership were divided between the early residents who had been influential in developing service businesses and the ranching families. The school board maintained a balance between local businessmen and rancher/farmers throughout the years. In the community, the Riggs family continued to be important. Although the bank which they started in 1915 was sold to the Valley National Bank of Tucson in 1936, the economic and social leadership that this family played in the town as well as in the ranching community did not diminish.

Church leadership in the community was held by the Methodists, Mormons, Baptists, and Catholics. Although the first Catholic Church was built in the early 1890s, the community did not have a pastor until after the Second World War. Attendance at the Catholic Church was high among the Mexican American population of the community throughout the history of the town. The Methodist, Mormon, and Baptist churches have grown with the community, the former being attended by town business people and the latter two by outlying community members.

The Recent Period: 1945 through 1970

The end of World War II began the most recent period of the history of the Willcox community. This last period has been one of rapid growth, both in terms of population and the economic base of the community. In the early 1960s a new influence appeared in the community: the development of retirement communities and land development. These changes, plus the opening of Interstate Highway 10 brought Willcox into the 1970s.

In 1950, the population of the town of Willcox was 1,266 (Willcox Community Prospectus, 1972) and by 1965, a special census of the town showed the population to be 3,018 (Arizona Range News, Vol. 82, No. 36, 1965). With the increase in population, the services of the town increased accordingly. A hospital was built in 1951 (Schultz, 1964, p. 115), and by 1968 a new hospital, the Northern Cochise Community Hospital, was built with a $700,000 bond issue (Arizona Range News, Vol. 85, 1968). During this period the number of churches increased in the community until the 1970 total was 17. A radio station began broadcasting in 1959 (ibid., p. 117). The railroad began passenger service to the community in 1961, but discontinued it after a few years. Greyhound and Trailways bus lines began stopping regularly, providing yet another transportation link to the rest of the country. In 1957, the town went to a city manager-council type of government and since then has annexed large tracts of land surrounding the town for future development.

Ranching remained constant during this period of Willcox's history. During 1940, the number of beef cattle in the county was 93,000, but by 1958 had only risen to 96,000 (Bakarich, 1958, p. 33). In 1970, the number of beef cattle was slightly over 68,000 (Arizona Agriculture Bulletin, 1971). That the total number of beef cattle did not increase should not be taken as an indication of the decline of the cattle industry. Since the Second World War, two feedlots have been built in the area, and two livestock auction barns have been in operation in Willcox. Schultz (1964, p. 72) estimates that some 30,000 head of cattle are shipped out of Willcox yearly. The cattle industry has leveled off in terms of the number of cattle on the range, but through better range management, more efficient breeding practices, and improving market conditions, the industry has remained very stable.

Farming has experienced tremendous growth since the end of the Second World War. Irrigated acreage has increased from 12,000 acres in 1945 to over 127,000 acres in 1971 (Arizona Agriculture Bulletin, 1945, 1972). After the end of the war, agriculture became increasingly commercially successful as first cotton, then lettuce and sugar beets began to be grown in quantity in the area. In the mid-1960s a group of farmers from western Texas began settling the area of the town of Willcox (the Stewart District). Although much of their land is outside of Cochise County, this influx of new agriculturalists shows up as a jump of over 25,000 irrigated acres for Cochise County between 1966 and 1967 (ibid., 1967, 1968).

Support industries developed in the town along with this increase in farming activity. Two lettuce processing plants located in the town and began processing up to 200 carloads of lettuce a week, or two-thirds the nation's demand (Schultz, 1964, p. 96). In the 1960s, an irrigation pipe manufacturing company was located in the town, as well as many small businesses specializing in pump installation, repair, and maintenance. In the farming areas, grain storage plants, chemical fertilizer plants and a meat packing plant began operating during this period.

Retirement communities, first introduced into the area in the late 1950s, have come to be important to Willcox. By far, the most successful is Arizona Sunsites, located about 35 miles southwest of the town, near the old mining town of Pearce. As of 1970, some 300 homes had been constructed in the community. Other land development schemes have not faired as well as Arizona Sunsites. One, the Twin Lakes development, located immediately to the south of Willcox, is reminiscent of the early mining speculations that occurred in the Dos Cabezas area. During 1968 and 1969 when the development was underway, planeloads of prospective buyers from the mid-western states of Illinois and Ohio flew in to look at the investment properties (Arizona Range News, Vol. 87, No. 30, 1970). A restaurant and a nine-hole golf course were constructed, and streets were laid out for future populations. Unfortunately, the water supply of the area was not potable, and development has been declining since this fact became apparent in the early 1970s. Again, reminiscent of the Dos Cabezas mining activities, the development firm changed hands in an effort to improve upon the investment, but so far has met with little success.

There have been other attempts to create retirement developments within the Willcox basin during this period, but with the majority of them it is too early to predict their eventual success or failure. If they do succeed, they will add another outlying population which the community will service.

State and national governmental operations have also expanded in the community during this latter period. In the southern part of the basin, the Chiricahua National Monument was established in 1924. Currently, the Monument employs a park ranger, a naturalist, a geologist, and other maintenance and administrative personnel. In the town of Willcox itself, are located a number of governmental agencies. These include the Farmers Home Administration, the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Committee, the Small Business Administration, the Soil Conservation Service, the Forest Service office, and the Immigration Border Patrol. Because of the variety of agencies, the governmental influence in the community is widespread. No military agencies are located in the community, although the Willcox Playa was utilized as a bombing range during World War II. It is still listed on the official state maps as the "Willcox Dry Lake Bombing Range," and remains under governmental control.

State agencies which have located in the community in the last 20 years include a Highway Department maintenance station, a State Employment office, and the University of Arizona Cooperative Extension office and Community Development office.

Although the economic benefits of the influence of governmental agencies is often stressed, it should be pointed out that the agencies have a social effect as well. They bring to the community a number of employees and their families with broad national outlooks because of their

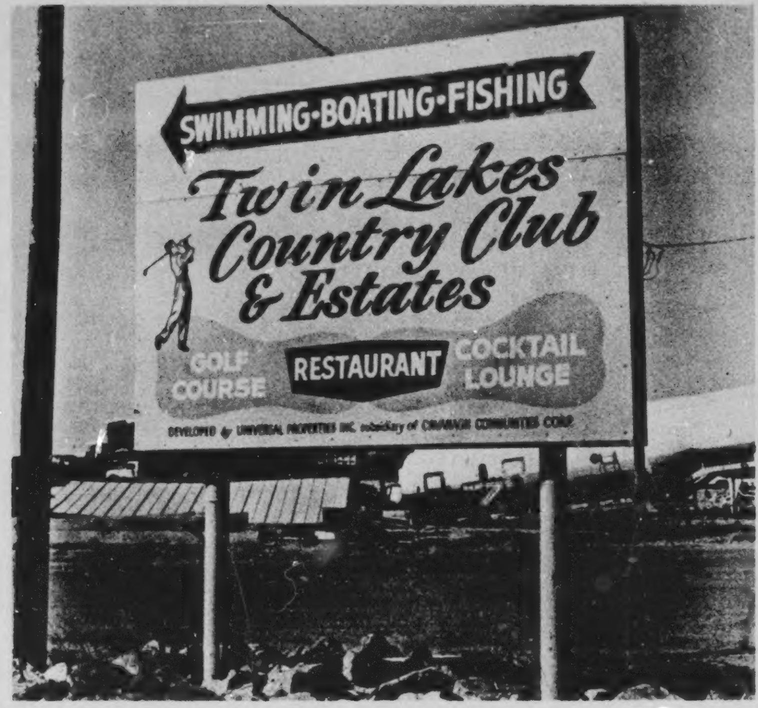
SWIMMING·BOATING·FISHING
Twin Lakes
Country Club
& Estates
GOLF COURSE
RESTAURANT
COCKTAIL LOUNGE

Fig.27. The Twin Lakes development was built at the southern edge of the city of Willcox.

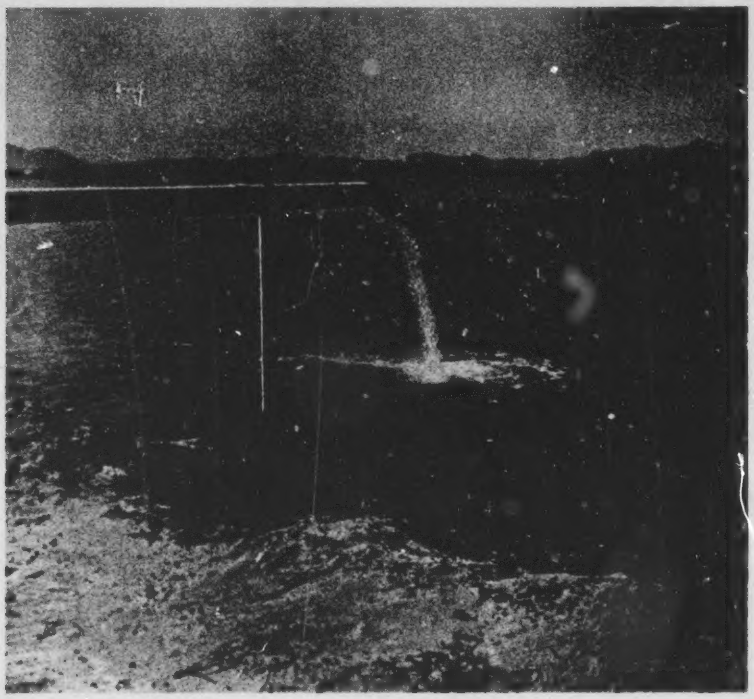

Fig.28. Water from deep underground wells is used to fill the lake of Twin Lakes Estates.

experiences of working in many parts of the country. The effects of the presence of these agencies and offices cut across most of the economic and social groupings of the community: some are concerned with agriculture and ranching, others with community progress, still others with business and financial development. The Immigration Border Patrol watches for illegal crossings of the international border, while the staffs at the National Monument and Fort Bowie Historic Site cater to the ever increasing tourist or short-term resident population of the area.

The major trends of this last period of the history of the Willcox community have been the growth of agriculture, the increase in social, religious and health facilities of the town of Willcox, and the increasing numbers of new residents. Transportation remains vital to the community, and the routing of Interstate Highway 10 through the town has resulted in a widening of the market and leisure time horizons of the residents.

Because of the ease with which the community can be reached, new populations have entered the area. Seasonal residents--usually retired couples who have purchased homes either in the community or in the outlying development communities--are becoming more noticeable in the area. Tourists, the most transient of the seasonal residents, are considered a major market for service businesses. Motels, gasoline stations, restaurants, and trailer parks have sprung up to meet the needs of these populations.

Throughout the history of Willcox, diversity in the economic, social, and cultural systems of the surrounding area has contributed to the overall strength of the community. This diversity, coupled with a strong consciousness of the community, has overcome the national trend of the decline of the small town. The number of new influences which have affected the town throughout its history, and the retention of some basic patterns of community life are striking: mining, dry farming, ranching, communications, irrigation farming, service industry, and land development have all had periods of growth and decline during the history of Willcox. Governmental activities, be they army, land management, or community service have provided markets for the town and have provided avenues for the dissemination of new ideas and life patterns. Willcox has become, over the years, what one new resident described as a "sophisticated rural community." Willcox doesn't consider itself provincial; perhaps never did, for when the town was incorporated it was named "the City of Willcox." The trends of the community through this portion of its history are summarized in Figure 29.

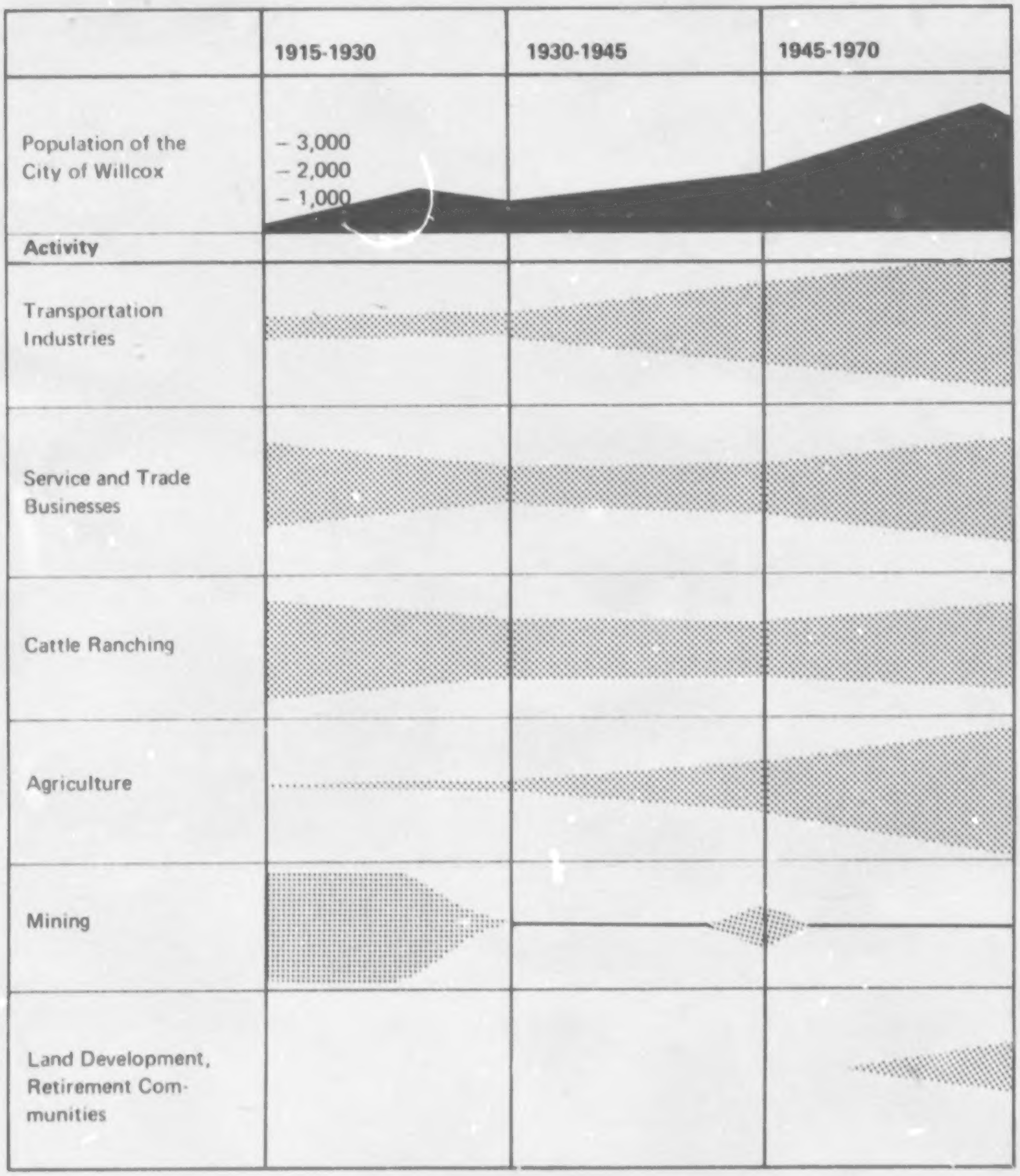

Fig. 29. Major activities and their importance in the Willcox Area, 1919-1970.

WILLCOX IN THE 1970S

> *Irrespective of the potential for economic development, in the final analysis, the willingness and determination of the people to invest time and funds in the economic development of the community and to encourage others to do likewise is the largest contributing factor in the development of any area...If Wilicox's economy is left to luck and good fortune without any conscious effort to stimulate and utilize its resources, the future is bleak; but if effort is marshalled toward expanding the economy, then the area's economic future is bright (Despain & Associates, 1971, pp. 28-29).*

The Community

What is Willcox? From the beginning, this report has stressed the variety of influences which have shaped the town into its present configuration. Like the proverbial elephant described by seven blind men, Willcox continues to look like different things to different people. It is, by self-proclamation, the "Cattle Capital of the Country." To some, this constant presence of ranching defines Willcox as a "Western" or "Cow Town." The annual Rex Allen Days festival, instigated in 1952, stresses the western, cowboy image of the town. As one reporter put it, Willcox has "...a unique linkage of present and very 'real' western culture with the national myth of the cowboy, expressed in the form of a community wide festival" (McLeneghan & Stone, 1961, p. 22).

Willcox, including the surrounding areas, is more than the ideal of this one occupational group. Although the mystique or "culture" of the cowboy is often used as a rallying point or identifying mark of the community, the other forces of the different occupations, nationalities, trading patterns, and land ecology make up Willcox as well. Not everyone is a cowboy, although he or she may appear to be one during the annual Rex Allen Days festival. The strength of the community is in its diversity, not the adherence to one way of making a living over all others.

This section describes some of the salient features of the community as it began the decade of the 1970s. The emphasis here will be on pulling together the social strands of the community. Following this, the school system will be described as it has developed through the years within the context of the community.

The common characteristic of the population picture of Willcox and the surrounding area is the steady growth it has experienced over the last 40 years. The official population for the town itself in 1970 was 2,550 (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1970). This is below the 3,000 person figure of 1965, and common understanding in the town is that the official census figures were low. But this relatively small population is indicative only of the town itself. The surrounding area contains far more people. The 1970 population count for the school district (see Figure 1) was 4,435. The school district line stops at the top of Cochise County for political reasons, even though the "trade area" of the community extends farther. Willcox is the major town within a 50-mile radius, and estimates in the Community Prospectus (1971) and Comprehensive Plan (1971) place the number of people affected by the trade of Willcox to be between 8,000 and 10,000. The "trade area" has been established on the following grounds: newspaper circulation, utilities hookups (telephone, electricity, etc.), and bank customers. But it would be incorrect to assume that the population of the trade area regularly markets or otherwise uses the facilities of the town. The closeness of Tucson (reachable within about an hour and a half on the interstate) draws much of the business of the Willcox area to that city. Safford, a community situated about 50 miles to the north of Willcox, is rapidly expanding, and the existence of discount stores as well as larger chain stores draws people to that community as well. The markets of Willcox are expanding and continue to serve the community. The importance of Tucson and Safford to the community are that they indicate that Willcox is not an isolated town. The isolation is broken down by other factors besides transportation and marketing. Daily and weekly newspapers from Tucson are regularly received in Willcox. Phoenix and Los Angeles newspapers are also circulated in town. Four television channels can be received from Tucson with a normal antenna, and a cable television company which has been located in town since 1971 increases this number to eight.

The interstate highway also serves the recreation needs of the people. Although there is a movie theater located in the town, it is not frequented by the adult population. Instead, a dinner and a movie in the city of Tucson has become a common recreational practice. Other cultural events of that city, ranging from pop music concerts to opera, draw people of all ages out of Willcox and into Tucson many times a month.

The age and sex ratio of the population of the Willcox area reflect this increasing "pull" of Tucson and places beyond. In this sense, Willcox is similar to many small towns: there is a noticeable lack of young people between the ages of 18 and 30 as they leave the area after high school graduation in search of a different life. The population distribution of the school district is shown in Figure 30.

The outmigration of the area is not limited to young people. Community residents understand the delicate balance of their livelihood and the economic strength of the community, and the necessity to leave the area when conditions are not favorable. One businessman described a hypothetical sequence of migration, which well indicates the larger population network to which Willcox is tied. He began by saying that if a service businessman were to find that farming had declined and made his business uneconomical, that person would have to move to Tucson. There in Tucson, the pressure of that person and his family would force a similarly employed person from Tucson to move to Phoenix. There, the same set of events would force someone from Phoenix to move to Los Angeles.

Whether this description of population dynamics is correct in all details need not be a concern of this history. What is important about this illustration is that a general westward migration in the nation is recognized also in Willcox. This migration in fact begins in the Midwest, the home of many of the new retirees, as well as many of the younger teachers in the school system. The naming of Tucson, Phoenix and Los Angeles in the illustration also indicates the reference points for the area, as do the newspapers arriving from these three cities. In short, people look to the West for news, markets, and what can be described as a "general cultural direction."

The emphasis in the preceding paragraphs on migration should not be interpreted as meaning that the community is dying out. As

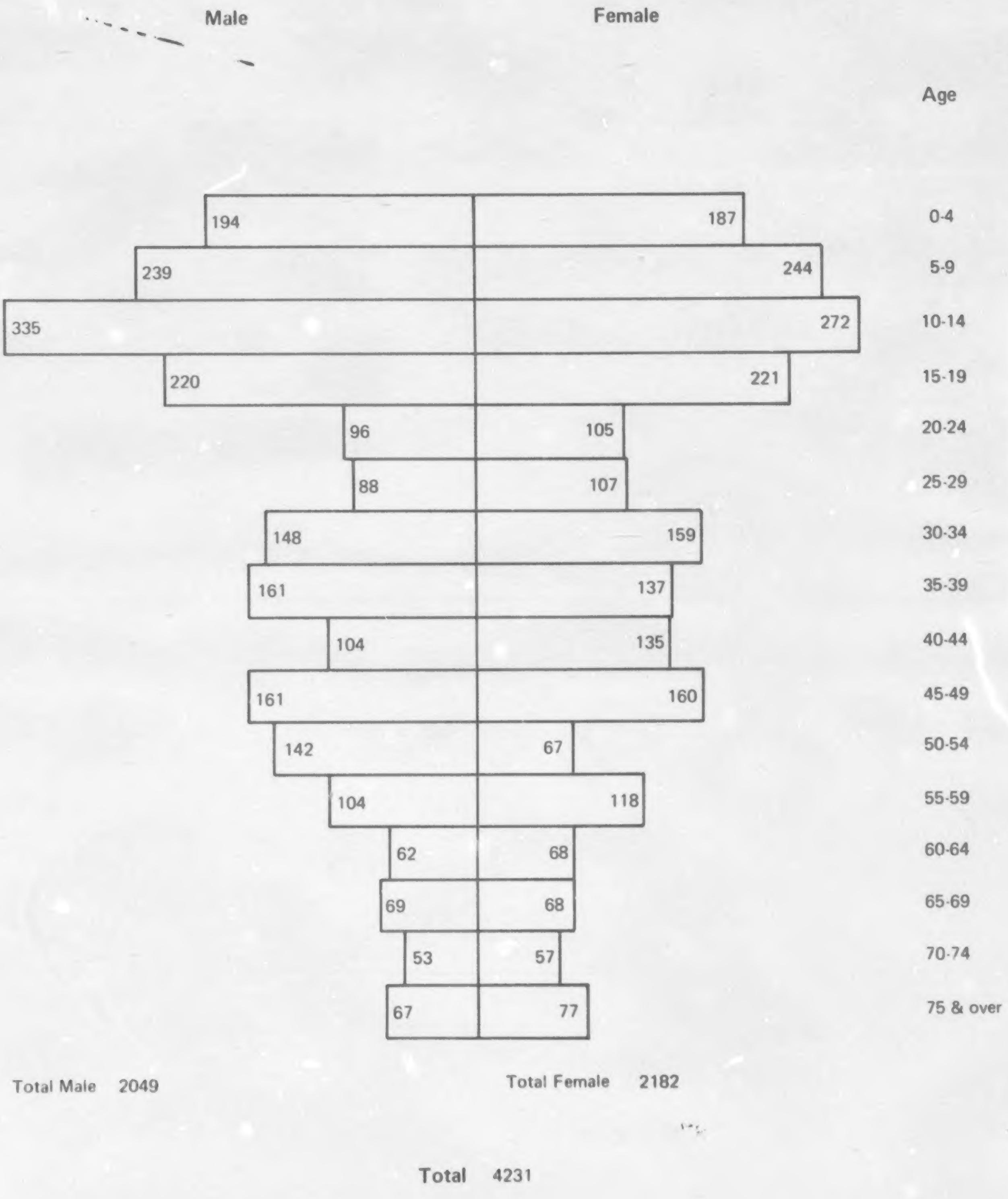

Fig.30. Population by age and sex in Willcox School District No. 13.

mentioned previously, the general trend in overall population figures is one of continued growth. The out-migration is occurring in the age brackets of 18 to 30, but immigration is occurring for other age brackets. That the general population of the community is getting older is perhaps distorted by the number of retirees who are entering the area. Young people with families also continue to enter the community. A different trend may indeed be beginning in the community: very recent immigrants to Willcox and the area refer to the advantages of living in a medium-sized town as the reason why they chose to settle there. If the "return to the small town" ethic continues, the good geographic and economic position which Willcox enjoys could bring more people into its community.

Although the Mexican American people in the town constitute almost 30% of the population, and within the school district almost 20%, it has not been until very recently that they have begun to be an effective social and political force within the community. In the farming and ranching areas beyond the limits of the town itself, Mexican Americans have played important roles in the developing economy of the community. Migrant labor has been used in lettuce, beet, and cotton production, although increasing mechanization has lessened the use of farm labor for the last two of these crops. Long-term farm and ranch labor has been done by members of this population throughout the history of the area. Today Mexican Americans are represented on all levels of agricultural businesses.

Within the town, few Mexican Americans have traditionally been represented in business or civic organizations, although this is changing. A grocery market owned by a Mexican American has more than tripled its floor area in the last three years, and Willcox elected a Mexican American to the city council in 1972. The school system has had few Mexican Americans in teaching or administrative positions, although many carry out maintenance, aide, and other operational functions of the school.

According to residents, after World War II, Mexican Americans began to understand their contributions to the community. They helped with the building of the veterans' club and brought about a change in consciousness within the Mexican community based on the importance of participating in the activities of the town. This is a trend which is continuing.

There is a danger in calling attention to and labeling one group, such as the Mexican Americans, in a community. That danger lies in the tendency to identify all members of that community as similar and forget the differences they may have with one another, and the similarities they have with other people in the community. Categorization always detracts from the uniqueness and fullness of the people being described. Just as Willcox itself cannot be accurately described as "a cattle town," so, too, identifying one segment of its population can obscure the totality of the community.

With this caveat in mind, it is also necessary to point out the sense of community that many Mexican Americans have in Willcox. By choice, most of them live within one section of the town, worship at the same church, and speak a common language in addition to English. Most have been employed in lower paying jobs. Out of these characteristics, bonds have been formed. The Mexican Americans in Willcox have a sense of togetherness at times, just as the cowboys, local business people, and teachers and their families do. As the 1970s began, the effect of these bonds within the group of people with Mexican American heritage began to be directed toward affecting some political and social changes in the town. The town has responded well, and most community members recognize the strength that this segment of the Willcox population will add to the total community.

One of the pervasive features of the life of Willcox has been its commitment towards growth and improvement. It is not a conservative town and is continuously involved in bringing new features of community life to the area. The local government has always been close to the business structure and has sponsored many activities which have resulted in making Willcox a "better place to live."

When the town was organized in 1915, a mayor-city council government was created. This type of government continued until 1957 when the position of city manager was added. During the time between 1910 and 1957, the city government was active in creating a park next to the railroad station, which has become the showcase of the town; it has operated a sewage disposal system since 1939, introduced natural gas services soon after World War II, operated the hospital after 1951, and purchased a water system in 1956 (McCleneghan & Stone, 1961, p. 6).

In 1952, the Rex Allen Days festival was organized by the Chamber of Commerce, and through close cooperation with the local government, has grown to monumental proportions. Each year during the first week of October, the festival is held with the cowboy star Rex Allen in the parade and stage show. Although the festival was organized in order to bolster trade of local businesses, it has become the largest cultural event of the community. Although other communities also hold yearly celebrations (such as "Helldorado Days" in Tombstone) Rex Allen Days has become a success not only as a commercial venture but also as a yearly intensification of the ideas and values of the Willcox community.

After 1957, when the position of city manager was added to the local government, zoning laws, city annexation, building codes, and the paving of the remainder of the streets in the town took place. The city has also sponsored various economic and business surveys, the latest being the Comprehensive Plan for the City of Willcox (1971). These surveys and plans are all aimed at attracting more business to the town. Small manufacturing businesses are especially being courted. Thus far an irrigation pipe manufacturing plant and a number of farm machinery businesses have been added to the town.

Between 1965 and 1970, the city built an extensive park area on the north side of town which includes a large swimming pool, tennis courts, and picnic area. This park illustrates the continuing civic improvement spirit of the community, especially its government. Not only was this park, with its free swimming pool for all community residents, built in that year, but a visitors' center and museum was also built. This center, staffed by city employees, has one of the finest display museums of any town in the state or region. In the center, the history of the area is displayed, and, as has been mentioned, Niño Cochise is on hand to greet visitors and townspeople alike.

By the early 1970s, the "City of Willcox" had taken on its share of community activities. Besides the recreational and cultural programs mentioned above, the local government had by this time become the source for the town's water supply, natural gas, sewage and garbage disposal, and fire protection. The city government also sponsored an art league and in 1970 dedicated a new library. Leadership was energetic, and participation in council sessions was high.

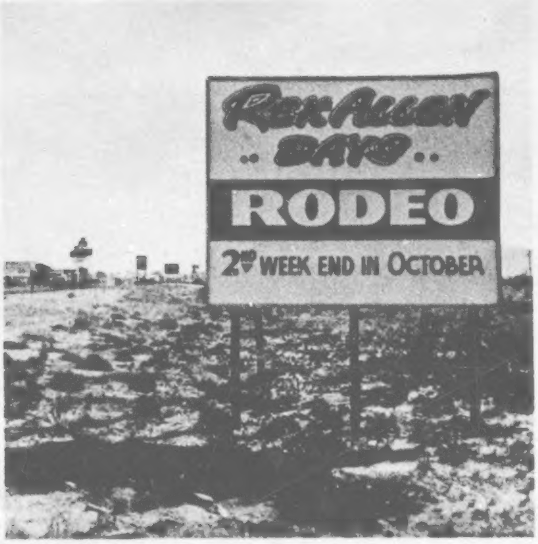
REX ALLEN
.. DAYS ..
RODEO
2ND WEEK END IN OCTOBER

Fig.31. Advertisement for Rex Allen Days on the edge of the city of Willcox.

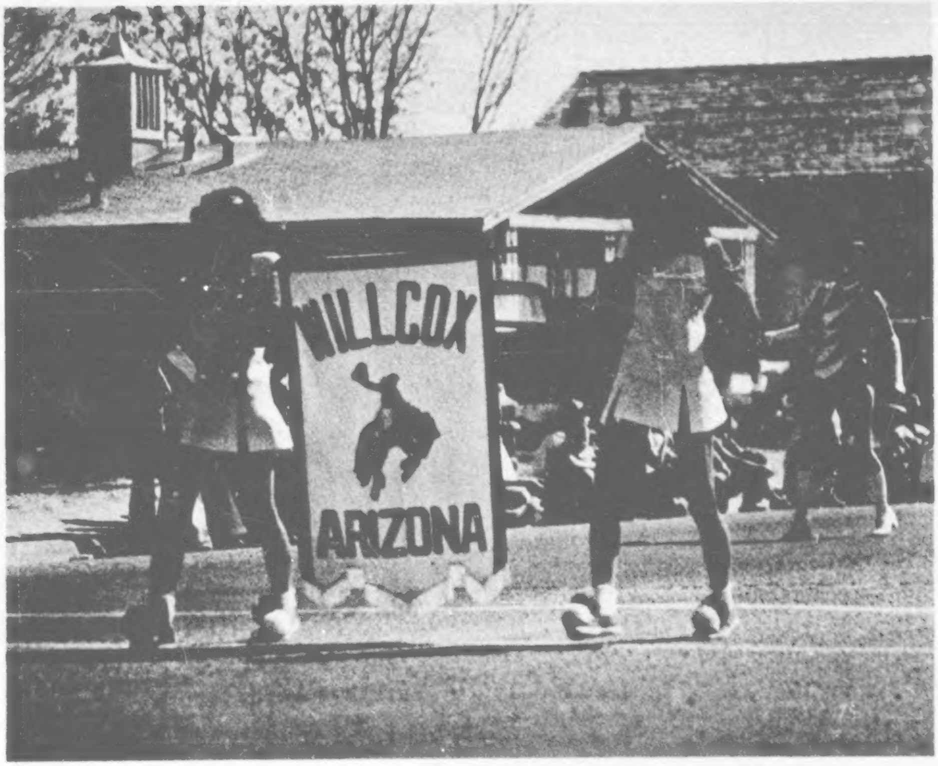
WILLCOX
ARIZONA

Fig.32. Annual Rex Allen Days Parade, Willcox school band.

The economic picture of the community was not as bright as the picture of local governmental activities. A report on the economy of the area published in 1971 (Despain & Associates, 1971) noted that of the more than 8,000 people in the Willcox trade area, only about one-fourth were considered to be in the labor force. Of that 25%, almost one person in eight was unemployed (ibid., 1971, pp. 17-18).

Part of the reason for the high unemployment rates is the agricultural base of the area, but even at that, the average family income level has remained low, estimated in 1970 to be $8,333. Of the 4,535 persons listed as residents of the school district, 18.2% were below the federal poverty level based on income and family size.

The major economic activities in the Willcox area center around agriculture, tourism, and government (ibid., 1971, p. 21). As has been noted earlier, ranching has remained a steady, slightly increasing activity in the area, with about 50,000 head of cattle being shipped out of Willcox a year. Agriculture has grown fastest, and land put under irrigation has increased 1,000% since 1945. Tourism, which accounts for much of the retail trade of the city of Willcox, continues to grow, albeit not at the rates other parts of Arizona have experienced. An economic survey of the town carried out in 1970 noted that fully two-thirds of the employment work force in Willcox's commercial establishments were supported by customers originating outside of the city (University of Arizona Department of Geography, 1971, p. 24).

Within the city itself, the major employers are the school system, the hospital, and the Sulphur Springs Valley Electric Cooperative, each employing between 60 and 150 persons. The economic survey cited above notes that over 370 persons were employed in wholesale and retail trades in Willcox in 1970 (ibid., 1971, p. 11). Governmental employment accounts for 10% of the Willcox employment scene (Willcox Community Prospectus, 1972).

Of course not all of the wholesale and retail trade employees are serving the tourist trade, but the 46 service stations, eating places, and motels of Willcox employed some 114 people in 1970 (University of Arizona Department of Geography, 1971, p. 40).

The city of Willcox supports itself with a 1% sales tax on retail trade within the city. Supplemental revenues come from the operation of the utilities and services mentioned earlier, with the exception of the hospital, which has been self-sufficient and under its own board of directors since 1957. Recent bond issues for city improvement have been passed without difficulty. The latest was a $325,000 issue for a new water system in 1970 to correct the high fluoride system that was in use at the time. The city government also receives federal revenue sharing funds, which are used for equipment and building maintenance and repair.

Besides the city sales tax, residents of the Willcox community pay a 3% state sales tax. Property taxes in Arizona are divided among four classes: transportation and mining, communications and utilities, commercial and industrial properties, and residential and agricultural properties. Residential and agricultural properties are taxed at 18% assessed value, while transportation and mining properties are taxed at 60% assessed value. The other two classes fall between these two extremes. Willcox has traditionally benefited from this division. The community has large transportation holdings within its boundaries (the Southern Pacific Railroad) as well as an El Paso Natural Gas pipeline and a large electric cooperative. Property tax rates are given in Table 2.

Table 2

PROPERTY TAX RATE PER 100 ASSESSED VALUE AND ASSESSED VALUATION

	1969	1970	1971
Net Assessed Valuation	$12,644,449.00	$13,915,325.00	$14,444,116.00
Elementary School	3.25	3.29	2.23
High School	2.47	2.56	2.62
Community College	.93	1.15	1.27
State	2.20	1.65	1.90
County	3.18	3.17	3.29
Total Outside City	12.03	11.82	11.31
City	2.00	2.00	2.00
Total	14.03	13.82	13.31

Source: Willcox, Arizona *Community Prospectus*, 1972.

Predictions into the future economic patterns of the community are difficult. In 1970, it was reported that the declining agricultural market and poor crop yields were threatening this important economic pillar of the community. Since that time, higher grain prices and better crops have resulted in an upsurge of agricultural activity. Increases in the price of beef will also probably boost the cattle industry of the area, and the use of feedlots to supplement range feeding will aid this portion of the economy. The cattle industry has always been very dependent on rainfall, and the continuing dry weather over the last few years is hurting the success of this sector of the economy. Tourism is increasing, and although the "business loop" through the town of Willcox was bypassed in 1969, the downtown businesses continue to do trade with the automobile passengers, as Willcox is the first major town one meets west of the New Mexico line and east of Tucson.

The Schools of Willcox

The combined Willcox School District No. 13 covers an area of approximately 925 square miles. This area follows the general outlines of the Willcox Basin (see Figure 1), although the exact boundaries have been drawn out of political, rather than strictly geographic considerations. Within this large area live over 1,450 students, approximately one-half within the city of Willcox and one-half outside the city. The average enrollment of school districts in Arizona in 1971-72 was 1,531. The school district itself is governed by a five-person Board of Trustees which meets monthly to decide issues pertaining to the operation of the educational system. The district has a superintendent, three building principals, and 71 teachers who carry out the instructional program with the students. Two counselors, nine instructional and seven clerical aides assist in the schools, and the maintenance and operation of school buildings and busses are carried out by 27 janitors and drivers.[5]

The organization of the instructional program, developed through county and state guidelines, consists of an elementary school, a middle school, and a high school. All schools are graded; the elementary

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[5] Data given here are for the 1971-72 school year.

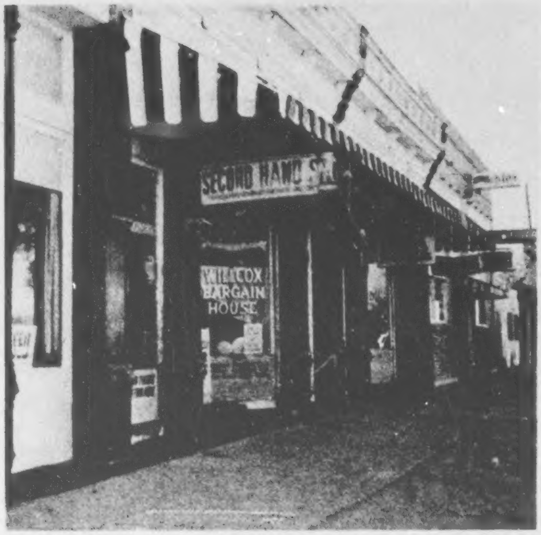
SECOND HAND ST
WILLCOX
BARGAIN
HOUSE

Fig.33. Railroad Avenue in Willcox, 1971.

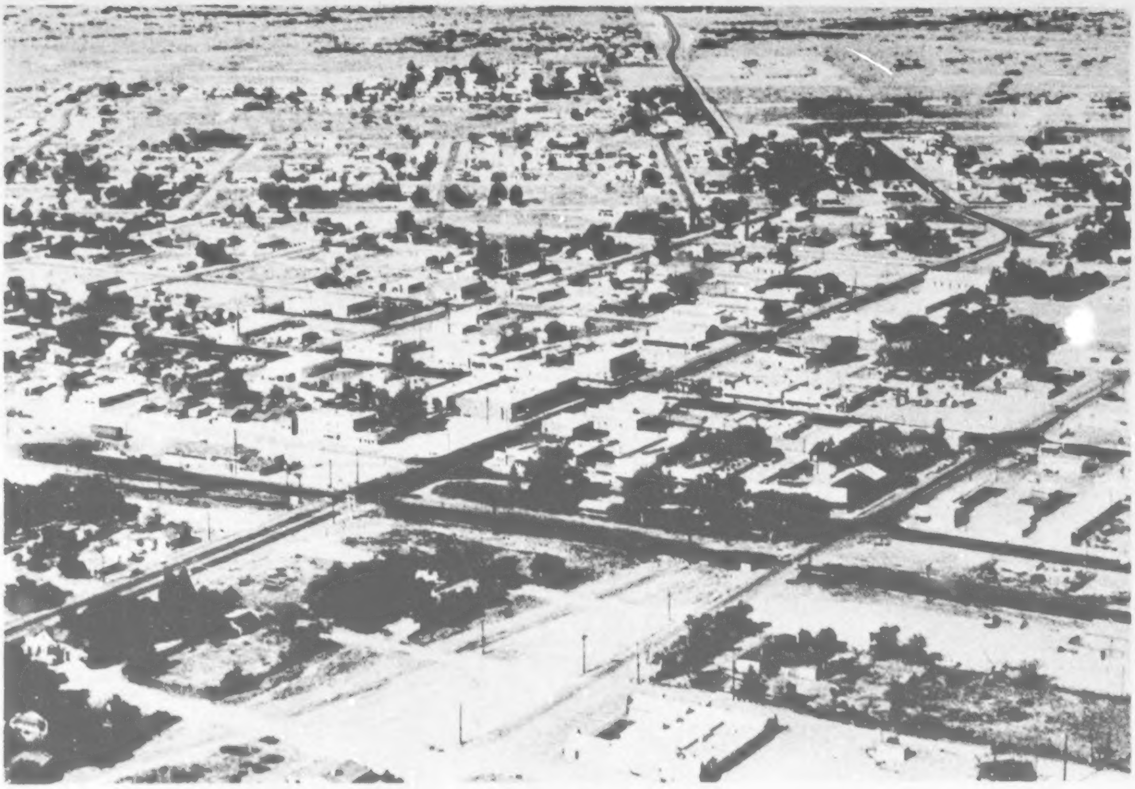

Fig.34. The city of Willcox today.

school contains grades kindergarten through four; the middle school, grades five through eight; and the high school, grades nine through twelve. The middle and high schools are located on the same grounds, and share cafeteria, auditorium, and library (media center) resources. The elementary school is located about a half-mile away (see Figure 35). The number of students in each school is roughly equal: 541 in the elementary, 497 in the middle school, and 425 in the high school. The student population has the same general ethnic composition as the community at large: approximately 70% are Anglo, 26% Mexican-American, and the remaining 4% black and other ethnic backgrounds.

The Willcox School System serves as an extension center for both the Cochise County College, a two-year college in Douglas, Arizona, which was opened in 1964, and the state system, including the University of Arizona and Northern Arizona University. These institutions also draw upon the Willcox system for students. Although the University of Arizona at Tucson has traditionally received the greatest number of Willcox students going on to college, Cochise College is becoming increasingly important in this regard. Many people feel that it is easier to go on to a large university, such as the University of Arizona, after first attending two years at Cochise College.

Beyond the local level, the Willcox Public School System is under the authority of the county superintendent of schools, and ultimately responsible to the county Board of Supervisors. The hierarchy of authority beyond the county level includes the Arizona State Board of Education, responsible for reviewing state and federal programs for each district as well as suggesting textbooks, and the state government, consisting of a governor and legislature. The local boards of education have striven to keep their autonomy over local issues, although state guidelines for instruction and budgetary expenditures are followed.

The most striking aspect of the Willcox Public Schools is their newness. Since the first grammar school was built in the town in 1885, expansions, remodeling, and new buildings have characterized the town. The first high school was built in 1911, but by 1922 it had to be extensively remodeled to handle the increasing enrollment (Black, 1941, p. 49). In 1930 extensive remodeling again took place, and agriculture and home economics were added to the curriculum (Schultz, 1964, p. 102).

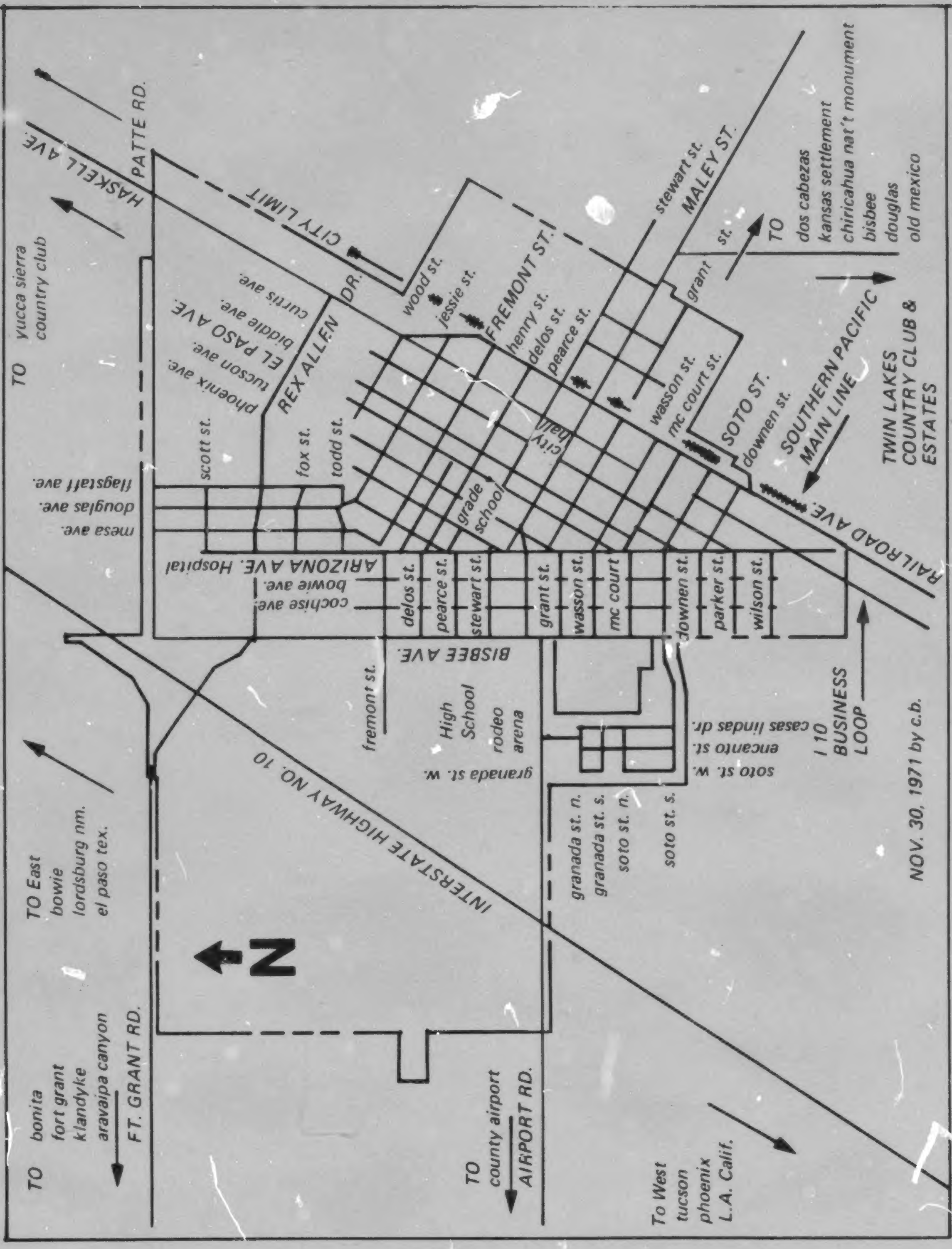
HASKELL AVE.
PATTE RD.
CITY LIMIT
TO yucca sierra country club
MALEY ST.
stewart st.
TO dos cabezas kansas settlement chiricahua nat'l monument bisbee douglas old mexico
grant st.
wood st.
jessie st.
FREMONT ST.
henry st.
delos st.
pearce st.
wasson st.
mc court st.
SOTO ST.
downen st.
SOUTHERN PACIFIC MAIN LINE
TWIN LAKES COUNTRY CLUB & ESTATES
RAILROAD AVE.
REX ALLEN DR.
curtis ave.
biddie ave.
EL PASO AVE.
tucson ave.
phoenix ave.
city hall
scott st.
fox st.
todd st.
flagstaff ave.
douglas ave.
mesa ave.
grade school
ARIZONA AVE. Hospital
bowie ave.
cochise ave.
delos st.
pearce st.
stewart st.
grant st.
wasson st.
mc court
downen st.
parker st.
wilson st.
BISBEE AVE.
fremont st.
High School rodeo arena
casas lindas dr.
encanto st.
soto st. w.
granada st. w.
I 10 BUSINESS LOOP
granada st. n.
granada st. s.
soto st. n.
soto st. s.
NOV. 30, 1971 by c.b.
INTERSTATE HIGHWAY NO. 10
TO East bowie lordsburg nm. el paso tex.
N
TO bonita fort grant klandyke aravaipa canyon
FT. GRANT RD.
TO county airport
AIRPORT RD.
To West tucson phoenix L.A. Calif.

Fig.35. Map of Willcox in 1971.

Building programs continued through the 1930s and 1940s, and in 1955 a new elementary and high school were completed. In 1960 a junior high school was built, and further expansion of the high school took place in 1966, 1969, and 1971. Thus, all of the buildings in use at the three schools today have been built since 1955. Aside from classroom space, each school has additional space for activities. These include gyms at both the high and middle school, cafeterias at the elementary and high school (the middle school shares the cafeteria with the high school), a "media center" housing library and audio visual facilities, and laboratory and shop space for science and industrial arts programs. The two libraries located at the elementary and high schools contain 5,524 volumes. Audio visual materials for the school system are many and of high quality. They include movie projectors, television cameras and video taping equipment, tape cassette players, and numerous slide and overhead projectors.

The grounds of the schools are likewise highly commendable. A large lighted football stadium on the high school grounds serves the schools; baseball diamonds, tennis courts, and the recently completed city swimming pool are all utilized by the sports programs. The two golf courses of Arizona Bell and Twin Lakes located in Willcox are utilized as well.

Like many school districts in non-urban settings, the Willcox School District has undergone much redistricting in its history, most of it during the 1920s and 1930s. The student population has grown steadily under this impetus, as schools at Dos Cabezas, Stewart, McAllister, and the Kansas Settlement have been closed and their students sent in by bus to the Willcox Schools. Because of the large area covered by the district (about 925 square miles), over half of the student population is bused each day to and from school. The longest bus runs can last two hours for some students. The costs and difficulties in transporting over 700 students a day have been continuing problems for the system. As many roads in the district are not paved, transportation is especially difficult during rainy weather or when roads are flooded from nearby irrigated fields.

The social cost of pupil transportation is also high. Because of the distances and time involved, bussing has traditionally excluded 50% of the school's population from extracurricular activities. The

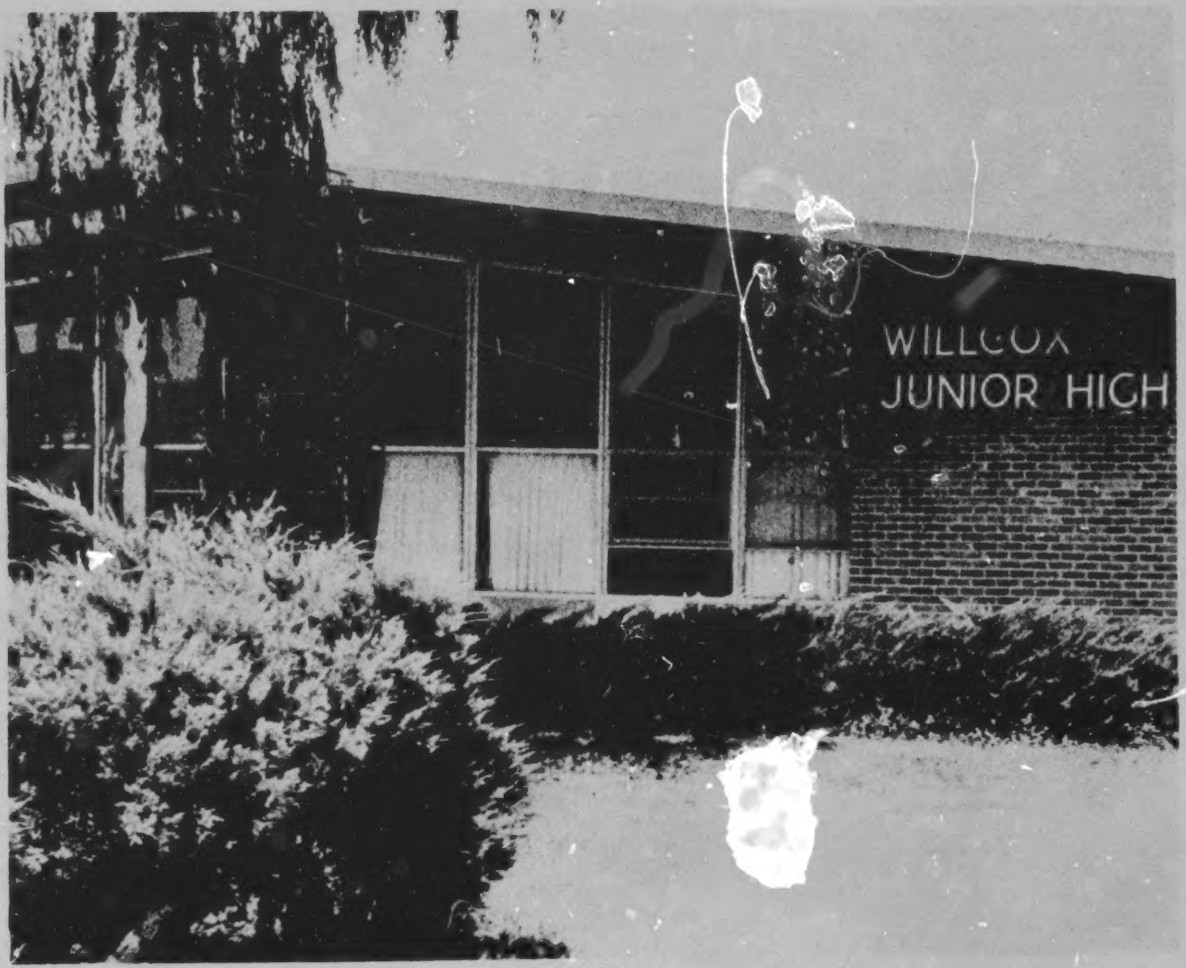
WILLCOX
JUNIOR HIGH

Fig.36. Modern buildings of the Willcox school system.

difficulty in participating in after school activities has only served to underscore the economic differences between students from farms and ranches and students from within the town. The former group has become known as the "cowboys," the latter unnamed, but a group just the same.

Over the years, many solutions or at least attempts at solutions have been offered for the transportation problem. Today, private cars have lessened the difficulties for those students old enough to drive, or those whose parents can take the time to drive them to and from school. One of the more imaginative solutions was proposed by the school board in 1931, when it passed a resolution that "all transportation be abolished for students not making an average grade" (Black, 1940, p. 67).

With some recent exceptions, the pattern in the Willcox Public Schools has been one of self-contained classrooms. In the elementary school, the basic curriculum has consisted of reading, mathematics, science, and language arts. In the last few years, team teaching has been implemented in the third grades. Learning centers have begun to be utilized in all grades. In addition to the 21 teachers, elementary students have the services of a full-time music teacher and a counselor. Although not a part of the elementary school itself, a special school for the mentally retarded uses the facilities of the elementary buildings. This "school within a school" has students of all ages taught by two teachers and an aide. It draws students from all of the surrounding communities.

The middle school, containing grades five through eight, is organized around departments. Team teaching between four teachers in the fifth and sixth grades has emerged as an alternative to the basic pattern since 1971. Subject areas covered in the middle school include physical education, math, language arts, social studies, science, wood shop, and music. The middle school is close to the high school, and shares with it the library and media center, cafeteria, and auditorium.

The high school is divided into seven departments, although the students are taught in grade levels. At present, the requirements for graduation from high school include 22 units of course work, 11 of which can be elective. The courses offered at the high school are divided among the departments of social studies, language arts, science and mathematics, vocational education, business, physical, mental and health education, and fine arts. Curriculum concentration areas include college preparatory, vocational including agriculture, business, and home sciences, and basic diploma.

Although a number of new programs and courses of study have been added in the last decade, such as aeronautics and electronics, the core of the high school curriculum has remained basically the same for the last 40 years. The course offerings for the year 1931-32 and a comparison with those offered in 1972-73 are shown in Table 3.

Special federal programs under the Elementary and Secondary Education Assistance Act were in effect at that time, including a Title I reading program utilizing a portable classroom, a Title I program for migrant families, a Title II library program in both the high school and the elementary school, and a Title III adult basic education program. In addition, there was also a USDA federal lunch program. The only state program provided funds for purchasing materials for vocational training and career education. Approximately 35% of the district budget was derived from local taxes, 55% from state funds, and 10% from federal programs. About 1/3 of the elementary school funds and 1/20 of the high school funds came from the federal government.

Table 3

COURSE OFFERINGS FOR WILLCOX HIGH SCHOOL, 1931-32 AND 1972-73

1931-1932	1972-1973
Agronomy	Agriculture
English Journalism Vocational English	English
Algebra Geometry	Mathematics
Glee Club Music History and Appreciation Band Piano	Music
Biology Chemistry	Science Psychology
History	Social Studies
Bookkeeping Management Training Stenography Typing	Business Education
Physical Education	Physical Education and Health
Spanish	Spanish
Shop Shop Drawing Shop Mathematics	Electronics Industrial Arts
Domestic Science	Home Economics
Architecture	Individual Studies
	Aeronautics
	Driver Education

Source: Larsen, 1932, p. 31; Willcox High School Curriculum Guide, 1972.

The Willcox School System was formed when the Elementary School District No. 13 and the High School District No. 95 began operation under one school board in 1956. For budgetary reasons, the two districts have remained separate legal entities. Separate elementary and high school budgets are drawn up each year, even though the two districts are governed by the same board of trustees. In 1971-72, the per pupil expenditure in the elementary school was $658.86, while that in the high school was $1,046.91. The average per pupil annual expenditure, based on daily attendance, for the state of Arizona was $911. The total school budget in 1970 was $702,145.00 for the elementary school, and $464,576.00 for the high school. The percentages of that total spent in each category for the elementary and high schools are shown in Table 4.

Table 4

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL EXPENDITURES BY TYPE IN WILLCOX ELEMENTARY AND WILLCOX HIGH SCHOOLS, 1970-71.

Type of Expenditure	Elementary School District			High School District		
	Salary	Supplies	Total	Salary	Supplies	Total
Administration	7	1	8	6	1	7
Instruction	61	3	64	50	5	55
Operation	4	2	6	3	4	7
Maintenance	1.5	1	2.5	2	2.5	4.5
Auxiliary Services	3	2	5	7	3	10
Fixed Charges			5			6
Contingency			0.5			0.5
Capital Outlay			9			10
Total			100%			100%

Students in the school system have a variety of extracurricular activities to choose from in the community. The high school itself has over 16 clubs and organizations, and an extensive sports program which encompasses interscholastic competition in football, basketball, baseball, tennis, golf, volleyball, and track. Summer recreation programs sponsored both by the city and the school provide opportunities for swimming, tennis, and other sports. Little League and girls' softball are also successful summer activities. Rodeo, while not a part of the school program, is an important sport in the area, and the Sheriff's Posse Association of the Willcox area maintains an arena within the city limits which draws large crowds for both local and nationally sponsored rodeos.

Although the school system must cope with a problem of frequent migration of its students from the district (about 8% yearly for the high school), the dropout rate is not high. For the high school, it has averaged 5% over the last few years. Upon leaving high school, a large percentage of the students begin college studies (about 60% of the graduating class of 1970). Far fewer than those who begin college actually go on to complete it, but the high percentage who enter indicates the degree to which a college education is valued.

Whether high school graduates go on to college or seek training in other areas, a larger number leave the community each year. A lack of opportunities for employment in the area accounts for most of this out-migration. Like many small communities, the out-migration of the graduating seniors is not always permanent, as many come back after a few years of college, military service, or jobs to seek work in the community.

Community participation in the school system has been informal, rather than formal throughout Willcox's history. It was only in 1971 that a Parent-Teachers Organization was formed in the town. Previous to this time, community members relied upon informal friendship networks with the teachers to learn about the schools. As has been noted, the community has been especially interested in maintaining the building appearance of the schools.

One reason that the informal associations between the schools and the community have been paramount is that a large portion of the town's labor force has traditionally been employed by the schools. In 1971-72, the schools employed 120 people: 71 teachers, two counselors, nine instructional aides, seven clerical aides and secretaries, and 27 bus drivers. With this many employees and their families, the distinction between school personnel and other community members is not as great as it might be in a community where the school staff forms only a small portion of the population. Of course, in many cases both husbands and wives are employed by the school district, but the school staff remains a very integral part of the community.

Teachers in the school system received a base salary in 1971-72 of $6,700, although the average salary was $9,511. The education level of the teachers is high; all have bachelors degrees, and 29 had master's degrees in 1971-72. Both counselors also held master's degrees. The pattern of teacher employment in the school system generally follows national trends: the elementary school is almost completely staffed by women, the middle school staffed by approximately an equal number of men and women, and the high school is staffed mostly by men. All teachers belong to a local classroom teacher's association, as well as the state and national education association. Because of the closeness of the University of Arizona at Tucson, Willcox has often served as a training ground for student teachers in the educational programs of that institution.

The schools of Willcox have been in the ambiguous position of being both a part of the community and therefore a reflection of it, and also institutions which are strongly linked to regional and state levels of administration, personnel recruitment, and higher education. Teachers and administrators are regularly recruited from universities in the surrounding areas as well as distant states. According to an Abt Associates survey, 32.6% of Willcox teachers had some training in Arizona; 28.3% had training in the states of Texas, New Mexico, Utah, Nevada, or California; 39.1% had training in other states. Secondary school teachers, including junior high, are more frequently recruited from states farther away. While in the community, they definitely become a part of it, participating in its clubs, churches, and organizations. But a division of sorts still exists between the educators and other community members. As far back as 1930, the high school teachers, known as the "knotheads," competed with town businessmen in yearly basketball tournaments. By 1970, the appellation had been dropped, but the teams continue to be drawn on similar lines.

THE APPLICATION FOR THE RURAL SCHOOLS PROGRAM

> *Willcox Rural Schools Project Gets Underway*
>
> *The Willcox Public Schools System is in the process of implementing its Rural Schools Project planning grant activities. This grant in the amount of $46,500 was awarded to the school district in July, 1972. By February 15, 1973, the Willcox Schools are required to submit a formal proposal to the U. S. Office of Education...*
>
> *Dr. Cropper emphasized the unique nature of this project as evidenced by the enthusiasm of the federal agency and the almost total lack of federal guidelines regarding the project...*
>
> *The Willcox Board of Education formally approved this project at their regular meeting on Wednesday, July 5. The Board commented that receiving this grant was quite an honor for the school district and the community. It was also mentioned that very seldom does a small school have the time and money to involve the community and the school staff in planning so thoroughly for the future (Arizona Range News, Vol. 89, No. 23, August 17, 1972).*

In March of 1970, the Experimental Schools program was created in the President's Message on Educational Reform and Renewal. The orientation of the Experimental Schools program within the Office of Education was notably directed toward holistic, rather than piecemeal change. The many innovations and changes of the 1960s in American education were seen as attempts to deal only with one issue or part of school education. The Experimental Schools program was established to make it possible for school districts to change that trend by attempting comprehensive reviews and innovations in their organization. At the same time, there was to be systematic and comprehensive documentation and evaluation of these attempts at educational change in America.

From this base, the Office of Education called for school systems, both urban and rural, to apply for long-range (five years) funding. The letter calling for applications to participate in the Experimental Schools program from the over 1,400 rural school districts in the United States included these five project requirements:

- A fresh approach to curriculum based on local needs and goals;
- A review and reorganization of staffing to meet particular school system goals;
- An innovative use of time, space, and facilities;
- Active community involvement in the total project; and
- An administrative structure which supports the project and understands local strengths and needs.

A letter stating these requirements was sent in the beginning of February, 1972 to all rural school districts (i.e., those with a student population less than 2,500), and applications were to be filed by April 15, 1972, a month and a half after the initial call for proposals. The letter announcing the program stressed that all grade levels and all students must be included in the local project, and that funds must not be used to support current activities or be a part of regular operating costs, but rather ought to supplement local costs.

Although the letters of applications from school districts were bound by these and other requirements (the others dealing with descriptions of the current school system and its programs), the opportunity to develop a plan for comprehensive change based on locally determined needs and goals, and the prospect of five-year, continous funding were strong inducements for school systems. In all, some 350 rural school districts wrote letters of interest for the competition.

In Willcox, the school superintendent reviewed the announcement and then consulted with the building principals about the possibility of applying. The program was seen as a good opportunity for Willcox, mostly because of the freedom it seemed to offer in planning and implementing educational change, as well as the longevity of the funding. The school system at that time had in its employ a female middle school principal who was extremely interested in writing the proposal. The task of writing the letter of application was left to her.

The school system at the time that all of this took place has been described in the previous section. There were a number of trends, however, which need to be emphasized here. A sense of unrest or difficulty was present in the community. Farm prices and the general agricultural situation were down. The figures released from the 1970 census gave Willcox a lower population count than it had had in 1965. The first inklings of problems with the Twin Lakes development immediately to the south of the town were being noticed, and the general economy of the area was down. The interstate bypass, completed in 1969, had taken away most of the traffic which normally flowed through Willcox, resulting in a feeling that the transportation businesses of the town were on the decline.

In the school system, the superintendent at that time had built a system of administration which drew firm lines between his staff and the teaching staff. The superintendent had been with the system for six years, and some community members as well as some teachers began to question his effectiveness. The system had begun to suffer from divisiveness. In 1971, a Parent-Teacher Organization was formed, in part to review the functioning of the schools under the administrative staff.

Wider trends affected the school system as well. A decline in student involvement and reduced success of school programs such as reading were being felt in the community, as they were felt nationwide.

It was into this social milieu that the letter calling for applications for rural school contracts was delivered. By no means were the town, community or school hopelessly divided, but seeds of division had been sown, and the general picture of the community was one of uneasiness. Economic, social, and educational conditions were in flux.

Within a period of a month and a half, the middle school principal, with the aid of the superintendent and a few members of the teaching staff, wrote a proposal for an Experimental Schools program in Willcox. That proposal satisfied the requirements of the notification letter sent out by the Office of Education, in that it described the present strengths and weaknesses of the school system:

> As identified by district personnel, the most important local strengths and resources in our school are:
>
> 1. General community support for the school system.
> 2. A low pupil-teacher ratio.
> 3. Adequate facilities for a variety of programs.

> 4. A cohesive administration team.
>
> 5. An active K-12 Curriculum Council.
>
> 6. Proximity to the University of Arizona and to two community colleges.
>
> 7. Cultural diversity of the residents of the community.
>
> The most significant weaknesses of our current educational programs are the following:
>
> 1. We feel a definite need to examine and revise our curriculum. Three main problems related to the curriculum are most apparent at this time.
>
> 2. a. It lacks articulation and coordination in scope and sequence from grades K-12.
>
>   b. It appears to be unrealistic and not relevant to the future needs that our students will face within the next ten to twenty years.
>
>   c. As a total district we need to give serious attention to many innovative trends in education. This needs to be done systematically and in terms of our own unique needs as a small rural school district.
>
>   d. We are constantly faced with a lack of time for curriculum study and development.
>
>   e. There is a need for funds to study the curriculum and implement appropriate changes.
>
> 2. There is a need to develop a formalized structure for community involvement in order that all residents of the district have an opportunity to participate in the development of school programs.
>
> 3. We are faced with a lack of faculty and staff cohesiveness.
>
> 4. We do not have programs which build on the cultural diversity of our area--especially the Mexican American heritage which is present (Willcox Public Schools, April, 1972, pp. 4-5).

The proposal went on to discuss the kind of program which was thought to be needed. It is presented here in full to illustrate the magnitude of educational changes which were desired.

> The major emphasis in this project would be curriculum improvement. Through community and staff involvement, as described elsewhere in this letter, we hope to revitalize the total educational process in our schools--always keeping in mind the uniqueness of our community. Some related changes which we believe would help us to improve our educational program are described in the following paragraphs.

It appears that most differentiated staffing programs currently in effect apply only to large urban school districts. We believe there is a definite need to formulate a model differentiated staffing plan which would be appropriate to the needs and resources of the small rural school. The focus of such a proposal would emphasize the utilization of paraprofessional personnel as well as parent and community involvement. We believe that this type of organizational change would serve in a number of ways to help us expand our programs without adding an additional burden to the district.

There is also a very definite need for in-service education for teachers. Two main areas which would be emphasized to help overcome our problems in these areas would be: (1) to bring in resource people in each major curriculum area to work with teachers and provide input on recent research and evidence especially apprrpriate to curriculum development in the small rural school; and, (2) we need a series of activities for staff involvement which would help to overcome the fragmentation which currently exists.

Intensive total staff involvement in curriculum study would be necessary if curriculum revisions are to be effectively implemented. This would require adequate financial support for released time, both during the school year and in the summer, for teachers to work on these projects.

After a comprehensive curriculum has been designed, there will be a definite need for staff retraining so that each individual might gain the skills necessary to implement the curriculum programs. While we currently do make our facilities available to the community, it is thought that this function could be expanded. One area in which this might be most effectively carried out would be through adult education programs. Because our district is somewhat isolated from a large city, this would be very beneficial to local residents if we could offer courses and activities which are educational as well as recreational in nature. We would like to implement a summer program for students not experiencing educational success in school. This summer program would utilize existing facilities which are not being used during the summer months.

We believe there are a number of ways in which this summer project would help meet the individual needs of our students on all levels. It would enable us to emphasize a number of areas in which students are having learning difficulties. After identifying such students, we would envision emphasizing the following areas in a summer program: (1) remedial instruction, especially in the skills areas, for those students who are below grade level and who are having serious problems during the regular school year; (2) the program must be conducive to attitude change so that students who are not experiencing success in school and who are probably very discouraged with the educational process, might have an opportunity to see learning as a positive, productive, and exciting experience.

We feel that a parent-teacher steering committee should be organized to identify pupil and community needs. This group would periodically assess our programs in terms of these needs and act as a sounding board for concerns or problems that arise in many aspects of the school operation.

An extensive family counseling program should be implemented since it appears that both the cognitive and affective difficulties which youngsters experience are related to, or are the result of, difficulties in the home. In our limited experience with this type of activity we have found that working with the family is a key to helping the student in many cases.

In a summer program as well as during the regular school year we would like to use many community leaders and parents as classroom resource people and as instructional aides. It would be possible for us to build upon our Mexican-American cultural resources as well in this manner.

We would also like to explore the possibility of cultural exchange programs both with Mexico and with other communities in southeastern Arizona and New Mexico who have student populations similar to ours. We believe that such programs would greatly enrich the school curriculum. It would also encourage a sense of cultural pride in our Mexican-American students, many of whom do have difficulty in our traditional school program.

In general, we believe that our instructional modes must be designed so that they better meet the needs of all individual students. This must take place if greater learning is to result, and it is especially true for the student who has not been able to experience success in the current program.

We believe in a district this size there is great potential for community improvement through increased involvement with the school. We have begun to expand our career education program during the current year. The response from parents and business leaders in the community has been very favorable and it is beginning to open up new avenues of communication between the community and the schools. These activities could be expanded considerably.

We also believe an extensive parent and family counseling project would strengthen the relationship between the community and the school organization. Through our limited work in this area during the current year we are finding that working with parents in a counseling situation is a very effective means to improve communication and encourage parent involvement in the school.

Another area in which the community could be served would be in the expansion of the community use of school facilities. Although we are doing some of this at the present time there are no doubt many additional ways in which we can make the facilities available for community groups. (For example, we have a new Instructional Materials Center which could be opened to individuals or groups after school hours and during the summer months.)

A more extensive adult education program with emphasis on both educational and leisure time activities would also encourage more school-community cooperation.

To summarize, it is the feeling of this district that the community-school concept could be very effectively implemented in our area. Although most of the emphasis nationally in the community-school movement has been in the large urban areas, it would seem that a small rural community would be even better suited to this type of emphasis. The benefits which would accrue to the school as well as the community would be invaluable assets to both.

There are a number of outside agencies which the district could call upon for assistance in implementing this project. One of the main sources of assistance would be the institutions for higher learning in this part of the state. These would include the University of Arizona as well as Eastern Arizona Junior College and Cochise College. All three of these institutions are located within a 100-mile radius of the school district.

There are a number of government agencies which could also be contacted for assistance. The first of these would be the local county organization. Cochise County has a commendable record of cooperative efforts in school programs. They would be especially helpful in disseminating information resulting from this project. Another government organization would be SEAGO (Southeastern Arizona Government Organization). This is an educational functioning committee for a four-county area which is especially interested in promoting the study and development of educational programs in Southeastern Arizona. On a state level there are many federal project officers who have been very willing to cooperate with us in program development in the past. The two major agencies which would be contacted would be the Title I Office and the Title I Migrant Office. Both of these agencies offer assistance in program development and implementation. This district also cooperates with the Office of Economic Opportunity in implementing programs such as the Neighborhood Youth Corps, Mainstream and Upward Bound. There are a number of local service organizations in Willcox which would be very willing to provide resources and assistance whenever it is appropriate.

> In general, we see that these outside agencies would provide four useful services: serving in an advisory capacity, providing a consulting service, providing resources, and helping with the statistical analysis of data. Our community is currently involved with some of these support agencies.
>
> In addition, it is proposed that the Experimental Schools' project steering committee composed of community leaders and personnel would be instrumental in the total program. This would naturally include calling on any of these agencies for assistance. These agencies would be chosen on the basis of how well they could serve any specific need of the project as identified by the community-school steering committee. We would place a priority on staying as close to the community as possible in seeking this assistance.
>
> It has become quite apparent that if the quality of education in a small rural school is to improve significantly, the style of activity within that school cannot remain static and traditional. There are many innovations which are especially appropriate to the small school, but implementing these needed changes will necessitate two important areas of activity--community involvement in identifying needs and recommending changes, and teacher involvement in program development and implementation. These are the two major areas which we recommend as the basis for our Experimental Schools proposal.(Willcox Public Schools, 1972).

The proposal was not publicized in the school or community, as it was felt that premature publicity on the subject would not be warranted if the proposal were later rejected.

A few weeks after school officially closed in 1972, the superintendent received a telephone call from one of the project directors of the Experimental Schools program suggesting that Willcox had been selected as one of the six school districts which would receive a planning grant. An official telegram from the Experimental Schools division of OE was sent to Willcox on June 29, 1972, formally announcing that the Rural Schools Program would be a part of the Willcox Public Schools the next week. The Arizona Range News ran a first page article on the program.

From this point on, Willcox became one of ten rural school districts in the country to attempt a comprehensive program of educational change.

One question which remains is why Willcox was able to write a successful letter of interest and receive an Experimental Schools planning grant and subsequent long term contract to carry out some of the changes mentioned above. Several factors seem to have been important in this process. First of all, the letter was very well written. It was a clear statement of the problems and prospects of the system. Through reading it, one got the impression of a school system and community which had a great deal of motivation. Community involvement, curriculum "revitalization" and utilizing the heritage of the Mexican American community were key phrases which fit in well with the philosophy of the National Institute of Education at that time. Secondly, the Willcox System had some experience with federal programs, as was mentioned in the previous chapter. The inclination to at least apply for such funding had a precedent in the system. Thirdly, the major author of the Willcox letter was a woman who held an advanced degree in education. She was well acquainted with current literature on educational change and innovation and applied this expertise to the writing of the letter.

These are not all the reasons for the acceptance of the letter, but they point in a direction of district competence. It is impossible to know all the factors which went into the decision making process at the national level, as the letters were read by panels of experts and their recommendations led to the selection of only a few districts. At the local level, the application for the program was not due to a culmination of events and personnel in the system, but rather due to the inclination of an outwardly mobile administrator who saw a chance to help make Willcox a better place to live.

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Chapter IV

A Social and Educational History of Hancock County, Kentucky

by

Charles A. Clinton

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A Social and Educational History of Hancock County, Kentucky

Area: about 187 square miles. Population (1970): 7080. Elevation from 380 to 840 feet. Center of the county is approximately at latitude 37°70' North and at longitude 86°70' West. County lies south of the Ohio River, about 90 miles west of Louisville. Settled circa 1800; incorporated 1829. Major cities and towns: Lewisport and Hawesville.

INTRODUCTION

Hancock County, Kentucky lies on the southern shore of the Ohio River 90 miles west of Lousiville, Kentucky, 100 miles north of Nashville, Tennessee, and 150 miles east of Paducah, Kentucky. Within the county's political boundaries are a rich set of historical, geological, and ecological contrasts.

The area's first white settlers were men looking for land along the western frontier in the late 1700s. John Lewis was one of these. He surveyed the land between Kentucky's Salt and Green Rivers in 1788 and was taken with the natural beauty of what would become Hancock County: the contrasts of low bottom land butting into limestone ridges along the Ohio River, the slope from the high, broken ground of the east to the low, rolling meadows of the west, the abrupt rise of Jefferies Cliffs so that its tableland dominated the Ohio River before it, the hardwood forests covering both bottom land and ridge land--these contrasts set a stage of

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natural beauty John Lewis would not do without. So, in 1799, he flatboated his new bride down the Ohio River to a fort on Yellow Creek. He and his family became leading citizens of the area; in 1839 he gave his name to Lewisport, a small town in the northwestern part of Hancock County.

The region grew in population through the years. By 1829 enough people lived here so that they could lobby in the state legislature for a new county, the 83rd such in Kentucky. Hancock County was formed by taking land from Daviess, Ohio, and Breckenridge Counties. The new county was named for John Hancock, the President of the Continental Congress during the American Revolutionary War.

The boundaries of the new county gave it an odd shape, like a plow share whose cutting tip is buried in Breckenridge County to the east.

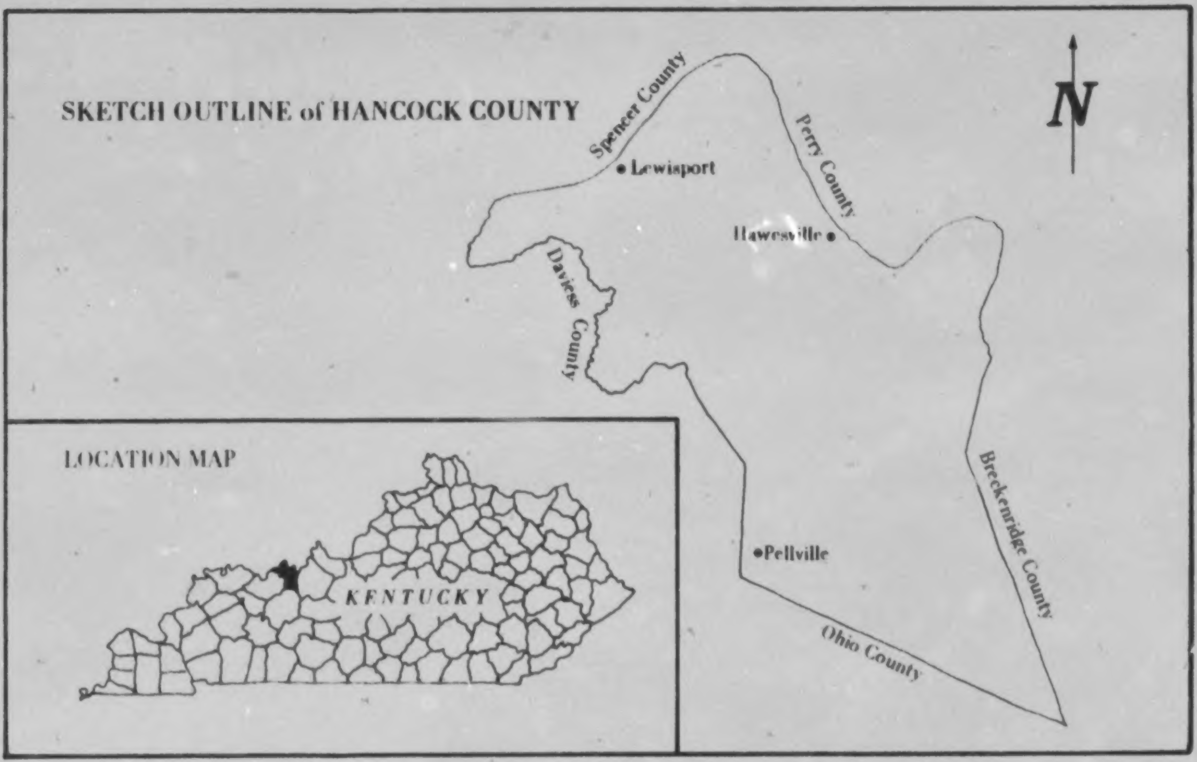
SKETCH OUTLINE of HANCOCK COUNTY
N
Spencer County
Lewisport
Perry County
Hawesville
Daviess County
Pellville
Breckenridge County
Ohio County
LOCATION MAP
KENTUCKY

Fig. 1. Sketch outline of Hancock County.

Hancock County's contrasts begin with the land. Along the Ohio River in the northwest, the land rises to about 400 feet above sea level; among the ridges in the southeastern tip, the land measures about 840 feet above sea level. The contrasts continue through the estimates of Hancock County's area: Moore gave Hancock County 168 square miles (1878, p. 391), Nall called it about 200 square miles (1902, p. 125), and McGrain, Schwalb, and Smith settled on 187 square miles (1970, p. 2). The United States Department of Agriculture accepts the 187 square mile figure and breaks this down into 119,680 acres. These figures should be accepted with caution; topographic maps show the boundaries between Hancock County and Breckenridge, Ohio, and Daviess Counties as "indefinite," and the Ohio River erodes a bit of Hancock County every day.

A resident of this part of Kentucky will call himself a Hancock Countian, but this does not mean Hancock County is a community: the contrasts found in the size and shape of the land are reflected in its people and the diverse set of social units residents call their "communities."[1] Some of these units are towns, like Lewisport and Hawesville, while another, Pellville, is a village. Still another, Roseville, is a hamlet. Other units, like Patesville and Easton, seem to be ghost towns until an important event, such as a wedding or funeral, takes place. Then they become gathering points for surrounding neighborhoods. Some of these neighborhoods, especially in the southern part of the county, are the results of time, kinship, and association; others, like the Windward Heights subdivision, are the product of a recent industrial boom within Hancock County. Still others, like Victoria, Scuffletown, and Adair, are dead and remain as communities in the minds of older people. Finally, some of Hancock County's communities are mythical, like Pinchio, where legend has placed the county's less desirable residents.

By 1970 the population of these and other local groups gave Hancock County a population of 7,080.

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[1] As one man said, "There is no such thing as a Hancock Countian; there's 15 varieties."

BASIC GEOGRAPHY, GEOLOGY, AND ECOLOGY OF HANCOCK COUNTY

Basic Geography

Elevations and Terrain

The major contrasts in Hancock County's elevations and terrain have been mentioned: the high points, 840 feet above sea level, show up in the ridges around Easton in the southeastern part of the county. From this high point there is a gradual decline in elevations toward the north and west until, finally, the main ridges creasing the land stand at 500 to 600 feet above sea level. This slope in ridge heights is related to a change in terrain; the side slopes of ridges become less steep and there is more level land. This is especially noticeable in the west along the bottom lands of Blackford Creek.

Hawesville, in the north central part of the county, marks changes in the shape of the land. Behind Hawesville rear limestone cliffs 500 to 550 feet above sea level, or 100 to 150 feet above the Ohio River flowing along their base. To the east of Hawesville, where the county begins, the river turns north, away from the steep limestone cliffs, to form a section of alluvial land called Skillman's Bottoms. Then the river turns south to meet the cliffs at Hawesville. It then wanders north again, to form more bottom land between the river and the uplands. From Hawesville west, the limestone ridges decline in height and flatten out, so that the country becomes less angular and more rolling. In the northwest corner of Hancock County, where Blackford Creek drains into the Ohio River, elevations stand at about 385 feet above sea level.

Drainage

The contrasts found in other aspects of Hancock County are also present in its creek system: most streams in Hancock County empty directly into the Ohio River; however, Panther Creek, which drains the extreme southeastern part of the county, angles off to the west to empty into the Green River which then drains into the Ohio River.

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Basic Geology

Hancock County's geological structure shows a set of contrasts centering around the slope of underground strata and a series of fault lines that break up the flow of Hancock County's underground structure. This area was formed during the Pennsylvanian, an era that featured the creation of coal, oil, and natural gas. For some reason the layers of limestone and coal that lie below the surface tilt to the west at roughly 40 feet to the mile (Chisholm,1931, p. 299) so that what is a surface layer in the eastern part of the county can be buried under considerable material in the western part of the county. This general westward tilt is broken by three faults running on a northeast-southwest axis. The western fault runs under Lewisport, the middle fault runs under Hawesville, and the eastern fault begins about halfway between Patesville and Weberstown and runs northeast under Happy Hollow, Skillman Bottoms, and on into Indiana (McGrain, Smith, & Schwalb, 1970).

The geology of Hancock County does not affect the land's surface save in the eastern part of the county. There, limestone towers above the land so that sheer cliffs are formed. Jefferies Cliffs are an example of this. But this is the only effect geology has on the land's surface: the westward tilt of underground layers of limestone and coal parallel, but do not cause, the slope in ridge heights. Nor do the fault lines show up on the surface; no features mark the underground stresses that gave birth to the breaks in the earth's stratigraphy.

Mineral Resources

Coal

Hancock County contains two varieties of coal. In the steep ridges along the eastern boundary of Hancock County, just to the east of Victoria Crossroads, lie the famous Breckenridge Cannel Coal deposits. These deposits were formed from varieties of evergreens rich in resins and tree spores during the Pennsylvanian (Owens, 1856, p. 175). The cannel coal is so heavy with oil that it feels sooty to the touch and a small scale will catch fire from a match flame. Properly distilled, Breckenridge Cannel Coal yields 130 gallons of crude oil per ton. These 130 gallons will, in turn, produce 80 gallons of parlor lamp oil and 12 gallons of paraffin oil (Norwood, 1878, p. 350).

The second variety of coal is the bituminous coal of western Kentucky coal fields. Hancock County contains at least six important seams of this coal: the Hawesville, Deanfield, Lead Creek, and Lewisport, with the Persimmon and Mason Runs showing now and then between the Hawesville and Lead Creek beds. These beds and runs have had local names attached to them (e.g., Adams, Hawes Hill, Adair, Red Ash, and White Ash), but, in addition to the Breckenridge Cannel Coal, there are only six important deposits in Hancock County (McGrain, Schwalb, & Smith, 1970, p. 8).

Oil

Oil was also formed during the Pennsylvanian and several pools lie beneath the surface in the southern and eastern parts of the county, particularly around Pellville and Easton. Mostly these pools are associated with various sands that are close to the surface. According to the Historical Edition of the Hancock Clarion (HEHC), these sands, the Stephens, Jett, Jackson, and Barlow, are named for the owners of the land upon which the discovering oil rig was located.

Other

There are mineral resources in Hancock County not associated with fossil fuels. In the northwest section of the county, in the hills and ridges directly south of Lewisport, lie clay and shale deposits suitable for the manufacture of brick, tile, and sewer pipe. Along the river by Hawesville are outcrops of limestone that were once quarried for materials with which to build locks on the Green River and for a government building in Memphis. A stone sample from the Hawesville quarry received an award at the Centennial Exhibition held in Philadelphia in 1876 (Moore, 1878, p. 407). Local limestone has also figured in the building of the Hancock County Courthouse and in abutments along U.S. Highway 60. Gravel deposits along the Ohio River are well-nigh inexhaustible. Finally, water resources vary inversely with distance from the Ohio River. At Hawesville the public supply well can produce 350 gallons per minute, while wells less than 300 feet in depth in the Easton area produce between 100 and 500 gallons of water per day (McGrain, Schwalb, & Smith, 1970, p. 21). Of course, with the Ohio River forming the northern boundary of the county, surface water is in inexhaustible supply.

Basic Ecology

Soils

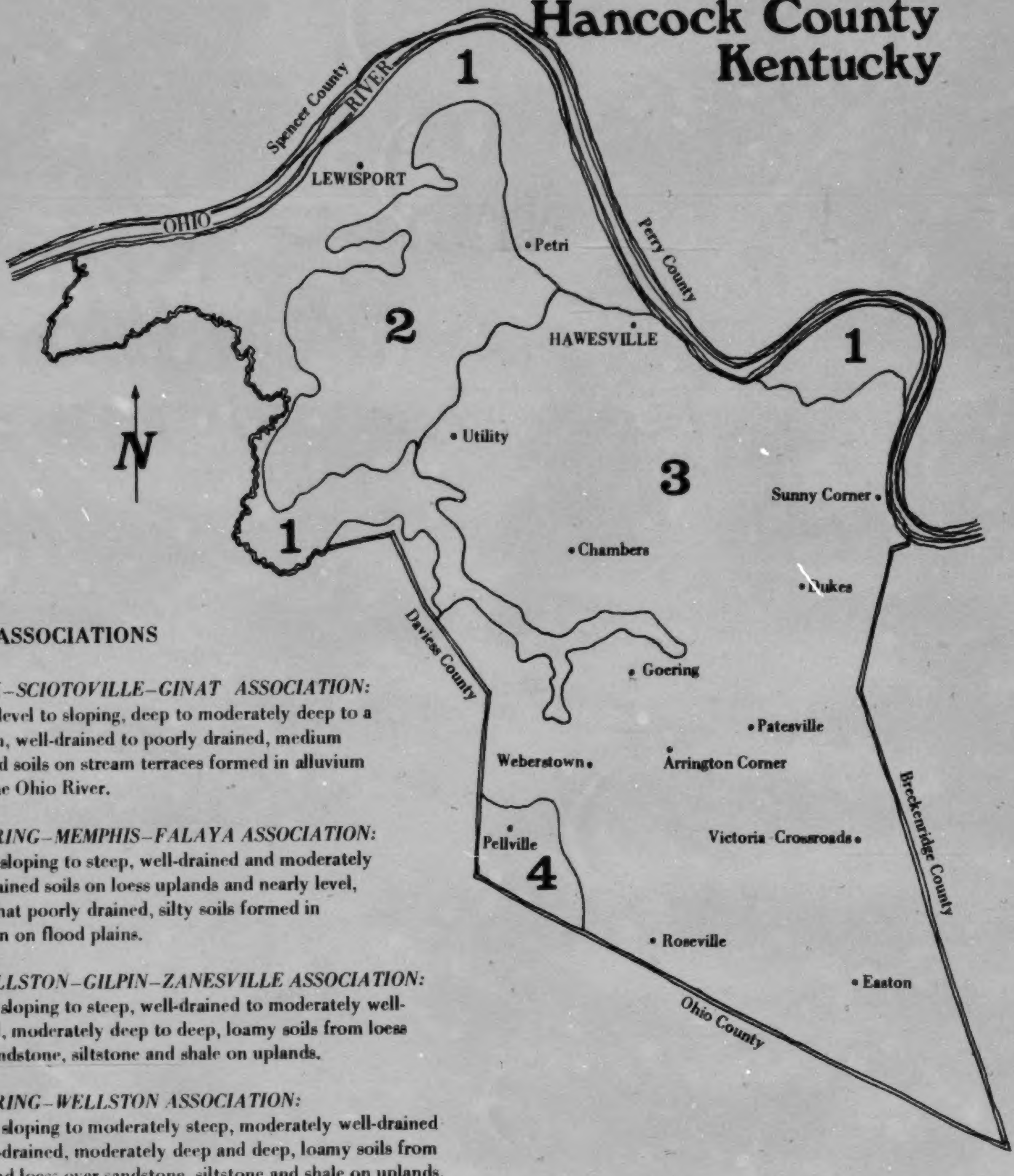
An unpublished, typed manuscript on file in the Hancock County office of the United States Department of Agriculture's Soil Conservation Service and entitled Hancock County Soils lists three basic types of soils for the area: those developed from alluvial deposits, those developed from loess, and those developed from both loess and sandstone. These three basic types of soils have produced nine different varieties of soils in Hancock County. Since these varieties form just four distinct soil associations, tracing distributions is not impossible.

The Elk-Sciotoville-Ginat association occurs along the Ohio River in the northern part of Hancock County and along the westernmost drainage of Blackford Creek. The Ohio River Bottoms are characterized by a series of low ridges that are four to five feet high and 500 feet wide. These ridges parallel the Ohio River. The Elk soils are found on the tops of ridges and are used as platforms for raising tobacco. The Ginat soils are found in the flats between ridges and are used for growing grains and soybeans. No distribution was given for either the Sciotoville soils or the Blackford Creek Bottoms. Farms along the Ohio River Bottoms averaged 200 acres in the late 1960s and early 1970s and specialized in the production of grains, soybeans, tobacco, and feed-lot cattle as full-time operations.

The Loring-Memphis-Falaya association is developed from wind-borne loess and is found in the uplands to the south and east of Lewisport. This is an area of narrow, winding ridges, moderate to steep side slopes, and long, narrow bottom lands. Memphis-Loring soils are found along ridge tops and side slopes and are capable of supporting tobacco, corn, soybeans, hay, and pasture land. What is grown, however, depends on topography, for this is an area subject to erosion; ridge tops are therefore intensively cultivated and slopes run to pasture land and timber. Falaya soils are found between ridges and are capable of supporting tobacco, corn or

General Soil Map

Hancock County
Kentucky


1
Spencer County
RIVER
OHIO
LEWISPORT
Petri
Perry County
2
HAWESVILLE
1
N
Utility
3
Sunny Corner
1
Chambers
Dukes
Daviess County
Goering
Patesville
Weberstown
Arrington Corner
Breckenridge County
Pellville
Victoria Crossroads
4
Roseville
Easton
Ohio County

SOIL ASSOCIATIONS

1. *ELK–SCIOTOVILLE–GINAT ASSOCIATION:* Nearly level to sloping, deep to moderately deep to a fragipan, well-drained to poorly drained, medium textured soils on stream terraces formed in alluvium from the Ohio River.

2. *LORING–MEMPHIS–FALAYA ASSOCIATION:* Gently sloping to steep, well-drained and moderately well-drained soils on loess uplands and nearly level, somewhat poorly drained, silty soils formed in alluvium on flood plains.

3. *WELLSTON–GILPIN–ZANESVILLE ASSOCIATION:* Gently sloping to steep, well-drained to moderately well-drained, moderately deep to deep, loamy soils from loess over sandstone, siltstone and shale on uplands.

4. *LORING–WELLSTON ASSOCIATION:* Gently sloping to moderately steep, moderately well-drained to well-drained, moderately deep and deep, loamy soils from loess and loess over sandstone, siltstone and shale on uplands.

Fig. 2. General soil map of Hancock County, Kentucky.

soybeans. The bottoms, therefore, are cultivated intensively. Farms in this area averaged about 120 acres in the late 1960s and early 1970s and practiced general, or mixed, farming on a part-time basis.

The Wellston-Gilpin-Zanesville association of soils is characterized as loamy and has developed from loess over sandstone. This association is found in central and southern Hancock County, extending from Hawesville and Utility in the north and west to the Ohio and Breckenridge county lines in the south and east. This area is characterized by ridges with moderate to steep side slopes that are subject to erosion and narrow bottom lands. The Zanesville soils are found along the tops of ridges, Gilpin soils along the steep side slopes, and Wellston soils on the moderately steep slopes. There are a few farms scattered through the area that produce tobacco, sorghum, hay, and pasture land. Most of the area was once cultivated, but has been abandoned and is being reclaimed by natural vegetation.

The Loring-Wellston association is characterized as loamy and has developed from loess over sandstone. This set of soils is found in the southern part of the county near Pellville, an area of gently sloping to steeply sloping ridges that are subject to erosion. Loring soils are found along ridge tops and some side slopes. Ridge tops can support crops of corn, tobacco, hay, and pasture land. Wellston soils are found along side slopes and are best suited for permanent vegetation, such as pasture land and timber. Soils along the bottom lands can support corn, soybeans, hay, or pasture land. While most of the area was once cultivated, large areas are now abandoned and are returning to native vegetation. Farms in this area averaged about 100 acres in the late 1960s and early 1970s and practiced general farming on a part-time basis.

Weather

Because there is no weather station in Hancock County, Kentucky, weather data must be estimated based upon information taken from the weather summaries for Irvington and Owensboro, Kentucky. This is reasonable because all three towns are on the Ohio River and reside on about the same latitude, and because Hawesville is centered roughly between Owensboro and Irvington.

The climate is temperate, with moderately cold winters and warm, humid summers. Temperatures, rainfall, and humidity remain within limits agreeable to man and are suitable for varied plant and animal life. All seasons are marked by weather changes that come from passing weather fronts and their associated high and low pressure systems.

Precipitation is fairly well distributed throughout the year, with October usually having the least rainfall. However, periods of dry and wet weather have occurred, and snowfall varies from year to year. The growing season averages some 190-odd days per year.

Flora

Although the soils and climate support a large and varied plant life, not much is known about the native flora of Hancock County. However, the Kentucky Department of Public Information has produced a pamphlet which states that over 150 varieties of wildflowers, 50 kinds of trees, and numerous shrubs have been identified in the John James Audubon State Park in Henderson, Kentucky. Since Henderson is only 55 miles west of Hawesville and is also located in Kentucky's Western Coal Field, similar profusion of plant life must also be present in Hancock County. Certainly, stands of white oak, post oak, black oak, hickory, chestnut, Spanish oak, liriodendron, black gum, pin oak, dogwood, sugar tree, sycamore, white ash, maple, and black walnut trees have been found in Hancock County (DeFriese, 1877, p. 344). At present some 56,000 acres of land in the southern and central portions of the county are in commercial forests and yield 80 million board feet per year (R. W. Booker and Associates, Inc., 1970, p. 11).

Fauna

The animal life supported by this vegetation in pioneer days was probably great and varied. However, as Funkhouser (1925, p. 33) noted, the earliest observers were pioneers, more interested in filling their pots and avoiding "dangerous critters" than in accurate wildlife recording. Their journals, therefore, are full of mentions of table meat, like buffalo, deer, elk, racoon, squirrel, and wild turkey, and harmful critters like bear, panther, wolf, rattlesnake, water moccasin, and copperhead. That many more species were present is certain; observers identified nearly 200 species of birds alone in the John James Audubon State Park in Henderson, Kentucky.

Contemporary fauna is nowhere near as varied as it was in pioneer days. The main furbearers in Hancock County at present are deer, opossum, rabbit, squirrel, badger, and at least four beaver reestablishing themselves in their former habitat. Dangerous critters still include rattlesnakes, water moccasin, and copperhead snakes, plus an occasional rabid fox.

Environment and Settlement Patterns

Introduction

Hancock County's soils, topography, and distribution of resources offered a variety of ways to make a living. Each of these opportunities required a specific set of adaptations by the men that would exploit them. Each of these opportunities changed through time, also requiring that their exploiters alter their behavior. The history of Hancock County is the story of the opportunities men saw, how they went about exploiting them, how changes in the environment affected these opportunities, and how men reacted to these changes.

Farms

Two distinct types of farming opportunities were open to early settlers. Along the Ohio River were expansive bottom lands amenable to large scale, intensive cultivation of specialized crops--provided a sufficient labor force could be mustered both to clear land and tend crops. Men who exploited this opportunity came to form a planter's society based upon slave labor and large farms with village-like settlements on each plantation. One of these, the farm of Robert Costain Beauchamp, covered 5,000 acres and used 90 slaves. The War Between the States upset this adaptation by freeing the slaves. Plantation owners went to share-cropping to muster the labor force necessary to operate their farms. More recently, industrialized agriculture has allowed farmers on the Ohio River Bottoms to forego relying on human labor almost entirely.

A second kind of farming was open to those families who wished to settle a small piece of ridge land south of the river. These homesteads practiced a subsistence level of agriculture, with tobacco being the major cash crop. Groups of these single-family homesteads came to form neighborhoods whose social centers were a one-room school, a church, a small country store, and a graveyard. These neighborhoods practiced labor-sharing and cooperative effort in community projects like building a school or church. Groups of these neighborhoods joined with small country towns to form trading communities.

Men raised in these neighborhoods remember them as tightly knit social units. One man recalled, for example, that to go courting beyond one's neighborhood was to look for at least a fist fight. For this reason, he said, marriages generally took place within neighborhoods and not between them.

The plantation system and free homesteader stood in marked contrast to one another. An aristocracy grew up along the river while independent freemen occupied the ridges and bottom land in the southern part of the county. The two adaptations to the land were not necessarily hostile to one another, but they certainly did not mingle. For example, the 1870 census shows Hancock County's black population at 898. Of these, 882 were along the Ohio River, and only 16 were in the southern part of the county.

Mining Settlements

The two types of social organization adapted to farming in different soils and topographies were supplemented by a third kind of social organization: the mining settlements. While farming tended to separate people into isolated homesteads and plantations, coal mining concentrated larger numbers of people into compact settlements. This type of settlement occurred at the Breckenridge Cannel Coal deposits in the mining village of Bennetsville early in Hancock County's history and later also occurred at Adair, a small mining town midway between Hawesville and Lewisport. As the commercial coal seams played out, those forms of social organization adapted to their exploitation vanished from Hancock County.

Major Settlements in the Distribution System

Hawesville residents began mining the Hawesville bed of coal in the limestone cliffs immediately behind the town early in the county's history. With the advent of steamboats, Hawesville became a major fueling station for coal burners on the Ohio River. Since the county roads tended to end at the County Courthouse, Hawesville became the exchange point in the trade between Hancock County and the outside world. Goods were brought into Hancock County via river freight, unloaded at Hawesville, transshipped to small country towns in the county, and then distributed to those individual homesteads that served as basic social units in the neighborhoods of the county. Conversely, goods leaving Hancock County followed the distribution system from individual homesteads to the small country town, then to Hawesville, and from Hawesville to the outside world via river freight.

There were some exceptions to Hawesville's domination of the trade routes. Lewisport served as a trade center and shipping point for the neighborhoods around it. A further exception occurred with every major planter along the Ohio River; these individuals maintained private landings and dealt directly with merchants outside the county. But, even with these exceptions, Hawesville dominated trade and the associated distribution network in Hancock County until Hancock County's articulation with the outside world changed.

The change began with the first all-weather road between Hancock County and Owensboro. Men who were in the county then remember that the road marked the end of the independent local merchant; Hancock Countians formed the habit of driving to the larger shopping centers.

Recent Settlement Patterns

Beginning with the 1950s and continuing through the 1960s, an industrial settlement pattern developed in Hancock County as tile manufacturers, paper mills, and aluminum processing plants located on some of the higher ridges in the Ohio River Bottoms. This settlement pattern features isolated work sites, home sites dispersed through a five-county area, and heavy reliance on surface transportation by a commuting work force and by industries importing raw materials and exporting finished products.

Floral and Faunal Changes

All these various adaptations have had consequences for native vegetation and wildlife. The first consequence was a loss of native vegetation as men cleared land for farms. The second change occurred as game became table meat and its natural habitat became limited by man's land clearing activities.

The change in ground cover resulted from two distinct economic activities. The first, of course, was due to clearing land for more farm acreage; the trees had to go before the plow could be used. The second related to the fact that timber itself was valuable. Hawesville was a shipping point for timber from its earliest settlement. Hawesville also gained some fame for the whiskey barrel staves it processed and shipped down river. The demand for farm land and whiskey barrel staves combined to denude Hancock County's virgin forests.

Other Changes

A number of other changes in Hancock County are due to man's intervention as well. One of these is the change brought about by strip mining for coal. Along Highway 60 between Hawesville and Lewisport, and in the hills directly south of Lewisport, are pits left behind by the strip miners. Those in the hills south of Lewisport have recently been increased as a tile manufacturer digs out the clay and shale necessary to sustain his operation. Still another change occurred when Hawesville completed a flood wall between it and the Ohio River in the 1950s. And yet another change occurred when the United States Army Corps of Engineers built a dam and a set of locks between Skillman Bottoms in the northeastern part of the county and the Indiana side. A final set of changes occurred when men became concerned about the eroded ridges and side slopes and planted them in a grass, Kentucky Number 31 Fescue, to rebuild the fertility of the soil.

Population Trends and Settlement Patterns

In writing about the changes that have occurred, it is helpful to keep in mind Hancock County's population curve, because it suggests a great deal about what has happened here over the years.

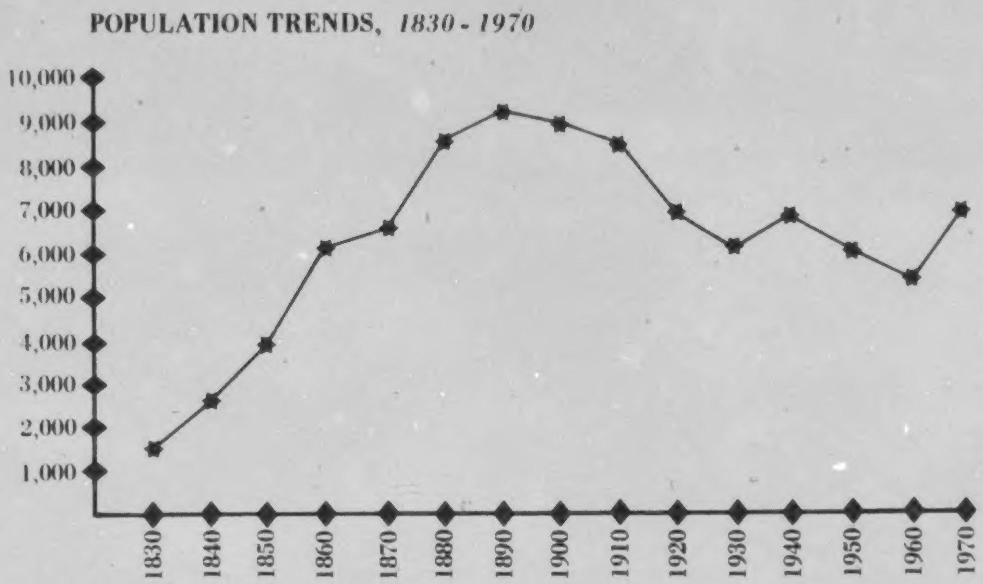


Fig. 3. Population trends, 1830-1970.

Figure 3 can be interpreted to indicate that Hancock County's geography geology, and ecology have played an important part in the county's history. It illustrates an ecological rule of thumb: successful use of environmental opportunities leads to an increase in population; diminution of opportunities leads to a population decline. The interplay between men's efforts to secure a reasonable life from the opportunities presented by Hancock County, and the effects of their efforts on Hancock County's natural resources explain Figure 3 from 1830 to 1960. The sudden increase between 1960 and 1970 marks the creation of a new resource in Hancock County--modern industry. Industry's entry into the county is a grand story of men cooperating one with another to create a new kind of county, complete with new opportunities. This cooperation also demonstrates that the people of Hancock County have the ability and will to alter the conditions of their lives; this capacity for change is well nigh unique in the annuals of American social science. Certainly, the manner in which the citizens of Hancock County accomplished this stands in marked contrast to much of the recent literature on small towns in mass society.

Men that were living in Hancock County before the turn of the twentieth century remember things that support an ecological explanation of Figure 3. They recall the county as a bustling place, full of people grouped in small neighborhoods and communities, prior to 1900. These men recall that the land then began to "play out," particularly in the southeastern part of the county. Then, they say, men had to leave Hancock County so that they might better support their families.

These recollections are supported by population figures for Hancock County, documented in Table 1.

Table 1

POPULATION OF HANCOCK COUNTY BY ITS MINOR CIVIL DIVISIONS: 1910-1930

Minor Civil Division	1910	1920	1930
Dist. 1 Hawesville	2,774	2,240	2,049
Hawesville City	1,002	829	790
Dist. 2 Lewisport	2,209	1,870	1,862
Lewisport Town	596	572	574
Dist. 3 Patesville	2,135	1,691	1,201
Dist. 4 Pellville	1,394	1,144	1,035
Pellville Town	104	74	116

Source: Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930.

Table 1 shows all of Hancock County losing population from 1910 to 1930. It also shows that District 3, Patesville, lost about 44% of its population over 20 years; while Hancock County bled, District 3 hemorrhaged--just as the old-timers recall.

Old-timers also give an explanation for this population loss. Hill farmers knew nothing of conservation; they plowed straight up and down ridge slopes. Run-off from the rains followed plow furrows and took the thin mantle of residual soil from the ridges to the bottoms below. When a piece of land lost its fertility, a farmer would call upon his neighbors to help him in a "log rolling," a local term for clearing a few acres. The new land was planted while the old was left for nature to reclaim.

This type of farming depended upon an infinite supply of virgin land for clearing. As shown in Table 2, by 1870, 104,324 of Hancock County's 119,680 acres were in farmland. By 1900 the methods used by the hill farmers had begun to reach the limits of the opportunities offered by Hancock County; there was no more virgin land. It was about this time that county agents became a part of Hancock County. Their advice on proper farming was often followed, but a local one-line joke gives the hill farmers' initial reaction to outside advice: "He's trying to tell me how to farm and I've done wore out three of them already."

At the same time, the industrial centers of urban America began to require more labor. Men in rural America saw that they could gain a better return for their efforts by entering industry. They left rural America for the cities. Hancock County gave a large part of its population to this nationwide trend, as indicated in Table 2.

While these things took place among the hill farms, other factors were affecting Hancock County. Coal seams were beginning to become unprofitable for commercial mining. Victoria Mines, for example, shut down, and the men that had depended upon cannel coal were forced to go elsewhere. Likewise, the Falcon Mines exhausted its coal seams, and men were left without jobs. They, too, were forced from the county.

Migration from rural to urban areas forms a common chapter of United States history. The reasons for the movement fairly leap out from population indices: the environment of the United States had changed. Prior to the twentieth century, the United States was composed of small, local units adapted to exploiting local opportunities. With the completion of modern transportation and communications networks, the United States became one large, interdependent system. The most efficient adaptation to this system required locating industrial complexes at nodal points within the transportation-communications network so that one complex could process the products of many local environments. People in rural America saw these industrial complexes as offering more opportunity than small-scale subsistence farming, so people flocked to the cities.

Table 2

STATISTICAL INDICES ON HANCOCK COUNTY'S ECONOMIC GROWTH AND POPULATION CURVE: 1800 TO 1970

Year	Economic Indices			Population		
	Acres of Farmland[a]	Number of Farms	Size of Farms	County	Hawesville	Lewisport
1830				1,515		
1840				2,581	420	
1845	64,621					
1846	69,919					
1850				3,853		
1860				6,213	1,128	
1870	104,324			6,591	855	308
1880				8,563		
1890				9,214	1,013	
1900	107,081	1,332	80.4	8,914	1,041	
1910	108,588	1,483	73.2	8,512	1,002	
1920	103,691	1,275	81.5	6,945	829	
1930	90,765	1,075	84.4	6,147	790	574
1940	97,141	1,086	89.4	6,807	896	591
1950	96,060	937	102.5	6,009	925	656
1960	79,935	657	121.7	5,330	882	610
1970				7,080	1,262	1,595

[a] The United States Department of Agriculture estimates Hancock County contains 119,680 acres.

With this new pattern of adaptation to a culturally determined set of contexts came new forms of social organization: special groups (like labor unions) that cut across a variety of local geographical units. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, men began to influence national and state legal systems in an attempt to cure some of the problems which migration had caused. One device for doing so was the creation of municipal industrial bonding power. Simply put, municipal industrial bonding allowed local governments to issue bonds to finance industrial construction. The rationale for this legislation was simple: through using bonding power, local governments could create the conditions that offered people opportunity. If enough such opportunity were created in rural America, the migration toward the cities might stop and perhaps even reverse.

Once Hancock Countians became aware of this legal opportunity, they exploited it fully: various local governments underwrote the construction of around $200 million of new industries. To do so they issued some of the largest amounts of this type of bonding in the history of the United States. This was stressed during Congressional debate when Representative Ruess (D., Wis.) said the Lewisport issue of $50 million reminded him of "a gnat trying to carry an elephant" (Wall Street Journal, April 25, 1967). That a gnat could do so was acknowledged when the Internal Revenue Service drastically curtailed the power of all local governments to issue industrial development bonds.

Their actions place Hancock Countians in a unique category; normally cross-cutting units, such as large industries or labor unions, are not responsive to small local units. However, in Hancock County these small local units have created an attractive situation for both industry and labor by exploiting opportunities presented by both state and federal legal systems. By doing so, the citizens of Hancock County have demonstrated that small social units in a mass society are not necessarily bound to be the victims of national and international trends, but can adapt successfully to the opportunities presented by a culturally conditioned context. The growth in population shown in Figure 3 between 1960 and 1970 gives vivid support to this view.

EARLY SETTLEMENT IN HANCOCK COUNTY, KENTUCKY--THE FIRST 60 YEARS

1799 To 1830

Initial settlement of the area occurred near the end of the eighteenth century. The Revolutionary War had been won by the colonists, Britain's restrictions on westward expansion had been overthrown, and now men looked to the western frontier for land that would better their circumstances. The area that was to become Hancock County was then part of the frontier and was strategically located on the transportation network of the time; the northern part of the county was open to those families flatboating westward along the Ohio River, while the southern part of the county was served by a wagon road that followed an older Indian trail from Hardinsburg to what was then Yellow Banks (and is now Owensboro).

Not much is known about the first settlers. All sources agree that they came west from Virginia, Delaware, and Maryland to establish their way of life in new lands. Perrin (1885, pp. 6-8) suggested that John and Hannah Lewis were among the first settlers in the area when they moved into a fort that stood on the banks of Yellow Creek in 1799.[2] It was no accident that John chose this area in which to settle. He had been a surveyor for a number of years and had laid out much of the land between the Green and Salt Rivers in western Kentucky. In 1788, during his career as a surveyor, he wrote people in Virginia of a 2,000-acre tract along the Ohio River in what was to become Hancock County. The land was selling for 15 farthings. John was against buying at the time because he thought the price would lower to 10 farthings in a few months. However, John Lewis was able to purchase extensive holdings from the government throughout the area in which he was to settle.

Contemporaneous settlement was occurring in what was to become the southern part of Hancock County along the Hardinsburg to Yellow Banks road. Miss Lillie Pulliam, in an article written for the Historical Edition of the Hancock Clarion (HEHC), suggested that William Minor Pate began operating an inn alongside the road in 1803. A little to the west of what was to become Patesville another settlement was founded. E. H. Barlow (HEHC) suggested that this settlement was first named Buck Snort in honor of a deer that was heard but hidden from sight by brush along the road. The settlement was known as Buck Snort for many years before its name became Pellville in honor of Samuel Pell, Hancock County's sheriff in 1870.

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[2] Mrs. Henry Thraser (HEHC) stated that a Methodist Church was founded in this general area in 1800.

There is no extensive folklore about Hancock County's first settlers. The pioneers were Anglo-Saxons of mainly English stock, the descendants of early colonists who located in the south central states along the Atlantic seaboard. They came west to better their lot in life by colonizing a new land; their success in doing so led to expressions of pride by their descendants. As one man said, after telling of his family's pioneer experiences, "They were the real Native Americans."

Entrepreneurs among the first settlers bought large tracts of land for use in both farming and speculation. They bet on late arrivals' being willing to pay higher prices for land than had the original owner, so that profit could be realized on the turnover. Entrepreneurs also laid out town sites, gambling that settlement lots would yield greater returns than subdivisions of wilderness tracts. Of course, buyers also gambled; they risked their capital on the wager that still later arrivals would pay even higher prices for land.

The McAdams family (McAdams, 1936) serves as an excellent example of both the westward movement and its financing. Samuel McAdams settled on Pottinger's Creek in what was then Jefferson County, Kentucky in 1781. In 1784 Nelson County was formed from Jefferson County and Samuel McAdams became a charter citizen of the new political entity. He remained so until 1812, when, at age 63, he led his family from Kentucky to Harrison County, Indiana. Samuel moved for good reasons; the government was selling land cheaply in southern Indiana, and he wished to become a frontier entrepreneur.

New Amsterdam, a small town in southern Indiana that sits on the banks of the Ohio River 25 miles downstream from New Albany, had its beginnings in a plat that Samuel McAdams and Jacob Funk filed in the courthouse in Corydon, Indiana on September 14, 1815. At that time it was expected that New Amsterdam would become a thriving city, and this hope fueled speculation. For example, on May 24, 1825, John McAdams purchased lot 51 for $60. On August 17, 1831, John sold lot 51 to William Edington for $110. Less than a year later on July 7, 1832, William Edington sold lot 51 to Cary Buford for $165.

Although the price of lots continued to rise, New Amsterdam's promise was never fulfilled; in the hundred years between 1835 and 1935 it failed to grow at all (McAdams, 1936, p. 31).

By 1832 two of Samuel's grandsons, George Washington and Samuel McAdams, had forsaken New Amsterdam and moved to Hawesville, Kentucky, where the McAdams family followed a mixed career embracing farming, business, and politics for a considerable length of time.

The McAdams family illustrates the working of America's values through the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Samuel McAdams was drawn to the Kentucky frontier by the promise of fertile land at a cheap price. He remained on the Kentucky frontier, improving his land and taking his place as a solid and respectable citizen of his community. While doing so, he learned a vital lesson: the men who most improve their economic conditions were not farmers breaking virgin soil; rather, the greatest gainers were the men who sought fortunes in business and real estate.

By the time his grandsons, Samuel and George Washington McAdams, reached Hawesville, Kentucky in 1832, members of the family understood this simple truth. They therefore embarked on careers that came to include grocery stores, mining, farming, and tobacco speculation. Their successes validated the American values that placed great emphasis on the use of individual effort to better one's life. At the same time, their careers also validated the religious teachings of the Protestant faiths which place a man's fate directly upon his individual choices. Finally, the careers of these two men also validate the pragmatic dictum that kinsmen help one another.

These major tenets of value, religion, and pragmatism have not changed in Hancock County since Samuel and George Washington McAdams played out their careers here. Men still place high value on individual effort; the Protestant faiths still affirm a man's fate is a result of his own free choices; and the family is still of major importance.

There are no reliable figures on population in the area prior to 1830, because Hancock County was not a distinct entity until 1829. There are other indications of considerable activity in the area, however. Thompson's Ferry, established in 1814, crossed the Ohio River between Kentucky and Indiana. In 1816 the Lincoln family, Tom, Hannah, and Abe, used Thompson's Ferry to cross the Ohio as they migrated from Kentucky to Indiana.

This ferry route was to play a significant part in Abraham Lincoln's life. In 1827 he was employed on a ferry plying the route that had taken his family to Indiana. His employers, John and Lin Dill, paid Lincoln $6 per month for his labor.

In addition to being a ferryman, Lincoln constructed a light flatboat for his own use. Two salesmen asked Lincoln to take them from the Indiana shore out into the river so that they might hail a passing steam boat. This Lincoln did, using his flatboat as lighter. Each salesman paid Lincoln 50 cents for his efforts. Shortly thereafter, Lincoln's employers hailed him before Justice Pate for infringing upon ferry rights issued by the State of Kentucky. The trial was to take place in Justice Pate's home, a building still standing some nine miles west of Hawesville.

Squire Pate allowed Lincoln the right to defend himself. So that Lincoln might conduct an able defense, he was given free rein in Pate's legal library. Local tradition has it that Lincoln spent many hours on Pate's front porch, alternatively studying two volumes of Kentucky Statutes--the Squire's legal library was not extensive--and courting Caroline Meeker, Pate's niece.

Lincoln's study demonstrated that he did not have a fool for a client. He was able to show that he had not set any persons "over" or "across" any river or creek "for reward or money." He had simply taken two men half-way cross the Ohio River, an action which did not violate any statute because in law, as in pregnancy, partial occurrences are not recognized. Charges were dismissed, and Lincoln had won his first legal battle. He lost Caroline Meeker, however; local tradition has it she refused his marriage offer because he "was too ugly."

Other events around this time which affected Hancock County's history were John Sterret's career and the settlement of the uplands south of the river. In 1811 John Sterret went to the state legislature from Breckenridge County. Between 1811 and 1825 he served some six or seven terms and in one of these he was instrumental in having Hancock County made into a distinct political entity. This may well be because he had moved into what was to become Hancock County and felt the need for more effective representation of local needs (Perrin, 1885, p. 17). The southern part of the county gained two of its first permanent settlers when G. W. and Letticia Chambers settled along Blackford Creek (Perrin, 1885, p. 5). Finally, the Blackford Baptist Church, which served a considerable portion of the Chambers, Floral, and Goering neighborhoods, was founded in 1825.

On January 3, 1829, Kentucky's Governor Thomas Metcalfe signed a statute that created Hancock County. The statute signed by Governor Metcalfe provided that:

1. Parts of Ohio, Breckenridge, and Daviess Counties be joined together to create a new political entity, Hancock County, named in honor of John Hancock, president of Congress during the revolution.
2. Justices of the Peace for the County were to meet in the home of James Dupey at Utility on the fourth Monday of March, 1829 to qualify a sheriff and appoint a county clerk.
3. County court would be held regularly.
4. Judges in Ohio, Breckenridge, and Daviess Counties retained jurisdiction over matters initiated before them prior to the fourth Monday of March, 1829.
5. The Sheriffs or collectors of Ohio, Breckenridge, and Daviess Counties retained jurisdiction over all matters placed in their hands prior to the fourth Monday of March, 1829.
6. The county court would appoint commissioners of tax for 1829.
7. The permanent seat of justice would be located at the mouth of Lead Creek on land owned by Richard Hawes. The town would be named Hawesville. It was the duty of the county court to establish this settlement and to cause all necessary public buildings to be erected.
8. Paupers would be cared for by the Sheriff of Hancock County.
9. The Breckenridge County surveyor would meet at James Dupey's house and then run county boundaries. For this he was to receive $2 per day.

The statute creating Hancock County demonstrates that local government is subordinate to state government in Kentucky; the enabling document designated the name, county seat, and officers of Hancock County. Other state documents spelled out the powers of county offices and the responsibilities of the county vis à vis the state. Knowledgeable men in Hancock County say that this system of government was derived from Virginia and that local governments have only those powers ceded to them by the state. This pattern is in marked contrast to the description of New England given by De Tocqueville in the early nineteenth century. There, local communities were the keepers of power and superordinate levels of government were sharply defined.

1830 To 1850

In 1830, two major events occurred in Hancock County. The first was the United States Census; Hancock County's entry for 1830 is 1,515 people. Likely most of these were in the area prior to 1829, but--unfortunately--various county courthouse fires and other calamities visited upon stored records make it unlikely that anything of much substance can be written about these folk. The only certain thing is that settlement was occurring in all parts of the county with the majority of data describing activity along the river. The second major event in 1830, the definite establishment of a Post Office, illustrates this. Miss Lillie Pulliam (HEHC) noted that there is no accurate record of a Patesville Post Office, but that some people thought that William Minor Pate's Inn served as such. This would place the Patesville Post Office among the oldest in Kentucky. There is no such doubt about Hawesville: a Post Office was established there on December 7, 1830, with William L. Prescott as Postmaster.

In the decade between 1830 and 1840, Hancock County's two major settlements were formed. Hawesville was granted permission to incorporate by the State of Kentucky in 1836. Lewisport took shape when the Prentis brothers and John Lewis filed a town plat at the Hancock County Courthouse in 1839. Later, in 1844, Lewisport gained state permission to incorporate. One of the major differences between the two settlements at the outset was that Hawesville was a creation of the state (its name and location were specified when Hancock County was formed), while Lewisport was the creation of local men following their entrepreneurial bents. This created a problem for the infant settlement.

Residents of the riverbank settlement locally known as Little Yellow Banks wished to dignify their hamlet with a proper name. Local custon ran to calling a settlement after its most prominent citizen. John Lewis was among the original settlers of the general area, had a Virginia heritage, owned roughly half the lots on the new settlement's plat, and owned large tracts of land throughout the county. The Prentis name also had strong claims. The Prentis family had arrived in the general area after John Lewis, but had settled in the immediate area of the new town site prior to Lewis. The family had the necessary Virginia background, owned large acreage in the county, and John and James Prentis owned about one half of the lots on the plat they had filed at the Hancock County Courthouse. Rose Pell Henderson (HEHC) recorded a family tradition on the adjudication: friendship between the Prentis and Lewis families led the Prentises to insist the new settlement be called Lewisport rather than Prentisport.

Two major settlements in the same political unit would normally be sufficient cause for rivalry, especially so when the winner would become the intermediary between the outside world and the farmlands in the uplands to the south of the river. Hawesville's position as county seat gave it a leg up because county roads led to the county courthouse, making Hawesville the nexus of overland trade routes. A second leg up came with the opening of coal veins in the limestone cliffs immediately behind and around Hawesville; mining and shipping gave Hawesville stable industries that attracted population and thus supported a varied merchant establishment. The census of 1840 demonstrated the power of these factors: Hancock County had 2,581 people (2,039 white and 539 black), Hawesville had 420, and Lewisport's population was not considered large enough to be registered.

While the stir along the river catches the eye, important developments were taking place in the southern part of the county. At Bennetsville, a small mining community on the Breckenridge-Hancock line, cannel coal was being mined, hauled to Cloverport, and then shipped to England via New Orleans as early as 1837 (Chisholm, 1931, p. 235).

Through the 1840s the opportunities offered by Hancock County continued to attract men. More coal mines were opened, more land was cleared, more farms were created, more town lots were established, more merchants embarked on business careers, and more taxes were collected. In 1846, for example, Sheriff James Newton filed an account of taxable items in Hancock County with the State of Kentucky that compared the years 1845 and 1846. Sheriff Newton's tax roll is partially recapitulated in Table 3 (Newton, 1846).

The year 1849 saw a major setback for Hancock County when fire destroyed much of Lewisport. However, the residents accepted their calamity, rebuilt, and the town continued to serve as a center for the small trading community that included Lewisport and the Tywhapita Bottoms and Waitman neighborhoods. Agricultural commodities, as well as timber and timber products, were Lewisport's main exports.

Finally, Hancock County gained a public system of education as a result of legislation passed by the State of Kentucky in the late 1830s. By 1842 the Kentucky State Board of Education was making annual reports to the legislature that included information on Hancock County. In the first report (Smith, 1842), Hancock County was listed as having 461 children between the ages of 7 and 17 during 1841. Although the county had no school districts listed, public schools had received $184.40 from the state's School Fund. Perhaps the disparity between no listed school districts and state funding is explained in the laconic comment "no report" filed after the names of J. Snider, H. W. Hugh, and J. E. Stone, the County Commissioners of Education.

1850 To 1860

The census of 1850 demonstrates that the various ecological niches of Hancock County were capable of supporting a rising population. Hancock County's population had grown to 3,853 (3,216 white and 622 black), or some 1,272 more people than had been counted in 1840. Various data other than census material suggest that during this general time period various kinds of adaptations to the opportunities present in Hancock County were taking place.

The first of these adaptations was the use of slave labor on large tracts of land. This adaptation was confined to the flood plains bordering the Ohio River. Robert Costain Beauchamp is the exemplar of this adaptation. Mr. Beauchamp was born in Bourbon County, Kentucky around 1790 to parents recently arrived from Delaware. His parents stayed in Bourbon County until 1818, then moved to Daviess County. In 1826 Robert Costain Beauchamp married and in 1827 he moved his family to a 160-acre farm that sits five miles west of Hawesville. Over time, Mr. Beauchamp increased his acreage to 5,000

Table 3

TAXABLE ITEMS IN HANCOCK COUNTY IN THE YEARS 1845 AND 1846

Year	Taxable Item[a]	Dollar Value[a]
	Land	
1846	69,919	311,026
1845	64,621	286,338
	5,298	24,689
	Town Lots	
1846	192	40,110
1845	168	35,300
	24	4,810
	Slaves	
1846	546	156,370
1845	516	150,908
	30	5,462
	Horses and Mares	
1846	1,180	34,346
1845	1,137	32,689
	43	1,657
	Mules	
1846	33	1,010
1845	17	407
	16	540
	Jennies	
1846	4	200
1845	5	220
	(1)	(20)
	Cattle	
1846	2,259	3,052
1845	2,356	3,416
	(97)	(364)
	Stores	
1846	10	12,794
1845	11	13,242
	(1)	(448)

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[a] The absolute value of the change in taxable items and dollar value between 1845 and 1846 is shown for each taxable item category; if this change is negative (i.e., a decrease), the value is shown in parentheses.

and his labor force to 90 slaves. The settlement of slaves and master resembled a small, self-sufficient village whose industries included brick kilns,[3] a blacksmith shop, looms, and a dairy (Perrin, 1885, pp. 2-3; HEHC).

Political power wielded by the men practicing this adaptation (and owning large tracts of land) appears to have been considerable. Local tradition has it that during the 1840s it was proposed that a cotton mill should be built in Hancock County. This proposal was defeated on grounds that Hancock County featured a "Planter's Society" and intrusion of industrial patterns would disturb this way of life. The cotton mill was then located directly across the Ohio River in Cannelton, Indiana, where it played a significant economic role for years.

A second kind of adaptation to the opportunities presented by Hancock County was practiced by the small farmer along the ridge tops in the uplands south of the river. The small farmer's homestead usually supported mixed agriculture, with crops of grain, sorghum, and tobacco and stocks of chickens, cattle, and hogs. Tobacco was the only cash crop, and it served as fuel for the distribution network that linked homesteads into neighborhoods and groups of neighborhoods into trading communities.

A third adaptation to the environment of Hancock County was coal mining. In the early 1850s the Breckenridge Coal and Oil Company purchased and leased 7,224 acres in and around Bennetsville to the south, Cloverport to the north, and along a railroad right-of-way between the two. The railway featured wooden tracks banded with steel (Norwood, 1878, pp. 343-46). Sixteen adits were opened in the hills around Bennetsville, and coal was shipped on a broad gauge (4'11") tram railway to a river tipple at Cloverport, then put on a flatboat to New Orleans to be shipped to England (Sulzer, 1967, p. 138). In 1855 a set of oil works were built near Cloverport and by April, 1856, some 12 retorts were producing 600 to 700 gallons of crude oil daily (Norwood, 1878, p. 344).

Besides the Breckenridge complex, there were active commercial mines around Hawesville. In reading an 1853 run of The Pick and

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[3] Knowledgeable local authorities say the Beauchamp home, which still stands across Highway 60 from the Windward Heights subdivision, was built with brick made in these kilns. These authorities say the house was completed in 1842.

Plow[4] now on file in the University of Kentucky Library at Lexington, Kentucky, one notices three constant advertisements. The first two were placed by the owners of Trabue's Coal Mines of Hawesville. Their largest ad proclaimed that $20,000 had been spent to increase mining efficiency: a double-track mule power railway laid between mine and river, new coal seams opened, 75 new haul carts added to railway rolling stock, and 10 new towboats and a new wharf boat added to Trabue's river fleet. This new equipment allowed Trabue's mines to produce 8,000 to 10,000 bushels of coal per day at a cost of six cents per bushel at rail's end. The ad went on to remind river men of the superior quality of Hawesville coal for stoking boilers. The second advertisement placed by Trabue's mines was for help wanted: 20-40 men were needed to man flatboats running coal to New Orleans. The pay was $40. The final advertisement announced that J. R. Jennings and G. R. Ghiselin had purchased the Reverdy Coal and Iron Mines and were seeking bids on 24 coal barges, each of 12,000 bushels capacity.

Other advertisements in The Pick and Plow contain a near complete description of Hawesville and Hancock County. The International Order of Odd Fellows and the Masonic Lodge made their presence known, while the Sons of Temperance took out large advertisements, possibly to combat the one-liners, placed by the Eagle Hotel, Holmes House, and Exchange Hotel, that assured readers they had just received shipments of first-class potables. Cooper and Trabue, Merchandisers, offered dry goods, fancy goods, dye stuffs, medicine, and drugs, and promised that all kinds of country produce brought the highest prices--whether paid in cash or bartered goods. Samuel and George Washington McAdams ran advertisements competing with Cooper and Trabue. The Cincinnati, Louisville, and Nashville Packets, the U.S. Mail Line for this part of the Ohio River, let on that the Jno. Simpson would be calling at Hawesville and that S. Powers was the line's local agent. The Floating Palace countered this sober river ad by grandly announcing it would bring to Hawesville Van Amburgh's Menagerie of 150 living specimens of forest beasts and desert monsters on Friday, October 28, 1853. Lions, tigers, elephants, rhinos, and strong men would vie for their audience's attention.

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[4] This is the second of a series of newspapers associated with D. L. Adair between 1849 and 1875 (Perrin, 1885, p. 1). The Pick and Plow was named in honor of the mining and farming industries of Hancock County. In 1893 the Hancock Clarion was founded by Clarence Sterret and has been in continuous publication since.

A constant trade in land and agricultural resources is also recorded. In the uplands south of the river the offerings were on the meager side. Joe Dupey offered lots in Utility, a settlement graced with both Methodist and Baptist Churches, a Temperance Hall, and a blacksmith's shop. John Nix offered to sell his farm, 61 acres of land (10 acres in cultivation, another 7 cleared), located in the ridges seven miles south of Hawesville. Offerings from along the river were more impressive. T. O. Black of Lewisport advertised a public sale to be held at his residence on December 15, 1853. Open for bids were: a large crop of corn and tobacco; large stocks of horses, hogs, and cattle; and six Negroes. Nathan A. Williams wanted to sell 170 acres west of Hawesville. Of these, 60 were in cultivation. Jas. E. Stone, County Clerk, advertised a sale of four Negroes to be held at the courthouse door on Monday, December 26, 1853. The slaves, a male called Jack, a female named Mary, and her two children--Lelia and Nancy--belonged to the estate of Stephan Fish, deceased.

Other advertisements spoke to immediate financial matters. Tobacco, graded inferior and good, was bought at $2 and $2.50 per hundredweight, while eggs were worth seven cents per dozen, and white beans went for $1 per bushel. A featured column warned, however, that these prices were based on solid currency issued by Kentucky banks; specie from North Carolina would be discounted. These advertisements show Hancock County's local neighborhoods and communities to be heavily influenced by outside factors. For example: coal was mined in Hancock County for markets in New Orleans; national fraternal organizations, such as the Masons, Odd Fellows, and Sons of Temperance, were prospering in Hawesville; river traffic served both the business and transportation industries and brought recreational opportunities to Hancock County; and money was imported from outside sources to meet local needs.

This same dependence on extra-local factors showed up in the school system. Education continued to be a matter of local concern until the state constitution of 1850 was adopted. Immediately thereafter, State Superintendent Breckenridge lobbied for a system of free schools in Kentucky. He was successful, and Kentucky's system of free education was launched (Hamlett, 1914, p. 2).

The effects of this law were immediate: local support for schools disappeared as local neighborhoods were not inclined to tax themselves to provide free education for the indigent. The annual reports reflected this concern over school financing. The number of children of school age in Hancock County was steadily increasing. At the same time, Table 4 (after Richardson, 1860) indicates a clear message: the 298 parents with $600 or more property were going to have to pay enough in taxes to support the education of children whose parents owned less than $600 worth of property.

Hancock County tradition has it that there were local school districts at this time. These are thought to have been the creation and responsibility of local neighborhoods. Neighborhoods in the southern part of the county built one-room school houses of logs and extended invitations to qualified instructors for one term each year. The term was normally for three months and held in winter so as not to interfere with farming. All the children who attended a school were taught the same subjects, often from the same sources, with only the method of instruction being varied to suit a child's age.

Table 4

CHILDREN BETWEEN THE AGES OF 6 and 18 AND THEIR PARENTS' PROPERTY HOLDINGS IN 1859

Property Holdings	Number of Parents	Number of Children
No Property	64	175
Less than $100 Property	32	99
From $100 To $400 Property	51	132
From $400 To $600 Property	25	72
Property Over $600	298	873

The teacher, often a young woman who had only recently finished a similar educational experience, was part of the community during the school term. Wages were paid, of course, but part of a teacher's compensation came in the form of board and room. Neighborhood families took turns putting up the instructor. This encouraged the visiting teacher to become involved in local affairs.

In 1854 a major tragedy occurred near Hawesville. At 10:00 p.m. on March 13, 1854, the steamer Reindeer's starboard boiler exploded. The steamer Europa towed the Reindeer to Cannelton, Indiana where doctors from both Cannelton and Hawesville tended the wounded. Toward morning the Reindeer was towed across the Ohio to Hawesville where the dead, 38 people, were buried in a mass grave. Their tombstone reads:

HERE LIES THE REMAINS OF
THE ILLFATED STEAMER
"THE REINDEER"
THAT BLEW UP ON THE
OHIO RIVER BETWEEN
HAWESVILLE & CANNELTON
ON MARCH 13, 1854
Erected by Public Donations
Sponsored By--W. P. McDonald

Steamboat inspectors laid blame for the accident on the engineer. They revoked his license and fumed a bit because "...as he soon died from injuries received at the time, a further prosecution, which was intended at the time, became impractical." (Bert Fenn, HEHC).

Not everyone died of accidents in those days. In fact, judging from the vital statistics presented in the Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society (1953), not many people lived long enough to have an accidental death. Of 164 deaths recorded for Hancock County citizens 15 years and older between 1852 and 1861, 100 died of disease. Consumption and cholera each got seven; congestive fever, flux, and chills claimed four each; brain fever and measles got three apiece; scrofula killed two; and diarrhea, scarlet fever, bilious fever, bed fever, erysipelas, and intermittent fever got one person each.

The dying could take solace in knowing their remains would receive proper rites; churches had been active in Hancock County for some time. In 1836 the Hawesville Baptist Church was formed, and by 1851 sermons were being delivered on the second Sunday of each month to a membership of 100 souls--75 of whom were white and thus were seated on the main floor, and 25 of whom were black and thus sat in the balcony. In 1854 the Church of the Immaculate Conception was begun in Hawesville. Present residents of the county consider this building a historic landmark, both because of its age and because its limestone was among the last to be quarried by slave labor. In 1858 a Methodist Church was established in Lewisport.

Not all residents of Hancock County were concerned with leading the type of life encouraged by the Christian religions, and the 1850s had several prime examples. Lucile Gerber wrote (HEHC) of the 1853 hanging of Moses and Robert Kelley. The brothers were charged with murdering Francis Holt, James Miller, and Alexander Gardiner--all of whom jointly owned and operated the flatboat Eliza No. 2. Their flatboat carried stocks of glassware and china, which they peddled as they drifted past the farms, plantations, and communities that lined the Ohio's banks. Since glassboats did well, the three men carried large sums of money.

Moses and Robert Kelley were accused and convicted of robbing and murdering the glass merchants. The brothers were hanged on October 28, 1853. For many years after, the skeleton of one of the brothers was used in an anatomy class in Hawesville's High School.

A second incident, reported in Harper's Weekly as "The Terrible Homicide at Hawesville, Kentucky" (1859) was a little more bizarre. Mr. Lowe was a retired merchant who had had words with Mr. Maxwell, an attorney. Mr. Maxwell seems to have been most popular in Hancock County; Harper's account suggested he had considerable help in settling the quarrel.

The two men had a bitter falling out, and around the first of March, 1859, Mr. Lowe challenged Mr. Maxwell to a duel. The attorney preferred debate to violence and refused. Mr. Lowe then appeared on Hawesville's Main Street and bellowed Mr. Maxwell's qualifications as a, ". . . liar, a calumniator, and a son of a ____."

Mr. Maxwell considered this a slur and went to meet Mr. Lowe with a double-barreled shotgun. Once in range, Mr. Maxwell greeted Mr. Lowe with a charge in the chest. The shot failed to kill Mr. Lowe because he was prudently wearing a suit of chain mail armor.

Mr. Lowe returned fire with a revolver, missed, and then took refuge in the courthouse because, as one witness put it, at least 75 rifles, shotguns, and revolvers went off as Mr. Maxwell's friends took up his argument. Incidentally, there were some poor marksmen in town that day: only 32 holes were counted in Mr. Lowe's coat when the affair ended.

A mob formed and chased the merchant from the courthouse. He ran to the levee where he was finally brought down by main force. After sticking a Bowie knife in his chain mail several times, the mob tired of trying to kill Mr. Lowe and allowed him to apologize to Mr. Maxwell. Mr. Lowe was then taken to the county jail.

A rumor swept Hawesville that the merchant intended to attack the members of the mob when released. Two members of the crowd decided to end the rumor. They went to the county jailer to ask for his keys. The jailer at first refused, but saw the reasonableness of their request when revolvers were introduced into the conversation. The men then entered Mr. Lowe's cell and fired into him six times. Since the chain mail armor had been removed, Mr. Lowe died of his wounds.

The next day a grand jury considered the affair. The jury concluded that Mr. Lowe's killers were justified on the grounds that their lives would have been unsafe had the merchant lived. The jury's report went on to deplore the violence visited upon the citizenry and placed blame for the violence upon lax law enforcement:

> It is plain the law must protect men, or they will protect themselves; and this Jury seriously fears that unless the law is made to act more rigorously, force will assume the sceptre, and the rights of citizens be determined by the strong arm of violence.

Episodic violence through the county's history would underline the jury's fears, especially the violence visited upon the county in the next decade.

THE GENERAL DEVELOPMENT OF HANCOCK COUNTY, KENTUCKY FROM 1860 THROUGH 1950

1860 To 1870

By 1860 Hancock County's economy was a mixture of agricultural pursuits, mining, river trade, and distribution network. This economy supported a population of 6,213 (5,382 white and 818 black). Hawesville boasted a population of 1,128, the largest pre-1970 population the town was to attain. The census of 1860 also listed 13 "free colored" for Hancock County.

By themselves, 13 free colored were insignificant. However, as symbols they reveal a great deal about Hancock County. The earliest settlers came from backgrounds where traffic in human bondage was acceptable; later settlers had more ambivalent feelings. Ridge farmers had little need of slave labor and some doubts about the morality of traffic in human beings. For example, a story is told of one farmer living in the southern part of the county during the Civil War. He had inherited several slaves from his father, and it looked as though the Union government would soon declare all slaves free. His family advised him to sell his slaves before any emancipation and thereby avoid a financial loss. His answer was a classic in ambivalence: he had never bought or sold another human being, he said, and he did not intend to start just to avoid a financial loss. He did not, however, offer to free his slaves.

This ambivalence surfaced as men followed their consciences during the Civil War. The Cox family of Hawesville had members fighting for both sides; Samuel Cox joined the Union Army while his brother William served the Confederacy (Blackburn, 1972, p. 34). This produced considerable anxiety in the Cox family, as an 1863 letter from Mrs. Cox to her son Sam reveals:

> I am much concerned about you Sam, but I am also concerned about Will. You are both my boys and I love you both to the same extent. I pray constantly for the welfare of both of you and I pray that you will never meet in battle. (Blackburn, 1972, p. 116.)

Perhaps the most extreme example of ambivalence was exhibited by William Davidson. William joined the Union Army's 17th Regiment of

Kentucky Infantry along with Sam Cox in 1861. Both fought through the battles of Fort Donelson and Shiloh. Then Davidson left the Union Army and joined the Confederacy. In 1865 he was the leader of a guerilla band that occupied Owensboro long enough to burn the Daviess County Courthouse. Davidson's group retreated eastward and a few days later Davidson was killed near Hawesville (Blackburn, 1972, p. 161).

Men with strong feelings used Hancock County as an arena for guerilla warfare and many incidents are recorded (HEHC). For example, Tom Hale, a staunch Union man, was given the choice of coming out of his house or having it burned with him and his family inside. Mr. Hale opened his front door to be gunned down by a band of southern irregulars. Other groups of guerillas looted homes from Lewisport to Patesville.

Hawesville also served as a staging area for guerillas intent on striking Union industries in Cannelton, Indiana, a small town directly across the river. On July 25, 1864, reports of increased guerilla activity led Captain Morgan to position his gunboat, the U.S.S. Springfield, and to open fire on Hawesville. Some used the stone walls of the new Catholic Church as protection against shell burst, others took to mine shafts in the immediate vicinity. The bombardment was short, producing little physical damage and no casualties.

The war created a demand for bituminous coal to fire the boilers of military and civilian steamers plying the river. Hawesville became a major fueling center for river traffic and coal mines were able to sell all their production. Business became so brisk that the coal mines were seen as Union war industries. Guerillas struck, blasting the adits of the Reverdy Coal Mines.

The Reverdy Coal Mines did not reopen. With hindsight's perfect vision, one can see this as foreshadowing economic developments that would eventually overtake Hancock County. Until about the turn of the twentieth century, Hancock County could be seen as offering unbounded opportunities to various kinds of adaptations. But the closure of the Reverdy Coal Mines demonstrated that there were limits on available resources; the expense of reopening was greater than potential profits, the resources of Hancock County were not infinite.

Hindsight makes a similar judgment on the Breckenridge Cannel Coal complex. Sometime during this decade, fires destroyed much of the complex's physical plant in Cloverport. The cost of rebuilding seemed inordinate, especially so because natural crude oil was being turned into kerosene that was cheaper than illuminating oil distilled from cannel coal. So the railway and Bennetsville were abandoned along with the firestormed retorts at Cloverport.

By 1867 the free public school system in Kentucky was a disaster. Public schools had relied on a state school fund and a five-cent property tax. This was not enough money, and the entire system suffered. State Superintendent of Schools Z. F. Smith convinced the state legislature that schools needed support, and the legislature increased the school property tax from 5 cents to 20 cents per $100 worth of property (Hamlett, 1914, p. 2). Hancock County's Commissioner of Education reported that his fellow citizens were more than willing to support the additional state tax (Anonymous, 1867, p. 226).

By 1868 Hancock County had 34 different school districts within its boundaries. This large number was a direct result of the model after which Kentucky's educational system was patterned. Because New England had had success with its local district system in which local control was paramount, Kentucky's legislators felt secure in following New England's lead. Therefore, the state's 20 cents per $100 worth of property tax paid the teacher's salary, while local taxes were used to pay the expenses incurred in building, furnishing, and maintaining schools. Local school district taxation was unpopular in Kentucky and often met defeat (Hamlett, 1914, p. 2).

Not everything turned to ashes in this decade. The county courthouse called for in Hancock County's 1839 charter was completed in 1865. It was built by a Boston contractor who used native limestone for foundation materials and locally kilned bricks throughout. The building, a large two-story facility with a cupola atop its roof, still houses Hancock County's government.

1870 To 1880

The economy of 1870 showed marked advances over what had previously been the case. Collins (1966, pp. 266-271) provides statistical data, some of which can be compared with Sherrif Newton's 1846 tax roll. (See Table 5.)

Table 5

HANCOCK COUNTY, 1846 AND 1970: A COMPARISON OF SELECTED FACTORS

Items	1846	1870	Increase
Horses	1,180	1,957	777
Mules	33	332	299
Cattle	2,259	3,004	745
Acres of Land[a]	69,919	104,324	34,405

[a] A USDA bulletin, (Hancock County, Kentucky-Farm Statistics, 1910-1965), gives Hancock County's total acreage as 119,680.

The increase in agricultural indices was paralleled by population statistics: there were 6,591 people in Hancock County in 1870 (up 378 over the 1860 population). Hawesville had suffered a loss, down from 1,128 in 1860 to 855 in 1870. Lewisport claimed 308 residents in 1870. Collins (1966, p. 266) again provides information that can be compared with Sheriff Newton's 1846 tax rolls: the 543 white males in 1846 had grown by 655 to 1,208 by 1879.

The increase in farm acreage and population was probably due to increased settlement in the southern part of the county. This suspicion is supported by common sense observation: the Ohio River Bottoms have been regarded as first-rate farmland since the days of the frontier. As such, they would be the first claimed. By 1870 there would be no land available along the river. A second set of supporting data comes from information on small communities in the southern part of the county: Pellville had a population of 84, and Dukes was founded in the 1870s by John L. Dukes (Starks, 1968). Both these settlements were centers of rural trading communities composed of a small town that served adjacent neighborhoods.

These trading communities can be partially reconstructed from newspaper accounts and interviews with some of the county's older residents. The isolated homestead, owned and operated by a resident farmer and his family, was the basic social unit of this society. The homestead was normally located along the ridges because of the difficulties inherent in clearing and breaking ground in the creek bottoms. An added obstacle in farming along the bottoms was the spring flooding that occurred nearly every year.

The homestead was small; the 61 acres offered for sale by John Nix in the 1853 run of The Pick and Plow was probably average in size. Nix's farm was also average in that only part of it had been cleared; it was the practice to clear a small portion of land, farm it until the soil lost its fertility (usually because of erosion--furrows ran straight up and down ridge slopes), and then clear another portion of the farm for cultivation of crops.

Two different kinds of crops were raised. Grains were the basic subsistence crops: wheat, oats, and corn were raised for stock feed and for human consumption. Chickens, hogs, and cattle were raised for their products and table value. Tobacco and sorghum were different; they were raised for market and were the only cash crops a small farmer could grow.

The homesteads produced large families. In part this was due to the lack of birth control information and technique and in part it was due to the desire for children. It was also due to the economics of subsistence-level farming; each family member was regarded as a helping hand in the round of work. In spring the older males of a family broke ground with a two-horse plow, then used a one-horse plow to cut seed furrows. Women and children followed the furrows placing seed. Then the younger boys followed the sowing on a horse-drawn sled that smoothed the furrows, encasing seeds with earth.

Tobacco was grown then almost as it is now. A plant bed was prepared on level ground, tobacco planted, and the bed covered with muslin. After the seedlings were of proper size, capable of surviving transplanting, they were taken from the beds and set in holes poked in prepared ground. This, too, was a family operation.

Groups of isolated homesteads came to be considered neighborhoods by the people who lived in them. Usually these neighborhoods had a church and a one-room school house as their social center. Somewhere within the neighborhood stood a local graveyard. While topographic features sometimes bounded these neighborhoods, more often boundaries were maintained by distance; older residents said four miles was the most a child could cover going and coming from school, and was certainly all a family could travel to and from church by farm wagon.

Neighborhoods were the centers of communal organization. Men banded together to create schools for their children, churches for their families, and graveyards for their dead. Men also shared labor, going from farm to farm during harvest, banding together to thresh grain, and making festive occasions of barn raisings and log rollings. Log rollings were those times devoted to clearing land of trees, so that new acreage could be created from forests. Entire families were involved in these events with men working, women cooking, and children playing.

Sets of neighborhoods adjacent to small towns formed a trading community. Some of the trading communities in the southern part of the county during the 1870s revolved around the towns of Dukes, Patesville, Easton, Cabot, Roseville, and Pellville. All these trading communities articulated with the distribution system dominated by Hawesville.

These neighborhoods and trading communities remained viable into the twentieth century. They endured the onslaughts of erosion, migration, and improved communications. However, all-weather roads and the automobile destroyed them. As one resident of Pellville explained, the post office and the school are the heart of the community--remove them and the community dies. All-weather roads made possible rural mail delivery and school consolidation, while continued migration sapped the political strength rural areas needed if they were to maintain local institutions.

In this decade two Commissioners of Education in Hancock County submitted reports to the State Board of Education that touched on themes which would occupy many different minds over the next 100 years--money and teacher qualifications. Mr. J. R. A. Brent led off with a report on the deficiencies of the district system in his 1871 report (Smith, 1871, pp. 214-216). He did not like the district system, and he recommended

> . . . a law making the system . . . independent and self-working in the hands of qualified officers; consolidating four or five districts in one, under the control of one school board; guaranteeing competent officers and teachers. . . . Give us this, and increase our school fund by levying a tax of ten cents on each hundred dollars, and a capitation tax of ($2) two dollars, which would do much to harmonize the discordant elements, besides bringing increased revenue to the support of our schools.

According to Mr. Brent, the doctrine that anyone could teach was false, and Hancock County needed teachers who were well-trained, energetic, and enthusiastic ". . . and I regret our wants are not supplied." Most of his teachers were without normal training and were totally inexperienced. However, he was optimistic about the future--educators from Louisville were to hold a teacher's institute come fall and thereby train teachers. This training would be supplemented during winter by the Hancock County Teacher's Association which would offer normal courses.

The district system's performance formed the basis for most of Commissioner Duncan's 1875 report (Henderson, 1875, p. 199). Mr. Duncan noted he had inspected all the schools in the county during the year and, "We have very poor school houses. Many of them are unfit to be used." He gave the reason for this as crop failure.

Mr. Duncan also made mention of Hancock County's four Colored School Districts. These four colored districts followed pre-Civil War slavery distribution closely; one district was in Lewisport, a second at Robert Costain Beauchamp's plantation, a third in Hawesville, and the fourth in Scuffletown. Local tradition has it that Scuffletown was settled by ex-slaves from Breckenridge County.

The 1961 School Edition of the Hancock Clarion (SEHC) gave 1875 as the year in which a four-room red brick structure was built which held Hawesville's first high school classes. "Old Brick," or "Old Red Brick," as it was called, held all grades of school with several classes in each room. The four rooms each held a school department, so that the High School Department, the Preparatory Department, the Intermediate Department, and the Elementary Department were all separate from one another.

It was also during this decade that Hawesville became part of a telegraph system. The county was no longer dependent upon the vagaries of river traffic for news; the telegraph lines brought instant tidings of national and international events.

The turbulence of the Civil War and a growing economy and population seemed to have little effect on the social order of Hancock County. Robert Costain Beauchamp, for example, was elected to serve as Hancock County's representative in the state legislature from 1867 through 1871 (Perrin, 1885, p. 305). A second example of wealth and family name being helpful in political matters showed in the career of Eugene Perriott McAdams, a son of G. W. McAdams. In 1872 Eugene decided to run against a Captain Stone for the office of Circuit Clerk of Hancock County. Eugene was 25 years old and his experience consisted of a brief college career and subsequent employment in his father's enterprises. Captain Stone was of a different order; he was a powerful county politician and had held office for many years. Yet Eugene McAdams beat Captain Stone in the 1872 election for the office of Circuit Clerk (McAdams, 1936, p. 1).

1880 To 1890

This decade witnessed a continued rise in population in Hancock County. In 1880, a total of 8,563 people lived here (up 1,972 over 1870). Men made their livings in farming, mining, business, and, in Lewisport, in the manufacture of dinnerware made from the clay in the hills south of town.

Late in the decade Hancock County gained another link with the outside world--the Louisville, Henderson, and St. Louis Railroad. The line was chartered by the State of Kentucky as the Louisville, St. Louis, and Texas Railroad. But, as its builder, W. V. McCracken allowed, "The Louisville, St. Louis and Texas didn't start in Louisville, never reached St. Louis, and had no intention of going to Texas." Rather, the line linked West Point, Kentucky in the east with Henderson, Kentucky in the west (Herr, 1964, pp. 173-175).

There is some doubt as to the exact time of railroad construction through Hancock County. A personal communication from the present operators of the line suggested 1887; Mrs. Duncan (HEHC) recalled the line was built through Hancock County in 1889. There is also disagreement on the availability of local labor. Herr's account noted that McCracken had just completed the Toledo, Saginaw, and Michigan Railroad and brought his experienced labor crews with him and thus had no need of local labor. Mrs. Duncan remembered the line was built with imported foreigners because there was no local labor available; everyone in Hancock County had a job.

The railroad supplemented, but did not replace, the Ohio River shipping system. The river had given Hawesville and Lewisport much of their character from the earliest days of settlement. During the nineteenth century many flatboats and steamboats were built in the county and one of them, the Theatorium, became the most famous showboat in United States river traffic. The Theatorium was built on Hawesville's levee by C. F. Breidenbach and Jim Hennen in the late nineteenth century. The builders parted company with their vessel shortly after launching because of financial embarrassments, but the Theatorium plied both the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers into the 1940s. In 1927 she was used in the movie, Stage Struck, and was renamed the Gloria Swanson after the movie's leading lady (HEHC).

Another gauge of the river's influence is the river men produced by Hancock County. Perhaps the most famous was John W. Cannon. John Cannon was born near Hawesville and followed a river career that spanned most of the nineteenth century. His most well known exploit occurred when he pitted his steamboat, the Robert E. Lee, against the rival Natchez in a race from New Orleans to St. Louis, Missouri. The Robert E. Lee won the race that has since inspired articles, songs, and motion pictures.

This decade also was the beginning of banking in Hancock County. The Hancock Deposit Bank was chartered by the state in 1887 and began operation in Hawesville on April 23, 1888. Although it was reorganized in 1934, the bank still serves Hancock County as the Hancock Bank and Trust Co.

Some parts of Hancock did not expand in this decade. Lewisport was one of these: during the 1880s the river developed an appetite for the land upon which Lewisport stood and, piece by piece, Lewisport's Front

Street slipped into the Ohio River to begin a journey that would end at the Mississippi River's delta. Another decline occurred in the tobacco business. A bust in the market erased G. W. McAdams' fortune; he died on August 2, 1889 with only memories to show for his career as entrepreneur (McAdams, 1936).

This decade featured an increase in school population, which matched the general growth of Hancock County during the same period; however, there was no corresponding growth in the schools. The district system was figured to be at the root of this problem. In 1868, there were 34 school districts in the county, and in 1880, according to Pickett, there were 33 districts, all of them in use. Of these, 29 had a five-month term, and 4 had a three-month term. Although a total of 2,710 children were eligible for school, the highest attendance during the year 1880 was 1,213, while the lowest was 303, and the average attendance for the year was 739, approximately 27.27% of the number of eligible children. A brief written squib carried a brutal assessment of Hancock County's educational establishment, "As long as pay is so low there will not be many good schools in this county" (Pickett, 1882, p. 169).

1890 To 1900

The 1890 census gave Hancock County a population of 9,214, up 651 people from 1880. This was the greatest population supported by pre-industrial Hancock County, and the figure represented the full carrying capacity of all the various enterprises found here. These included agriculture, business, government, and a resurgent coal industry.

Mining was concentrated in two locations: Victoria, neé Bennetsville, and Falcon Mines, located about halfway between Hawesville and Lewisport, near Adair. The cannel coal mines had closed down during the Civil War and the town of Bennetsville was deserted. In the 1890s, the operation was opened up again, save that Bennetsville had become Victoria to honor the British Queen. The Victoria-Cloverport Railroad was rebuilt, using standard steel rails this time, and connected with the Louisville, Henderson, and St. Louis Railroad at Cloverport. Herr (1964, pp.

174-175) reported the top layer of each shipment of cannel coal was whitewashed so that pilferage could be readily detected. Although the English markets for cannel coal failed early in the decade, the mines sputtered along until about 1898 and then failed once again. The Falcon Mines were in full swing during the decade. An 1899 mine inspector's report stated that the Falcon Mines were the only coal producers in the county and had shipped 8,151.96 tons via the Louisville, Henderson, and St. Louis Railroad siding at Adair.

Descriptions exist for a number of Hancock County's small towns during this period. Mrs. Thrasher (HEHC) recalled Adair had a grocery store, a merchandise store, and a two-room school house with over 100 pupils enrolled. Norwood (1878, p. 356) describes Victoria as containing 11 dwellings, an engine house with two engine stalls, an office, a scales-house, a school, a lodging house, and a barn with stables for mules. By 1898 a post office, stores, and a hotel had been added to Norwood's list of Victoria's facilities (HEHC). Miss Lillie Pulliam (HEHC) recalled that Patesville offered six stores, two blacksmith's shops, three doctors, two gristmills, a post office, a drug store, a jewelry store and repair shop, a threshing outfit, and a sawmill. Starks (1968) described Dukes as a settlement with a sawmill, a gristmill, two houses, a blacksmith's shop, a post office, a school, and a store. E. H. Barlow (HEHC) remembered that Pellville became incorporated about this time and boasted of three stores, a hotel and livery barn, two blacksmith's shops, two gristmills, one funeral home, a church, a school, a post office, a millinery shop, a jail, a tobacco warehouse, a sawmill, and a graveyard. In sum, the small trading communities of Hancock County were thriving social units during this decade.

Prosperity and population growth hit their peak in this decade and had positive effects on the school system. Superintendent J. W. Maston, for example, filed reports with the State Board of Education in 1892 and 1893 that fairly glowed: school districts had become competitive in building, furnishing, and maintaining schools; higher standards were producing better teachers; and the teachers' institute held in August, 1893, was considered the best ever convened in the county. A statistical summation of Superintendent Maston's territory is offered in Table 6.

Table 6

DESCRIPTION OF HANCOCK COUNTY'S SCHOOLS, 1893

Descriptive Factor	Number of Children Attending		
	White	Colored	Total
Number of Schools	41	5	46
Number of Schools with Three-Month Terms	1	1	2
Number of Schools with Four-Month Terms	6	0	6
Number of Schools with Five-Month Terms	33	4	37
Number of School Houses	39	4	43
Number of Log School Houses	12	2	14
Number of Frame School Houses	26	2	28
Number of Brick School Houses	1	0	1
Enrollable Children	2,951[a]	284[b]	3,235

Source: Thompson, 1894, p. 345.

[a] 1,504 males and 1,447 females aged 6 to 18.

[b] 130 males and 154 females aged 6 to 18.

Superintendent Maston's 1895 report was as cheerful as his earlier account. His schools had received $8,667.75 from the State Treasury which, when coupled with local funds, made a budget of $13,568.94. There were 2,056 children enrolled and the average per-child expenditure was $1.07. He had 51 teachers. The 27 males received an average of $41.35 per month, and the 24 females were paid an average monthly wage of $31.46. Maston judged his teachers had participated in a good institute in 1895; no one had fallen asleep during it. He concluded his report by declaring there was no reason why popular education in Hancock County would not reach the apex of success (Thompson, 1895, pp. 389-390).

Mr. Maston was replaced by Superintendent Givens in time for the 1897 report (Davidson, 1897, p. 404). Superintendent Givens was as sanguine about Hancock County's educational enterprise as was his predecessor. There were 3,125 children in the county, of whom 2,371 were enrolled. Average attendance was off because of contagious disease. The teachers had enjoyed a successful institute prior to the beginning of the school year.

Finally, the office of County Commissioner was abolished by the State Legislature in this decade. In its place was created a popularly elected County Superintendent of Schools. Standing for election had its educational drawbacks; the incumbent had to weigh each school decision on electoral scales, a sometimes hindering influence. Old-timers recall that from about this time until the death of Mr. Schafer in 1971, all Hancock County School Superintendents shared certain qualities: 1) all were male; 2) all had experience in one-room school houses; 3) all came from families who had settled in the southern part of the county; and 4) all were in some way related to a Mr. Mickle, a farmer of German origin who had settled in the Floral community in the mid-1800s.

A number of events took place in the major towns during this period. The railroad began passenger service to both Hawesville and Lewisport. Hawesville gained its first public water supply in 1896, its first electric light plant in 1898, and in 1899 the Cumberland Telephone

Company began advertising for customers in the Hancock Clarion. Lewisport gained the Bank of Lewisport in 1895.

Clarence Sterret founded the Hancock Clarion in Hawesville in 1893 and became moderately famous as a country editor with a swift pen. Witness his skewering of, "A Breckenridge County physician carries a pistol with him in his practice, but hardly ever uses it, as his medicine does the work." For all his deft phrasing of devastating opinions, Sterret was also a compassionate man with deep affection for the community his paper served. This trait reached a high point when one of his readers booked passage on the Titanic. Sterret headlined his story of the disaster, "CLARION LOSES SUBSCRIBER."

On September 26, 1897, Hawesville witnessed another violent episode. Raymond Bushrod, a Negro, had been charged with raping a 16-year old white girl near Petri Station, a railroad wayside five miles west of Hawesville on September 25, 1897. He was taken to the county jail in Hawesville. A mob formed the next day and entered the jail. Bushrod was taken from his cell to a tree in Courthouse Square and lynched. Eye witnesses said he died hard, of slow strangulation rather than quickly of a broken neck (HEHC).

1900 To 1910

At the turn of the century Hancock County's population declined; the 1900 census gave a population of 8,914 (down 300 people from the 1890 census). Hawesville, however, posted a gain; its population had increased by some 28 people through the previous decade to stand at 1,041.

The reasons for Hancock County's decline are varied. Part of it was probably due to the nationwide migration from rural areas to cities as people more and more saw subsistence farming as an inadequate adaptation to an increasingly industrialized, money-oriented environment. Perhaps 1900 marked a change in the American environment: prior to 1900, men were called upon to adapt to the culturally defined opportunities of a natural environment; after 1900, men had to adapt to the culturally defined opportunities of a man-created environment.

Another explanation for Hancock County's population decline has been given by some of the county's older residents. The proprietors of those small, isolated homesteads were ignorant of conservation practices. They plowed straight up and down ridge slopes because that was the easiest way of running furrows. When a patch of land lost its fertility through erosion, a farmer would sponsor a log rolling to clear more land. Last year's plowed acreage was allowed to return to native vegetation.

This practice worked as long as there was virgin land to clear. But, by 1900, there was no virgin land in Hancock County. A United States Department of Agriculture bulletin, (Hancock County, Kentucky-Farm Statistics, 1910-1965) described Hancock County as containing 119,680 acres of land. By 1870, 104,324 acres were in farmland; for at least 30 years prior to 1900, all the ridge land had been cleared, plowed, eroded, and allowed to revert to native cover. As one older resident said of these times, "The farms began to play out about 1900."

Hancock County offered no alternative niche for the small farmer. The distribution system could not absorb large numbers of people--to the contrary, the system was based upon large numbers of independent farmers working their isolated ridge farms. The political establishment had a fixed number of jobs that depended on county property taxes--a decline in farms meant a decline in political positions. Nor could coal mining absorb men; by 1910 Hancock County's commercial coal industry had faded as a stable industry.

The Annual Reports of the Inspector of Mines of the State of Kentucky detailed the decline of coal mining in Hancock County. In 1900 Hancock County had only one producing mine, the Falcon Mine near Adair. This mine produced 5,869 tons, down some 2,283 tons from 1899. To gain this production, the company worked an average of 23 men 241 days (Stone, 1901). The report for 1902 showed a total tonnage of 11,455.9 tons taken from the Falcon and Auburn Ash Mines. The Auburn Ash Mine employed 14 men in three adits: the Dorsey, the Random, and the Virginia. The Falcon Mine had exhausted its deposits and was in the process of being abandoned (Norwood, 1903). The 1907 report noted only one mine in Hancock County, the Fenley, and stated that the mine was abandoned shortly after the inspector's visit (Norwood, 1910).

Nall (1902) adds some detail to this description of Hancock County at the turn of the century. Nall noted about one-third of the land in Hancock County was bottom land, which he called first-rate. He considered the other two-thirds of the county's farmland to be second-rate and noted that all this land had been denuded of its virgin timber. There were no turnpikes in the county, only dirt roads that were under the supervision of road surveyors who were appointed by the county court. These surveyors called out men who were liable under state law for road duty.[5] Farm laborers, mostly native white and black hands, earned about $18 per month. Finally, there were 19 post offices in the county, each of which served several neighborhoods. These post offices were located in Adair, Cabot, Chambers, Dukes, Easton, Floral, Goering, Hawesville, Lewisport, Lyonia, Martindale, Patesville, Pellville, Petri Station, Skillman, Utility, Victoria, Waitman, and Weber. The number of post offices is, of course, indicative of the large number of local trading communities and their adjacent neighborhoods.

Hawesville showed no signs of being aware that a decline in economic potential or population figures had set in. In 1900 the Cumberland Telephone Company was established, in 1901 the first city sewer system was started, and in 1905 natural gas service was installed. During this period, Henderson Williams and George Hawley built the Hawesville Opera House which was to be the center of Hawesville's cultural life for much of the early twentieth century (HEHC).

This decade produced a host of cheerful annual reports from various Hancock County School Superintendents (Given, 1901; De Jarnette, 1903; Mickle, 1907; and Mickle, 1909). Each report carried the same message: public education in Hancock County was improving in every possible way. Attendance was up, the Western State Normal School at Bowling Green was producing a better qualified teacher, and the population at large was enthusiastic in their support of education.

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[5] Older residents recall that road work was done in spring, while roads were still wet and the mud amenable to smoothing. The strategy was to smooth the road surface with a horse-drawn drag, then allow the sun to bake the surface. This yielded a smooth road surface through summer.

It was during the middle part of this decade that the local school district system was discarded in Kentucky. All of Hancock County was now the local tax unit for education and, as a direct result, new schools were built in many hitherto impoverished areas. By 1909 Superintendent Mickle was confident the next few years would bring a county high school to the county, a consolidation that was impossible under local district financing.

The SEHC also recorded some information on education in the county during this decade. In 1906, for example, there were 78 students in the Primary Department of "Old Brick." They were cutting their intellectual teeth on the Revised McGuffy Primer and First Reader. The Preparatory Department was busy giving children enough knowledge to pass an exam sent out from Frankfort at the end of the school year. Success on the exam determined whether a child could enter high school.

1910 To 1920

Men attempted to remain in Hancock County despite an accelerating decline in economic potential and population decline. The 1910 figures demonstrated this when they showed an unexpected divergence between economic indices and population figures. In 1910 farmland totaled 108,588 acres (up 1,507 acres over 1900), farms tallied 1,483 (up 151 over 1900), but population was at 8,512 (down 402 from 1900). Clearly, fewer people were trying harder to make a living as farmers in Hancock County. Just as clearly, the population decline demonstrated that farming the ridges was no longer a successful adaptation.

The only mine report for the decade discussed the Newman mine, one mile from Hawesville. The mine employed from 10 to 12 men and was inspected twice in 1910 (Norwood, 1912, p. 222).

This decade also demonstrated that the citizens of Hancock County realized their environment stretched beyond their immediate neighborhoods. Simon Buckner Lott, a resident of the Tywhapity Bottoms neighborhood (so named for the sound of Blackford Creek lapping against a log), ran for state legislator in 1913. His platform was direct: Blackford Creek flooded every spring, ruining crops. Dredging would stop the flooding. The State of Kentucky should provide the money necessary to gain relief for its citizens along Blackford Creek. Mr. Lott's platform produced a winner in the election. The voters of Hancock were willing to seek outside help in solving local problems.

Mr. Lott found things less direct in Frankfort's legislative machinery than in Hancock County. His bill was first stopped in committee, then lost by the chairman. Mr. Lott would have resubmitted his bill, save for the Attorney General's opinion that the legislature could not legally fund the dredging of Blackford Creek. With that, Mr. Lott returned to Hancock County and was not re-elected.

In 1916 the first County Extension Agents were introduced into Hancock County. These men became day-to-day representatives of the government as they made their rounds helping the county's farmers (HEHC).

Educational funding reflected both the holdovers of the district system and a declining tax base in Hancock County during this decade. The clearest example of these financial impediments is given in the funding of Superintendent Mickle's anticipated county high school.

In March, 1910, an agreement was reached between the County Board of Education and the board of trustees of District Number 1, or Hawesville, on funding a new county-city high school. The County Board of Education agreed to pay 17/24 of the cost while District Number 1 would pick up the remaining 7/24. Both Hawesville and county residents agreed that property would be assessed at an equal rate for supporting the new school. The Patterson place, 11 acres and two dwellings, was purchased for $3,150 and remodeled (SEHC).

During this time farms in the southern part of the county began to show the effects of poor conservation practices and people left the area. This decrease in tax base set the stage for a clash between the County Board of Education and District Number 1. The County Board argued that since District Number 1 supplied most of the students, it should also supply most of the money to support them. District Number 1 was of the opinion that it had contracted to pay only 7/24 of the cost and refused to consider the County's suggestions.

The impasse was settled by a series of flanking moves: the County argued its case before the State Legislature and, in 1916, the Legislature revoked the charter for District Number 1, a move consistent with the earlier abolition of the local school district system in education. The high school became the sole responsibility of the County Board of Education. The Board assessed its declining tax base, then reduced the high school's curriculum, making it a two-year school. Parents in Hawesville responded to this ploy by agreeing to pick up the salary costs of an extra teacher. This was accepted by the Board of Education and Hancock County High School offered a full four-year course (SEHC).

Despite the problems of financing a school during a decline in tax base, the reports of the Superintendents of Hancock County's school system were uniformly optimistic (Mickle, 1911; Mickle, 1913; Rice, 1915; Rice, 1917; Lamb, 1919).

Superintendent optimism began with curriculum. All teachers in the county were following a Uniform Course of Study which allowed the superintendent to formulate a set of questions for midterm and final exams. Pupil scores tested both learning abilities and teacher competence. The Superintendents were delighted with the results. Better educational facilities were erected and maintained throughout the county, as superintendents made full use of their county-wide tax base to ensure that poor areas also gained educational facilities. Another sign of improving conditions in the schools was pupil attendance. The State Legislature had recently passed a compulsory attendance law, thus forcing many children into classrooms for the first time. High school facilities were also increasing; Lewisport constructed a two-year high school in 1919. Finally, the school library increased its holdings through every report.

The teaching staff was also improving dramatically during this decade. Many teachers were attending the Western State Normal School in Bowling Green, and in 1913, 26 Hancock County teachers had from one to four years' exposure to normal training. By 1915 the third-class certificate had been dropped from the State's certification schedule, and Superintendent Rice urged the State Board of Education to drop second-class certification also. He did so because he thought his 33 first-class certificate teachers far superior to his four people with second-class certificates. In 1915 the average teacher's salary was $41.50 per month, all of which came from state funds.

Much of what the superintendents reported is corroborated by student recollection of these days (SEHC). In 1910, for example, 11 freshmen entered the new County-City High School. They were introduced to a liberal arts curriculum patterned after that of an English private school. Student recollections centered on the mysteries of Latin conjugation and algebraic equations. By 1911 the class had lost Miss Jessie Wheatley who, tired of being a pupil, took the State Exam and passed with a first-class teaching certification. She then began teaching in Daviess County, without benefit of normal training. By graduation in 1914, only four of the eleven original freshmen could claim a high school degree.

The end of the decade witnessed two major events. The first measured academic careers in the County High School. Of an entering class of 18, Kearney R. Black was the only senior in 1919, and he dropped out before the year ended (SEHC). The second gauged the traditional one-room school. Superintendent Lamb looked over the plant facilities at Lewisport and judged conditions were favorable for the county's first attempt at school consolidation (Lamb, 1919, p. 22):

> I am going to try to consolidate the schools in the Lewisport division. The schools are small and the pupils anxious to get experienced teachers; therefore, they are ready for consolidation.

The introduction of the automobile into Hancock County at about this time aided the consolidation movement. At first, a car offered little advantage over the farm wagon; the automobile could be used only during the summer when roads were smooth and dry. During the winter the county's mud roads were difficult for farm wagons and impossible for cars--automobiles went into storage in November and stayed there until summer. Mr. R. I. Glover recalled something of those early cars when he talked of his first auto ride between Pellville and Owensboro in 1915. This was the first time he had made the round trip in a single day. The owner of the machine predicted that some day automobiles would force consolidation of the county's 45 one-room schools. Mr. Glover remembered laughing at this prediction, an ironic memory in light of his role as Superintendent of County Schools from 1926 through 1958. As he said of his 1915 laugh, "Little did I think that I'd be the one that did it." During Mr. Glover's tenure as Superintendent, Hancock County's 45 schools were consolidated into five physical plants. By 1970, there were just four schools.

There was another violent episode in Hancock County in 1916: Dr. Frimire killed Mr. Schafer in the Floral School. According to newspaper accounts, the two men had fallen out over the death of Dr. Frimire's wife (local rumor had it that she died of poison administered by the doctor), and Dr. Frimire's attentions to a young ward of the Masonic Lodge. Mr. Schafer was instrumental in expelling the doctor from the Masonic Lodge for his alleged misconduct toward the young girl.

On Monday, June 19, 1916, Dr. Frimire and Mr. Schafer retired to the Floral schoolhouse to discuss the doctor's ouster. During the conversation the doctor placed three rounds and several knife thrusts in Mr. Schafer. The doctor then left Floral.

Word was telephoned to Hawesville where a posse was formed. The Hawesville posse rode to Patesville and there learned Dr. Frimire was enroute to Hawesville, pursued by a Floral posse. By the time the Hawesville posse intercepted the Floral group, Dr. Frimire had been captured after exchanging fire with the posse.

Dr. Frimire was taken to the Hancock County jail in Hawesville and treated. Officials feared Mr. Schafer's friends would seek revenge and moved the doctor to Owensboro. The doctor recovered from his wounds to stand trial and be sentenced to 21 years in state prison for manslaughter (HEHC).

Many young men from Hancock County served in World War I, and a memorial on the Courthouse Square lists those who died in service. However, the war had a second consequence for Hancock County; older residents recalled that men who had seen what was beyond the county were unwilling to return and settle. They said the rate of migration to the cities increased.

1920 To 1930

The 1930 statistics support these contentions of the county's older residents. Farm acreage in 1920 was 103,691 (down 4,897 acres compared with 1910), and the number of farms stood at 1,275 (down 208 from 1910). The county's population was 6,945 (1,567 fewer than in 1910) and Hawesville had 829 people.

Although the 1920 indices show decline, the decade was not a "total bust." Oil was discovered in the southern part of the county and Floral, Pellville, Roseville, Easton, Cabot, Patesville, and Dukes hosted an influx of oil workers. A novel tobacco distribution method was pioneered by Mr. Morris of Patesville and refined by Mr. Rosenblatt of Hawesville. Prior to Mr. Morris' innovation, tobacco was harvested, sold to a distributor who processed it, and then sent to market. Mr. Morris reasoned that he could do away with the middleman by selling five- and ten-pound lots of cured smoking and chewing tobacco through the mails. He advertised his product and the response was gratifying: the Patesville Post Office boomed.

Mr. Rosenblatt gambled that an enterprise successful in Patesville would be spectacular in Hawesville. He took out advertisements in national magazines and in a short time was shipping millions of pounds of tobacco through the Hawesville Post Office each year. In fact, Hawesville boasted a first-class Post Office during the 1920s, a neat accomplishment when one considers a first-class Post Office normally serves cities of between 30,000 and 40,000 people.

A number of other events took place during this decade. Mr. Morris of Patesville deserted his tobacco business and dredged Blackford Creek. Older residents of the county say that farmers along the drainage banded together to form a corporation, floated a bond to raise money by using their farms as collateral, and let out bids for the dredging. Local people pointed out that this accomplishment was the result of local people coming together and arriving at a solution to local problems--there was no aid from any governmental agency, people relied upon their own local resources.

The public road system was improved during the period. U.S. Highway 60 was first graded in 1922 and 1923. In 1924 the highway was graveled from the Breckenridge County line in the east to Hawesville in the west. In 1925 it was graveled from Hawesville to the Daviess County line in the west. In 1930 Highway 60 was surfaced with concrete between Daviess County and Hawesville. In 1932 and 1933 the highway was blacktopped from Hawesville to the Breckenridge County line. Hancock County now had three transportation links with the outside world: river, railroad, and all-weather roads.

The School Edition of the Hancock Clarion (SEHC) recorded a number of events in Lewisport School history during this decade. Lewisport had established a four-year high school early in the decade, and in 1921 six girls formed the first graduating class. In 1922, Lewisport High School organized it first basketball team, and the latent competition between Hawesville and Lewisport became fixed on the athletic fortunes of the rival basketball teams. According to local tradition, all of the campaigns to establish the county champions were fierce. Also in 1922, a fire destroyed the Lewisport School, but the citizens quickly rebuilt.

The year 1926 was an eventful one for the entire county system. The process of popular election of County School Superintendent was altered so that the County Board of Education could appoint a superintendent. The Board's first choice was Mr. R. I. Glover, who guided Hancock County's school system for 32 years until his retirement in 1958. Also in 1926, Pellville established a high school, a one-year institution with an enrollment of 26.

The remainder of the decade saw several different kinds of developments in the school system. In 1927 special taxes were levied in both Hawesville and Pellville to raise money to pay for new high schools. In 1928 Pellville supported a three-year high school and basketball teams that trounced both Lewisport and Hawesville to gain the male and female basketball championships of Hancock County. Vocational agriculture was introduced into Hawesville's curriculum in 1928 and, in 1929, Home Economics was reestablished. A four-room house next to the Hawesville High School was outfitted with four gasoline stoves, four sewing machines, and utensils for 12. After school was done for the day, the Home Economics department served as a kitchen for Mrs. Whitely, the Home Economics teacher (SEHC).

A pamphlet, entitled Hancock County, Kentucky: Resources, Attractions, Opportunities, talked of economic factors in Hancock County during this decade. It noted that clay was being mined and shipped to manufacturers of roofing tile, sewer pipes, chimney tile, and kindred articles. This activity prompted local boosters to claim the county's shipping facilities, raw materials, and cheap power rates should be attractive to brick and tile manufacturers. This is the first evidence of the county attempting to attract industry. In 1929, of course, the Depression visited Hancock County and worked the same hardships here that it forced on the rest of the country.

1930 To 1940

The statistics for 1930 show that the decline in agricultural and population indices continued through the previous decade. There were 12,926 fewer farm acres in 1930 than in 1920 (90,765 acres as compared with 103,691), 200 fewer farms (1,075 vs. 1,275), and 798 fewer people in the county (6,147 vs. 6,945). Hawesville had lost 39 people over the decade and Lewisport's population stood at 574.

Chisholm (1931) published an inventory of Hancock County's economic geology. His methodology was thorough: he consulted previous geological surveys, various annual reports, well logs, and spent time in Hancock County during August, 1930, making certain his library impressions were correct.

Chisholm's first comments on geological features centered on soils. He classified soils as alluvial and residual. Residual soils were formed from clays and varied in depth from a few inches to 12 feet. However, in cultivated areas the mantle of soil was rapidly being eroded ". . . because of careless farming practices."

After discussing geological stratigraphy, Chisholm wrote of Hancock County's mineral resources. There were plastic fire clays of excellent quality beneath every coal seam in the county. Some of these clays were being mined as raw materials by sewer pipe manufacturers in Owensboro, Kentucky and Tell City, Indiana.

Chisholm then turned his attention to Hancock County's coal industry. He noted the industry had been active prior to the Civil War, but had slid downhill since; only sporadic commercial development occurred between 1865 and 1930. During Hancock County's history, there had been some 57 coal mines, 23 of which were still active in 1930.

Chisholm recorded 208 wells drilled for gas and oil in Hancock County as of September 1, 1930. He was of the opinion that further development of Hancock County's gas and oil reserves would center on the three subsurface faults in the county's geologic structure. Apparently these act as dams for oil flowing along the westward-tilting subsurface strata. Chisholm concluded his survey with the opinion that:

> There seem to be but slight opportunities for developing natural resources in Hancock County except those of gas and oil and possibly clay.

Chisholm's account contained other information that corroborates interviews with some of the county's older residents. For example, he noted that transportation facilities were poor. Highway 60 featured a concrete surface from Daviess County to Hawesville and a graded, gravel surface from Hawesville to the Breckenridge County line. All other roads, whether graded or not, were earth roads that were impossible for automobiles in winter, although roads were ". . . very good in dry weather."

The road system was improved during the 1930s under sponsorship of the WPA. Highway 69, running south from Hawesville into Ohio County, was the first road so improved. Men used hand- and horse-powered equipment to grade and gravel Highway 69 from Hawesville to Mt. Eden Baptist Church, five miles south of Hawesville. The next year hand- and horse-power again improved another five mile stretch of highway. The next year saw the improvements reach the Ohio County line and thus pass beyond the jurisdiction of Hancock County's crew of roadmen.

The effect of Highway 69 on the small neighborhoods south of Hawesville was immediate--the one-room neighborhood school houses were abandoned as children were bussed to Hawesville over improved roads. Parents sanctioned the bussing because they felt Hawesville's schools offered their children greater educational facilities than the neighborhood schools.

There is very little recorded history for this decade. Interviews suggest that Hancock County helped the rural school system as best it could, which meant the County Board of Education supported a medley of one-room elementary schools throughout the county--as indicated by Fig. 4 , which locates the schools of Hancock County circa 1933. Of course, with the advent of the WPA some things could be improved. For example, grading and surfacing roads led to the consolidation of many of the local one-room school houses which had served as the core of rural neighborhoods since the beginning of Hancock County's history. The WPA was especially influential toward the middle and late 1930s. With federal help, Hawesville gained the Beechmont High School, the Samuel Rosenblatt Vocational (which a grateful community named for one of its leading citizens), Lewisport gained a combined High School and Elementary School, and Pellville gained the L & N Railroad's Roundhouse at Cloverport, Kentucky for use as a new gymnasium. Old-timers can recall going to Cloverport, dismantling the roundhouse and bringing it back to the Pellville School. It is still in use.

People who participated in school activities during these times recall that their biggest worry was school finances. Board members talk of ending the school year with $15 or $20 left in the budget. They also recall seriously discussing closing the schools until expenses came into line with income. Finally, employees of the board tell of holding their checks because to cash them at the wrong time would bankrupt the school district.

The SEHC recorded some student memories of these days. Weekly assemblies were held to inculcate moral and spiritual values. These meetings often featured Bible readings. Vocational agriculture continued to be a popular course, and the basketball competition between the county's three high schools fixed the weekly civic calendar: Tuesday and Thursday evenings were reserved for basketball games, Monday for governmental and fraternal meetings, Wednesday for prayer meeting, and Friday, Saturday, and Sunday evenings devoted to family affairs and church. This schedule holds into the present day.

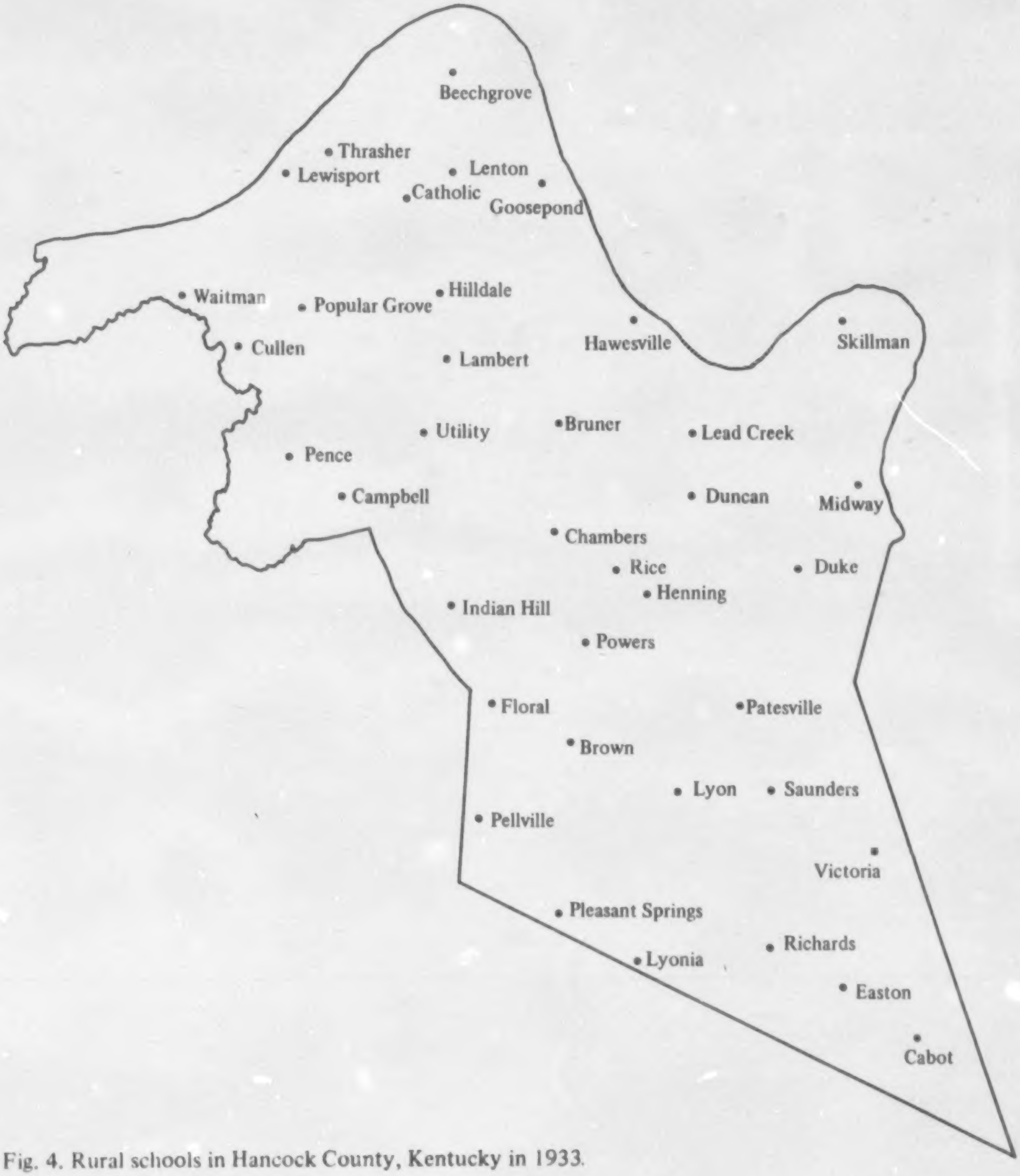
Beechgrove
Thrasher
Lewisport
Lenton
Catholic
Goosepond
Waitman
Popular Grove
Hilldale
Cullen
Lambert
Hawesville
Skillman
Utility
Bruner
Lead Creek
Pence
Campbell
Duncan
Midway
Chambers
Rice
Henning
Duke
Indian Hill
Powers
Floral
Patesville
Brown
Lyon
Saunders
Pellville
Victoria
Pleasant Springs
Lyonia
Richards
Easton
Cabot

Fig. 4. Rural schools in Hancock County, Kentucky in 1933.

Other events occurred during the 1930s that were to have lasting consequences. Early in the decade the federal government began a program to help the tobacco farmer. The net effect was to decrease the amount of tobacco grown and to stabilize the market through price support mechanisms. This killed the mail-order tobacco business. In 1937 the Ohio River reached a record flood crest and inundated both Hawesville and Lewisport. In 1939, after more than a century of tension between wets and drys, the residents of Hancock County voted to prohibit the sale of alcohol in the county. This had little immediate effect on consumption because, as one man was fond of saying, "Every farm in the county had its own still."

1940 To 1950

Statistical indices for 1940 showed Hancock County posted gains for the first time in the twentieth century. Acreage in farmland was up 6,376 acres when compared with 1930 (97,141 vs. 90,765), the number of farms increased by 11 (1,086 vs. 1,075), and the county's population posted a gain of 660 (6,807 vs. 6,147). Both Hawesville and Lewisport also registered modest increases in population (106 and 17, respectively). A report entitled, County Land Use Planning: Neighborhood and Community Studies (Redd, Atterbury, & Beers, 1941), stated the increase was due to ". . . the coming of hard times in cities . . ."

This document is both an interesting and informative one for a student of Hancock County's history. It defined neighborhoods by asking residents to draw social boundaries. In many instances, the study told why these boundaries were drawn and how they were maintained. For example, some neighborhoods were based on school attendance, others on kinship, and still others on shared school, church, and kinship ties. Neighborhoods adjacent to small country towns joined together to form trading communities. Neighborhoods and trading communities were natural groupings of people; they were not the same size or shape as the magisterial districts of the county government, precincts, or school areas.

Of course, by 1940 some of the neighborhoods that had been in the county were gone. Scuffletown is an excellent example. Scuffletown was a neighborhood of 40 to 50 Negro families congregated around the intersection of the present Highway 144 and Goering's Road. The neighborhood was founded by former slaves immediately after the Civil War and was part of the Patesville trading community. People drifted away from Scuffletown during the later part of the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth centuries. Older county residents recall many of Scuffletown's people went to Cinncinati, Ohio to find work. The community had declined so much that, in 1922, Scuffletown's school was dismantled and hauled to another location.

The rural trading communities as they existed in Hancock County in 1940 are located in Figure 5.

The Hawesville Community

The Hawesville Community in the northern part of Hancock County contained five neighborhoods: Goose Pond, Hilldale, Midway, Happy Hollow, and Hawesville.

Community activities centered at Hawesville because roads led directly from each neighborhood to the county seat and farm meetings and church attendance could be combined with shopping. In 1940 Hawesville offered its neighborhoods five grocery stores, one general and two dry goods stores, one drug store, two funeral homes, a theater, a bank, a barber shop, a fire department, a water works, two hotels, a post office, a ten-cent store, a courthouse, a hardware store, a health unit, doctors and dentists, a blacksmith shop, five garages and service stations, five churches--the Baptist, Methodist, Church of the Open Door, Presbyterian, and Catholic, and a combined elementary and high school.[6]

The Goose Pond, Hilldale, Midway, and Happy Hollow neighborhoods had been centered around their schools, but by 1940 children were being bused to Hawesville for their education.

In addition, there was a black neighborhood in Hawesville, complete with its own church and elementary school. Black high school students were bused to a black school in Breckenridge County.

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[6] A parochial school was started in Hawesville in 1947; it still educates children in grades 1 through 8.

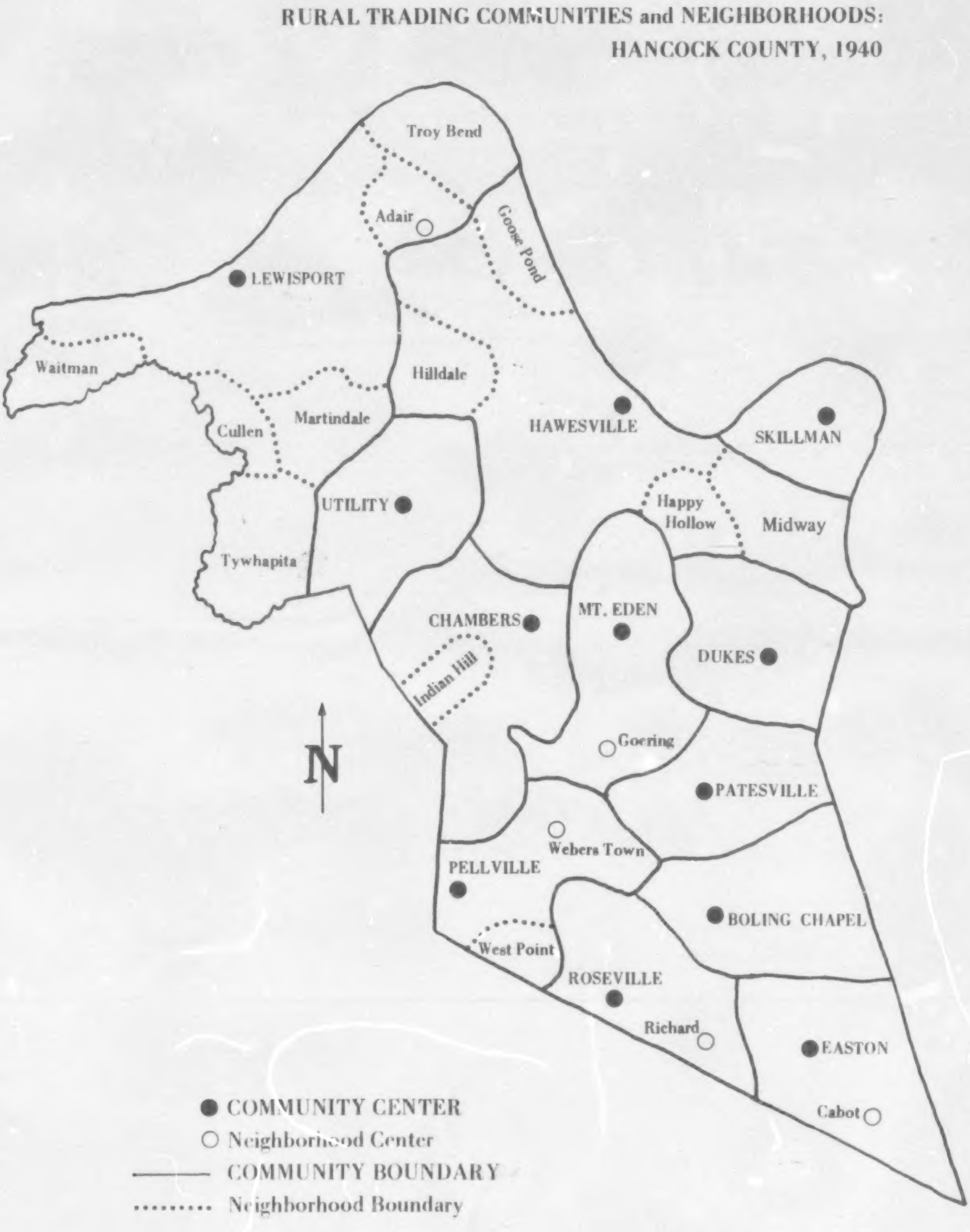
RURAL TRADING COMMUNITIES and NEIGHBORHOODS:
HANCOCK COUNTY, 1940
Troy Bend
Adair
Goose Pond
LEWISPORT
Waitman
Hilldale
Martindale
Cullen
HAWESVILLE
SKILLMAN
UTILITY
Happy Hollow
Midway
Tywhapita
CHAMBERS
MT. EDEN
DUKES
Indian Hill
N
Goering
PATESVILLE
Webers Town
PELLVILLE
BOLING CHAPEL
West Point
ROSEVILLE
Richard
EASTON
Cabot
● COMMUNITY CENTER
○ Neighborhood Center
COMMUNITY BOUNDARY
Neighborhood Boundary

Fig. 5. Rural trading communities and neighborhoods: Hancock County, 1940.

The Skillman Community

The Skillman Community was composed of one neighborhood, Skillman Bottoms. In 1940 it was considered an old, settled community laced together by kinship ties. Skillman offered its residents a store, post office, and church in 1940. Children attended school in Hawesville.

The Lewisport Community

The Lewisport Community was made up of seven neighborhoods: Lewisport, Waitman, Troy Bend, Adair, Cullen, Martindale, and Tywhapita Bottoms. In 1940 Lewisport offered its neighborhoods six grocery stores, one general store, three garages and service stations, a water works, a depot, two cafes, a lodge, flour mill, hardware store, and seed store, the Gulf Wholesale Oil Refining Co., and four churches: the Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Catholic.

The Waitman, Troy Bend, Adair, Cullen, Martindale, and Tywhapita Bottoms neighborhoods had been centered around their schools, but in 1940 all children attended the Lewisport system. Kinship and church ties were maintaining the neighborhoods.

In addition, there was a black neighborhood in Lewisport complete with its own elementary school. High school students were bused to a black school in Breckenridge County.

The Utility Community

The Utility Community and neighborhood offered its residents two stores, an elementary school, and two churches: Baptist and Methodist. High school children attended a consolidated high school at Hawesville. Residents considered Hawesville the chief trading center for the community.

The Chambers Community

The Chambers Community was made up of three neighborhoods: Chambers, Floral, and Indian Hill. Chambers offered its neighborhoods the Blackford Baptist Church, an elementary school, a post office, and one store. The church was a strong factor in community life. The Floral neighborhood possessed its own elementary school, post office, and store. High school students in Chambers and Indian Hill attended the consolidated high school in Hawesville. Floral's students went to Pellville's high school.

The Mt. Eden Community

Mt. Eden's economic activities centered on mining and sorghum raising; this was Hancock County's sorghum growing area. The community was knit together by the Mt. Eden Baptist Church and the Rice Elementary School. Mt. Eden also offered its neighborhoods two stores. Both neighborhoods in the Mt. Eden community (Mt. Eden and Goering) sent their high school students to Hawesville, and residents considered Hawesville their chief trading center.

The Pellville Community

The Pellville Community was made up of three neighborhoods: Pellville, Weberstown, and West Point. Pellville offered its neighborhoods a consolidated grade and high school, a Baptist church, two stores, a post office, gristmill, and garage.[7] Trading outside the community was divided between Hawesville and Owensboro in neighboring Daviess County. Weberstown neighborhood had a store, while the West Point neighborhood focused its communal attention on the Pleasant Springs Church and an elementary school.

The Roseville Community

The Roseville Community offered two stores, an elementary school, and a Baptist church. These served two neighborhoods: Roseville and Richards. The Richards neighborhood was located in the southeastern section of the community and was considered a school neighborhood held together by kinship ties. High school students from both the Richards and Roseville neighborhoods attended Pellville.

The Easton Community

The Easton Community was located in the extreme southeastern tip of the county. The community offered its neighborhoods three stores, an elementary school, and two churches. The community contained two neighborhoods: Easton and Cabot. High school children were sent to Pellville. This section of Hancock County was figured an extremely poor area in 1940. It was also noted that people in Cabot and Easton considered themselves close and shared many bonds.

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[7] In 1947, under state pressure, the high school consolidated with Hawesville.

The Boling Chapel Community

The Boling Chapel Community was made up of two neighborhoods: Boling Chapel and Victoria. Victoria was considered a school neighborhood whose people had much in common with Boling Chapel's residents. The social life of this community revolved around two stores, an elementary school, and a United Brethren church. High school students attended Pellville.

The Patesville Community

The Patesville Community consisted of one neighborhood, Patesville. In 1940 this area was served by Patesville's two stores, an elementary school, and two churches. Children were bussed to Hawesville's consolidated high school, and the county seat was considered the chief trading center.

The Dukes Community

The Dukes Community had one neighborhood, Dukes. The community had one store, a Presbyterian church, and an elementary school. Students were bussed to high school in Hawesville. Residents of the neighborhood split their retail trade between Cloverport in Breckenridge County and Hawesville.

The social order described in this document was further weakened by World War II. As they had in previous wars, the young men of Hancock County served as their country demanded; the monument in the Courthouse Square records the names of those who died in the Second World War. But the dead were not the only people who did not return to Hancock County at war's end. Residents of the county recall that this period saw heavy out-migration as people took advantage of a war-time economy to leave and make a life in more industrialized settings. Old-timers conceptualize the changes the war created by noting bitterly that some of the returning war-dead had to be buried by hired gravediggers rather than by their kin and neighbors.

Toward the latter part of the decade strip mining became a profitable venture in Hancock County. However, the overburden in the western part of the county soon became too much of an obstacle for the available technology and strip mining was abandoned.

Other events with lasting consequences also occurred in this decade. Mrs. Thrasher (HEHC) recalled that rural electrification lit up homes in New Chapel in 1947. She called this the greatest material asset visited on any community. Hancock County, Kentucky-Farm Statistics, 1910-1965 revealed just how far-reaching the rural electrification program was; in 1940, only 50 farms reported electrification in Hancock County, while in 1950, 697 farmhouses could turn on the lights. A second event with profound consequences was the 1948 flood. Once again the Ohio River left its banks and flooded Hawesville and Lewisport.

THE COMMUNITY AT THE TIME OF ENTRY OF THE EXPERIMENTAL SCHOOLS PROGRAM

1950 To 1960

The statistical indices for 1950 demonstrated that Hancock County's decline had continued. Farm acreage was down to 96,060 (a loss of 1,081 acres over the decade), the number of farms stood at 937 (141 fewer than in 1940), and Hancock County's population had dropped to 6,009 (a decline of 798). The towns, however, had gained: Hawesville had picked up 29 residents (925 vs. 896), and Lewisport gained 65 (656 vs. 591).

It was during this decade that a commuting pattern emerged among the wage earners of Hancock County. It was common for a man living in Hancock County to hold a job in a neighboring county, or even across the river in Cannelton or Tell City, and to commute to and from work. The wages from a full-time job were often supplemented by income from part-time farming. This commuting pattern reflected both the lack of work in Hancock County and improvements in road surfaces.

But it was Hawesville's reaction to the 1948 flood that stood as a visible symbol of a changing environment and the success of a new kind of adaptation. Hawesville successfully raised $18,000, enough to qualify for a federally subsidized flood wall. The total cost came to $750,000, or $450,000 more than Hawesville's assessed valuation. Even so, the flood control project was the smallest in either Kentucky or Indiana at the time, a fact that speaks volumes about the high level of community action Hawesville was capable of sustaining.

There had been other attempts at gaining extra-local resources. Simon Buckner Lott's trip to Frankfort to gain the money necessary to drain Blackford Creek was one such attempt. But it had failed, and men had to turn to local resources for help. The New Deal's WPA was another precedent, but funding for WPA projects was fairly open-handed, while the flood wall demanded a great deal of local initiative.

So there were precedents, but this is apparently the first time that Hancock County organized itself to exploit extra-local legal systems to gain resources for local projects and succeeded. Perhaps local efforts succeeded because the United States government had altered its views on funding various local projects. Perhaps. But the important thing was that in 1954 a Hawesville resident could walk upon a completed flood wall and know that the ground under his feet was due to his community's efforts in competing for scarce federal resources. Hawesville's environment was no longer bounded by city, county, or state lines.

However, this new environment was not a constant and affected different parts of Hancock County in sharply contrasting ways. The Hancock County Schools offer a prime example of this. During the 1950s the Supreme Court of the United States ruled against racial segregation in public schools: Hancock County integrated its system without any incidents. However, when the citizens of Hancock County decided to build a new Consolidated County High School on a 40 acre-tract, midway between Hawesville and Lewisport, they found that they would have to rely on local initiative; the federal bureaucracy was willing to alter one aspect of local education, but unwilling to help change other facets of the school system. So on November 3, 1959, Hancock Countians passed a perpetual School Bond Issue to finance a school building program.

A second major event occurred in this decade. The L. R. Chapman Company had been supplying Murray Tile in Cloverport, Kentucky with coal to fire their kilns for some time. In the early 1950s the coal miners showed Murray Tile officials samples of the plastic fire clay that was associated with the coal seams south of Lewisport. The tile company decided that the fire clay was of sufficient quality and quantity to justify locating a ceramic tile factory at Lewisport. The move was made in 1955. This was the first major manufacturing concern in Hancock County's history.

Murray Tile's history in Hancock County has been one of expansion. First, natural gas facilities were created and then enlarged as new buildings and new kilns were added. Then Murray Tile became part of American Olean Tile Company, an organization with plants in Pennsylvania, California, Tennessee, and Kentucky.

1960 To 1970

This decade saw a tremendous expansion of industrial facilities in Hancock County. J. R. Belew (1971) explored the reasons for this in his Master's Thesis, Rapid Industrialization in Rural Hancock County, Kentucky:

An Exception To The Rule. His argument revolved around the major point that each industry, save Murray Tile[8], could have built in a number of places with the same physical advantages as Hancock County. But rather than locating near an urban area, the general rule in building new manufacturing facilities, various enterprises chose Hancock County, a rural area. That Hancock County became an exception to the rule was no accident: the citizens of Hancock County put everything to work that they had learned about exploiting the opportunities presented by extra-local legal systems. The case of Harvey Aluminum Company illustrates local ability.

By 1963 Harvey Aluminum needed a new fabrication plant that would allow for easy access to markets in the midwest. The Ohio River Valley offered a number of excellent locations, each with reasonably priced electricity. Harvey chose a Hancock County site because the citizens of Lewisport agreed to help underwrite construction costs by issuing an Industrial Bond for $50 million. Harvey agreed to retire the bond as it came due, an arrangement that allowed Harvey to pay considerably less in carrying charges than a normal commercial loan would incur. Since Lewisport was the nominal owner of Harvey's new rolling mill, Harvey would not have to pay local taxes until the bond was retired and ownership of the facility passed to the company. Finally, when site purchase costs exceeded Harvey's budget by $50,000, Hancock Countians, with help from their neighboring counties, raised $68,005 and donated it to Harvey Aluminum for the site purchase.

Harvey's case had immediate consequences. As soon as it was certain that Harvey would locate in Hancock County, the State of Indiana began construction on a toll bridge linking Hawesville and Cannelton. This, in turn, prompted WesCor Corporation and Western Kraft Corporation to locate an integrated pulp and paper mill in Skillman Bottoms. Hancock County was chosen because the new bridge allowed the corporation to ship raw material from Indiana to supplement pulp logs from Kentucky and gave it access to paper markets. Furthermore, Hancock County was judged to have a good community attitude towards business. Skillman Bottoms was chosen because of the availability of fresh water for processing pulp, enough level land to hold a settling pond, and the Ohio River's potential for carrying wastes.

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[8] Murray Tile's decision to locate in Hancock County was prompted by the availability of high-quality shale and clay, both of which are fairly scarce commodities.

Harvey's case also received attention in aluminum circles. Hancock County soon learned of another opportunity: National-Southwire Aluminum Company was looking for a site in which to locate an aluminum reduction plant and rolling mill. National-Southwire's site location had to have several characteristics: 1) the site had to be on a river so that bulk shipments of alumina could be made as cheaply as possible; 2) the site had to be close to a market whose theoretical center was in the heart of a triangle described by Chicago, Cleveland, and Terre Haute, Indiana; and 3) power costs had to be competitive.

A Hancock County site could meet all these demands. The Ohio River was amenable to barge traffic. The theoretical market center was just a short haul up the road. The Kenneth C. Coleman Power Plant could deliver electricity at about 3.5 mills per kilowatt hour, a rate highly competitive with the national average of about 4 mills per kilowatt hour. Finally, Hancock could offer an additional attraction.

The Hancock County Fiscal Court could issue a Municipal Industrial Bond for $142 million to finance construction of the National-Southwire's reduction plant and rolling mills. The bond would allow National-Southwire to gain construction money on more favorable terms than possible in commercial markets and, since Hancock County would hold title on the completed facilities until the bond was retired, National-Southwire would also avoid local property taxes. The opportunity proved irresistible, and National-Southwire began construction of its Hancock County plant. Soon the reduction plant attracted another fabrication plant, the National Steel Corporation's facility.

These industrial plants helped create some 1,700 new jobs in

Hancock County between 1960 and 1970. Hancock Countians had hoped these new jobs would attract large numbers of new residents, but this was not the immediate result. Many men holding jobs in the county preferred living elsewhere and commuting, citing housing, lack of urban amenities, and the local school system as reasons for living elsewhere (R. W. Booker and Associates, Inc., 1970, p. 5).

Sudden industrialization overwhelmed the school system of the county. In 1961 the new Consolidated High School was completed at a cost of $618,815. Its facilities were adequate for educating a set of rural students in the areas necessary to cope with both rural and urban demands. Room was provided for instruction in chemistry, biology, and physics; foreign languages; choral, band and instrumental music; arts and crafts; vocational agriculture; home economics; bookkeeping, shorthand, and typing; social studies; mathematics and English; and gym. There was also a library for reference work (SEHC). Preparation for this high school work was carried out in the Pellville, Sanders, Lewisport, and Hawesville Elementary Schools. In all, this was a system competent to handle the demands rural students would make upon it, whether they were interested in staying in Hancock County, migrating out, or going on to college. Then the county changed.

Overnight the county, and its school system, became involved in a massive industrialization effort. All service facilities were overburdened; families, for example, were living in converted garages and chicken coops as tradesmen flocked to another construction boom. Schools were flooded with children and classes were held in every conceivable space--on auditorium stages, in hallways, and among the bleachers of the gyms. And still more children appeared, making claims that an overburdened system could not meet.

The State Legislature realized that the schools of Kentucky needed more money to meet their obligations of educating young people. So the legislature helped alleviate the burden by allowing county school districts the option of placing a tax on the use of the utilities. The issue of a utilities tax led to some explosive encounters. Hancock Countians recall, for example, that a spokesman for the county's industrial consortium told a meeting that Hancock County did not know what it needed, what it wanted, or how to achieve either. This attitude is seen by local residents as the motivation for industry's hiring of R. W. Booker and Associates, Inc. to conduct a survey of Hancock County's school system. This survey has been characterized by school personnel in various ways--some say it was an attempt to evade a utilities tax by locating other tax sources within the county, others simply label it a "vicious attack" on local institutions. Still, even while questioning the motivations behind the study and condemning its conclusions and recommendations, school personnel also admit the study's accuracy with, "It didn't tell us anything we didn't know."

1970 To 1972

Although some workers avoided living in Hancock County, others did not; rapid industrialization reversed the migration pattern as people came to Hancock County to exploit opportunity, as indicated in Table 5.

Other dramatic changes are documented in Table 7. The 1960 population was composed of middle-aged couples with children under 20 years of age. Upon reaching maturity, people in their early 20s left Hancock County. One set of statistics in Table 7 shows that the 1960 population contained 239 males between 15 and 19 years and only 121 males aged 20 to 24 years, a drop of 118 males. The same age brackets for females in 1960 also show a drop of 118--suggesting a high incidence of young couples migrating out-of-county. The 1970 population figures show the out-of-county migration pattern reversed: in every category, save females aged 55 to 59 years, population increased. Especially dramatic was the increase in people aged 20 through 54. Hancock County was attracting young couples and families with children. A 60-year decline in population had been reversed.

Although the trend of migration had been reversed, the results did not match the expectations of Hancock Countians; in local opinion far

Table 7

COMPARISONS OF THE 1960 AND 1970 POPULATIONS IN HANCOCK COUNTY, KENTUCKY

Ages	Total Population			Males Compared			Females Compared		
	1960	1970	Difference	1960	1970	Difference	1960	1970	Difference
0 - 4	514	715	201	249	382	133	265	333	68
5 - 9	547	740	193	281	370	89	266	370	104
10-14	560	734	174	267	354	87	293	380	87
15-19	460	619	159	239	320	81	221	299	78
20-24	224	530	306	121	228	107	103	302	199
25-34	545	898	353	257	469	212	288	429	141
35-44	594	761	167	287	388	101	307	373	66
45-54	585	686	101	303	365	62	282	321	39
55-59	302	327	25	138	174	36	164	153	-11
60-64	246	276	30	126	148	22	120	128	8
65-74	473	481	8	232	234	2	241	247	6
75+	280	313	33	143	147	4	137	166	29
Totals	5,330	7,080	1,750	2,643	3,579	936	2,687	3,501	814

too many nonresidents were commuting to jobs in the county and taking payrolls out, thus depriving the merchants of locally produced money and the county government of needed revenue. These concerns are documented in Table 8.

Table 8

HANCOCK COUNTY'S INDUSTRIAL WORKERS' PLACE OF RESIDENCE, 1969

Location	Percent of Industrial Labor Force		
Hancock County	Total	30	
Lewisport			9
Hawesville			14
Other			6
Breckenridge County	Total	10	10
Daviess County	Total	43	
Owensboro			32
Other			11
Ohio County	Total	5	5
Perry County, Indiana	Total	12	
Tell City			10
Cannelton			2
Spencer County, Indiana	Total	1.5	1.5
	Total[a]	101.5	100.5

Source: R. W. Booker and Associates, 1970, p. 32.

[a] Does not equal 100 because of rounding

Hancock Countians adjusted to a nonresident work force in a variety of ways. One of the first was to gain a Housing and Urban Development grant (Ky- P-71) to commission a comprehensive plan for county development. R. W. Booker and Associates, Inc. submitted the winning bid for the project and conducted a thorough research program whose recommendations began to be implemented. Hancock Countians hoped that the implementation of Booker's recommendations would improve the quality of life in Hancock County, thus making the county more attractive to outlanders.

Another adjustment to a nonresident work force was to seek avenues for imposing a local payroll tax. This would help ease some of the county's financial problems. This option was discussed in the regular sessions of the Hancock County Fiscal Court.

Hancock County also began to show other signs of an urban, industrialized society. New subdivisions encircled both Hawesville and Lewisport and a new country club was built halfway between the towns. A newly routed, expanded Highway 60 carried traffic from Owensboro to Lewisport, and there was talk of modernizing the highway from Lewisport east to Louisville. Federal monies were gained to build low-rent housing in Hawesville, to purchase ground (including a 35-acre lake) for a county park, and to help finance a summer recreation program for young people. Work was begun on a new shopping center at the intersection of Highways 60 and 271, five miles west of Hawesville and immediately adjacent to both the county high school and the new Windward Heights subdivision.

Community services also expanded. Hawesville gained a new Health Center with both medical and dental facilities available. In addition, Hancock County had a Health Department staffed by a health officer, nurse, sanitarian, and a clerk-typist. The transportation network grew; in addition to ground, water, and rail systems, the county now boasted a small airport. The Kenneth C. Coleman Big Rivers power plant generated an enormous amount of electrical power which was supplemented by the transmission services of Texas Gas Corporation whose terminals included the Western Kentucky Gas Company in Hawesville and the Lewisport Municipal Gas Company in Lewisport. Communication facilities included Southcentral

Bell, the Lewisport Telephone Company, daily mail service, local radio broadcasts, and a weekly newspaper. In addition, both Hawesville and Lewisport featured new libraries.

The expanded community services also included facilities built with outside help. The sewer treatment systems of both Hawesville and Lewisport were financed by loans from the federal government. Before these plants were constructed, Hawesville and Lewisport had been forced to dump raw sewage into the Ohio River.

The influx of new, urban-oriented people into Hancock County produced change and some strains. New subdivisions sat apart from older settlements, thereby visibly proclaiming a difference between the county's agricultural past and industrial future. Perhaps the most symbolic expression of the difference between past and future orientations ocurred when an attempt was made to rally support for a change in Hancock County's slogan: "Hancock County: Sorghum Capital of the World." As such, the slogan celebrated an agricultural heritage, a tradition that found expression in an annual Sorghum Festival. The proposed change was, "Hancock County: Land of Aluminum," a slogan that would have celebrated the change in the county's economic base. Long-time county residents resisted the proposal because it would create unnecessary tensions between the county and some of the industries and because it rejected a past of which they were proud. Hancock County remained the Sorghum Capital of the World.

The structure of government continued as before. County government consisted of a popularly elected Fiscal Court, presided over by a county judge and composed of judge and four magistrates, each of whom represented a different section of the county. The Fiscal Court conducted all county business, including application of new taxes, approving school budgets, etc. The towns of Hawesville and Lewisport each had an elected mayor and six elected councilmen to look after town affairs. A recent entity, the Green River Area Development District, stood between Hancock County and state and federal agencies.

Local government is financed by local general property tax rates. The tax rates for 1970 are shown in Table 9.

Table 9

LOCAL GENERAL PROPERTY TAX RATES PER $100 OF ASSESSED VALUATION

Taxing Unit	Hawesville	Lewisport	Hancock County
State	$ .015	$ .015	$ 015
County	.276	.276	.276
School	.540	.540	.540
City	.297	.220	- - -
Total	$1.128	$1.051	$ .831

Source: Industrial Resources, Hancock County, Kentucky, 1971, p. 15.

Electioneering for positions in local government showed some change. Hancock County's population had been roughly split between the two national parties since before the Civil War. Elections had been close and generally hard fought. They still were, but the influx of new population brought about a change in party machinery and electioneering style. The newcomers to Hancock County generally shared an urban past and made urban demands upon their new surroundings. County and city governments were handicapped by a lack of tax revenues and were not able to meet all the demands placed upon them. The impass between increased demand and inadequate budget led to a reorganization of Democratic and Republican Party machines and a host of new candidates. These new faces practiced a door-to-door campaigning style, something previously not necessary in a county where everyone knew candidates through past association. As one candidate said of the new style, "Forty percent of the voters weren't here in the last election."

The influx of population has produced problems for other Hancock County service organizations. Chief among these are the schools. The school system was organized to serve a rural population that could afford very little new tax demand. This created problems: a limited resource base could not meet unlimited demands. Yet, this was the position the schools found themselves in.

The legislature realized that growth created severe problems for schools, so the legislature gave school boards several options for increasing school revenues. One of these was a utilities tax. Legislation allowed a school board to recommend that a utilities tax be placed upon local tax-exempt industries. A county's Fiscal Court then had to concur with the board's recommendation and impose the tax. The resulting funds would serve to pay for the additional burden placed upon schools by industry's employees.

The board's decision to impose a utilities tax upon a hitherto tax-free industrial consortium led to some explosive encounters between various interest groups. First among these was the interchange between Hancock County's new industrial base and the county.

Industry's best interests centered upon turning profits. A new tax hindered this. It was pointed out by powerful state political leaders in private telephone calls that Hancock County's positive attitude toward industry had created the basis for a new county. A utilities tax could destroy this positive image and thus destroy further growth. The local point of view was that the industrial base had created severe problems. A utilities tax could help in alleviating these. When the conversation ended, a participant recalls looking to a friend and saying:

"Did he change your mind?"

"No."

"He didn't change mine either."

Hancock County's industrial consortium then requested that a survey of the schools be conducted to assess needs because, as a spokesman suggested, Hancock Countians neither knew what they wanted nor how to achieve it. R. W. Booker and Associates, Inc., which had already produced the Comprehensive Plan for the county, was retained to conduct the school survey. It was during this time that construction in Hancock County was at a peak and migrant construction workers were swamping the county's facilities. Teachers can remember, for example, conducting classes in halls, on auditorium stages, and in bleachers. Nor was it only instructional facilities that were overloaded.

Teachers recall that supplies were in short supply and say that the decisions most encouraged by the administration were those that saved money. Board employees remember holding their personal paychecks for fear that cashing them would drive the system further in the red. Older board members tell their younger colleagues that the 1960s were hard times: until state foundation checks arrived, the Superintendent of Schools was often forced to borrow at the bank to meet current operating expenses. One board member recalled hearing the suggestion that schools should be closed until operating expenses were brought into line with income. The answer was, "The show must go on..." because state foundation checks were keyed to average daily attendance figures.

The major problem facing the schools was lack of money. Local property taxes were frozen by the state legislature, industrial expansion brought with it a hoard of students and no revenue, and state aid was keyed to local effort. An interview with the Superintendent of Schools (Pedigo, 1966) outlined most of the difficulties:

> Taxes are a problem in Lewisport. The city gave the Harvey plant a 25-year taxfree period as an inducement to build the plant here. And this worries Hancock County School Supt. Charles F. Schafer.
>
> He reports that the Lewisport Consolidated Elementary School is old and needs renovation. Already its enrollment has grown by 60 students as a result of the Harvey boom.
>
> Schafer points out that the school district's bonding power depends on the taxes it takes in. "And with Harvey paying no taxes, the additional homes being built won't take care of the additional children," he said.
>
> He estimates that a new school building will be needed in five years. Under present conditions, the $500,000 cost is too steep, he said.
>
> Solution Not Known
>
> His solution? "I don't know," he said.
>
> Would the schools be better off if Harvey employees lived in an adjacent county? Schafer avoids this solution. He said the school system would try to gradually add classrooms, buy land for a new building, and hope for the best.

It is within this context of state regulations and finance, limited local resources, and infinite demand that the decisions of the Hancock County

Board of Education must be understood. Decision making was forced into a conservative mold because of the various, and often conflicting, interests of different groups. The board had to contend with state recommendations for its programs, both because the board was a creature of the state and because the state supplied a major share of the system's revenue so that state objectives could be met. The threats of legal action against board members for improper use of money and fund withholding were always present.

At the same time, each board member was elected by the voters of his or her district to serve local interests. State recommendations that adversely affected the constituency were to be avoided. For example, the 1965 state recommendation that the Sanders and Pellville elementary schools be consolidated with Hawesville brought local pressure on two board members from the southern part of the county. Local residents opposed this action; yet, this was a state recommendation--and the state held the purse strings. The issue was finessed by compromise: the Sanders school was consolidated and the Pellville school stayed open.

Because of this fusion of local and extra-local pressures, collective decision making in Hancock County followed a pattern. First came the recognition of a need that could not be ignored. Then followed a long period of informal discussion with both board members and constituents. Alternatives were weighed, trial ballots cast, and an informal consensus arrived at. This last was extremely important. A split board on a major decision could translate into a divided board on all decisions and the resulting factionalism could destroy decision making.

After consensus, the informal decision was relayed to various local constituents. It thus became a matter of informal debate among the body politic. It was only after the board could take an informal reading on the reactions of their neighbors that formal decisions could be made.

The entire process thus becomes an example of democratic decision making in which all groups and points of view are considered prior to making a formal decision.

Perhaps the greatest illustration of this process is the decision to build a new high school. After completion of the first Hancock County High School in 1961, the State Board of Education recommended that Hancock

County build a new middle school. A combination of local and state funds insured bonding capability. But the board came to an informal split with two members holding out for a yet newer high school and the conversion of the existing high school into a middle school. A forced vote would have led to a 3:2 decision for a new middle school and the spectre of permanent factions on the board. The decision was delayed until informal consensus could be achieved.

It is within this context of slow and democratic decision making that the R. W. Booker and Associates survey was made public. The survey concluded with 19 specific recommendations for improving Hancock County's schools. Although the Booker recommendations could have been interpreted as a scathing attack, Hancock Countians considered them as a step in the traditional decision making process: the survey made public a set of needs that could not be ignored and thus served as a catalyst for educational change. Hancock Countians began to seek ways to meet the charges laid upon their schools. They did so with exemplary vigor by exploiting both local and extra-local opportunities; the utilities tax became law and Hancock County's proposal for the National Institute of Education's Experimental Schools program began to take shape.

The Booker report on Hancock County's educational system (Booker, 1970a) became public in April, 1970. The report surveyed Hancock County, its population characteristics, its education program, school facilities, and financing. It then gave a list of recommendations that, if followed, would allow Hancock County to field a high quality educational effort.

The report's data on the county's regional location and history are superficial and can be ignored. Hancock County's population characteristics have already been treated in Table 7 and the report added nothing new. However, the report did point out that school census material showed a decline from 1,366 pupils in 1961 to 1,326 pupils in 1964 as Hancock Countians continued their pattern of out-migration. Then the construction boom hit Hancock County and for the rest of the decade school census showed a gain, closing the 1969 school year with 1,587 students. Overall, in 1969 school enrollment was up 81% over 1960-61. School personnel recall that these statistics were misleading; the daily attendance exceeded the yearly average, thus providing a rough index of population turnover in Hancock County during the construction years.

Booker's survey of the county's educational program began by casting a wide net for comparative purposes. The State of Kentucky was ranked on 12 indices of educational performance and fared poorly in all categories save the amount of school income derived from state government. There Kentucky ranked 14th out of 50. Next, the survey compared Hancock County, the Kentucky average, and the national average on 14 indices. Booker's Table 14, a Comparative Educational Profile 1966-67, is reproduced here as Table 10.

In viewing all the comparative data, the report introduced some "...pertinent, although somewhat unpleasant, facts" (Booker, 1970a). Kentucky, it said, ranked poorly in four crucial educational variables: teacher salary, teacher experience, library resources, and per-pupil expenditures. Hancock County was said to rank below the Kentucky average in all four categories. Singled out for especial attention were teachers' salaries, because R. W. Booker and Associates were of the opinion that "It is difficult to get highly trained personnel unless competitive salaries are paid."

Booker's survey of the county's educational program then delved into school organization. Hancock County had a 1-8, 9-12 organization of classes. Elementary schools were located in Hawesville, Lewisport, and Pellville. Pellville offered course work from 1-7 only, with the 8th grade attending school at Hawesville. The county high school, located about four miles west of Hawesville on Highway 60, offered the only secondary education in the county.

The county's accreditation was then presented and compared with the accreditation of the neighboring Kentucky counties. Hancock County fell toward the short end of this comparison, and the report listed curriculum, resource, and service changes necessary to raise accreditation ratings. Booker's Table 18, Accrediting Classification, is reproduced here as Tables 11 and 12 in order to show curriculum offerings in the Hancock County school system.

Table 10

COMPARATIVE EDUCATIONAL PROFILE, 1966-67

Item	Hancock County	Kentucky Average	National Average
Annual Current Expenditure Per Pupil In Average Daily Attendance	$357	$438	$573
Average Annual Salary For Class-Room Teachers	$4,922	$5,521	$6,830
Percent Of Teachers Holding Earned Masters Degrees Or Higher	15.9%	22.1%	25.7%
Percent Of Teachers With Less Than Bachelor's Degree	15.9%	5.9%	6.1%
Pupil:Teacher Ratio[b]	25.4%(sic)	26:6(sic)	24:1
Percentage Of Attendance	95.8%	94.2%	93.9%
Percentage Of 9th Graders Completing High School	83.0%	69.1%	77.8%
Percentage Of High School Graduates Entering College	33.8%	42.4%	55.0%
Cost Per Pupil For Instruction	$250	$280	$342
Cost Per Pupil For Educational Supplies And Books	$5.56	$8.06	$18.65
Local Financial Index[a]	.571	.568	3.107
Percentage Of Revenue From Local Sources	33.9%	29.6%	53.0%
Percentage Of Revenue From State Sources	51.6%	46.3%	39.1%
Percentage Of Revenue From Federal Sources	13.5%	17.7%	7.9%

[a] The local Financial Index is designed to measure the amount of local effort put into the support of schools, based upon an estimate of its ability to pay.

[b] Although Booker's Pupil:Teacher Ratios are in embarrassing disrepair, the rest of the table's entries are not necessarily thereby invalidated; they are simply indices of a trend and should be treated as such, not as absolute facts standing by themselves.

Table 11

ACCREDITING CLASSIFICATION, ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS[a]

Standards Required for Advanced Accreditation	Existing Situation		
Standard	Pellville	Lewisport	Hawesville
Curriculum - (Must include the following areas)			
Language Arts	A	A	A
Social Studies	A	A	A
Mathematics	A	A	A
Natural Sciences	A	A	A
Health, Safety and Physical Education	A	A	A
The Fine Arts	D	D	D
Library			
Appropriation $200 per pupil	A	A	A
Books 750-1,000 books plus 5 additional for every pupil over 100	A	A	A
Magazines 300 pupils = 5-10 over 300 = 11-15	D	D	D
Newspapers 2-6	A	A	A
Audio-Visual Material Collect			
Full-time Librarian	Not Eligible	D	D
Centralized Library Quarters	A	A	A
Guidance			
Organized Program of Guidance Services	A	A	A
Health and Recreational Program			
Compliance with State Health Code	A	A	A
Satisfactory Lunch Program	A	A	A
Satisfactory Recreational Program	D	D	D
Instructional Program			
Certified Personnel	D	D	D
Class Size	D	D	D
Statement of Philosophy Objectives	A	A	A
Organized Program for Exceptional Education (physically and mentally handicapped)	D	D	D
Instructional Materials Allotment	A	A	A
Policy Handbook	D	D	D
Inservice Program	A	A	A
Building Standards	D	D	D
General Standards	A	A	A

[a] CODE: A = Acceptable; D = Deficient

Source: Personal Interview and Division of Instructional Services, Accrediting Standards for Kentucky Elementary and Secondary Schools. Frankfort: Kentucky Department of Education, 1966.

Table 12

ACCREDITING CLASSIFICATION, SECONDARY SCHOOL[a]

Standards Required for Advanced Accreditation	Existing Situation
Comprehensive	Hancock County High School[b]
Curriculum	
English Language Arts - 5 Units	D - 4 Units
Social Studies - 5	D - 3
Mathematics - 4	D - 3
Science - 4	D - 3
Foreign Languages - 3	D - 2
Fine Arts Music - 2 Art - 2	D - 2
Vocational Studies - 3	A - 3
Home Economics - 3	A - 3
Industrial Arts - 3	D - 2
Business Education - 4	D - 3
Health, Safety and Physical Education - 2	D - 1
Trades and Industries - 3	D - 2
Minimum Total Credits Required - 43	D - 33
Library	
Appropriation $2-$4 for printed material $0.75-$1 for audio-visual material	A
Books 750-1,000 books plus 5-10 additional for every pupil over 100	A
Magazines 26-75	A
Newspapers 2-6	A
Audio-Visual Collection	A
Full-time Librarian	A
Half-time Clerk	D
Centralized Library Quarters	A
Guidance	
Organized Program of Guidance Services	A
Health and Recreation	
Compliance with State Health Code	A
Co-Curricular Activity Services	A
Instructional Program	
Certified Personnel	A
Class Size	A
Statement of Philosophy and Objectives	A
Policy Handbook	D
In-Service Program	A
Instructional Materials Allotment	A
Plant Equipment	
Building Standards	A
General Standards	A

[a] CODE: A = Acceptable; D = Deficient

[b] Numbers refer to units.

Source: Personal Interview and Division of Instructional Services, Accrediting Standards for Kentucky Elementary and Secondary Schools. Frankfort: Kentucky Department of Education, 1966.

The survey of the county's educational program then viewed attendance records for the years 1961 through 1970. Percentage of attendance ranged from a low of 93.3% in 1961-62 to a high of 96.1% in both 1964-65 and 1965-66. Obviously, despite whatever lacks the report saw in Hancock County's educational system, these percentages of attendance revealed that students had faith in their schools's offerings. This impression is strengthened by Booker's Table 23, which is reproduced here as Table 13.

While a large percentage of Hancock County's ninth graders were allowing their withdrawal to express their feelings about education, an even larger group of youngsters were completing high school and competing in both the economic and academic spheres of America. This suggests that, overburdened as they were, the schools were still capable of preparing students for entry into other areas of American life.

The survey of the educational system then turned to the instructional staff. For the 1969-1970 school year, there were 36 classroom teachers in elementary schools, 22 classroom teachers in the high school, and a remedial reading teacher, a guidance counselor, a librarian, a music teacher, and two art teachers. Seven elementary teachers had earned less than a bachelor's degree. Other than these, the staff of the Hancock County School System was said to be a well-trained group of professionals. This, of course, is in obvious contradiction to Booker's earlier finding that Hancock County's teaching staff lacked experience.

Teacher's salaries were then considered. Hancock County teachers' salaries were lower than Kentucky's average, and significantly lower than Daviess County and the Indiana Counties across the river. This was considered unfortunate, since the report writers saw no good reason for a professional's staying in Hancock County when a move of a few miles would increase his/her salary considerably.

The survey then took up the pupil:teacher ratio. Hancock County had a ratio of 27:1. Although the report did not consider outside influences on pupil:teacher load, this ratio is a consequence of Kentucky's Foundation Plan for State Financing of Education. The Foundation Plan revolves around classroom units, defined as 1 teacher, 1 classroom, and 30 students. In addition, for every eight units, money to support either an administrator or a Special Instructor (P.E., Music, etc.) is also made

Table 13

HANCOCK COUNTY'S HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES' POST-GRADUATE ACTIVITY

Item	June, 1966		June, 1967		June, 1968		June, 1969	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total Graduates	36	45	39	37	27	36	45	38
Attending College in Kentucky	13	7	14	10	9	7	15	7
Attending College Out of State	0	1	1	1	0	3	1	2
Attending Trade or Special School	4	8	4	2	5	7	3	7
Working	10	12	14	8	19	12	17	6
Military Service	2	0	4	1	1	1	4	0
Unemployed	6	6	1	13	3	6	0	10
Married	1	9	0	0	0	0	0	5
Unknown	0	2	1	2	0	0	2	1
Class Membership, 9th Grade (Male and Female)	103		89		98		109	
Percentage of 9th Graders Completing High School (Male and Female)	77%		86.5%		68.4%		76.1%	
Percentage of High School Graduates Entering College (Male and Female)	26%		33.8%		28.4%		30.1%	

available. Absenteeism cuts the average daily attendance to 27 students per day per class.

The report continued its survey of Hancock County's educational program with a review of administrative organization. The administrative organization was in accordance with Kentucky state law: general control was vested in a non-partisan County Board of Education whose members were elected to represent their respective districts. These districts roughly corresponded with earlier population concentrations and voter registrations. On Figure 6, for example, one member came from Lewisport and represented Area I; two members were drawn from Area II and represented both the Hawesville and Utility voters; and two members came from Area III and represented voters in the Pellville community and school patrons in the Easton-Boling Chapel-Roseville neighborhoods. This distribution of board members guaranteed that all the diverse neighborhoods and communities within Hancock County were represented on the County Board of Education by men who had passed the test of voter approval.

The executive branch of the board, the board appointed Superintendent of Schools, was charged with the general administration of the system. Helping him were: a supervisor, an attendance supervisor, three principals (one each for the Lewisport and Hawesville elementary schools and high school), and a head teacher in the Pellville Elementary School. The report commended the County Board of Education for not interfering in the schools' day-to-day operation, claiming it was best to hold the administration responsible for school performance.

The report then surveyed school facilities. It noted three elementary schools and one high school. This section concluded by stating the physical plant was incapable of supplying adequate space for present or anticipated enrollment.

The report next dug into school finances. It found that, for the year 1968-1969, local revenue produced 28.4% of the budget, state funds 56.8% and federal funds 10.9%. Other miscellaneous funds produced 3.9%. For the same year, instruction took 71.7% of the budget, auxiliary school services 10.7%, plant operations 5.9%, administration 4.7%, plant maintenance 3.6%, fixed charges 1.4%, and capital outlay 0.1%. The per-pupil expenditure was $402.

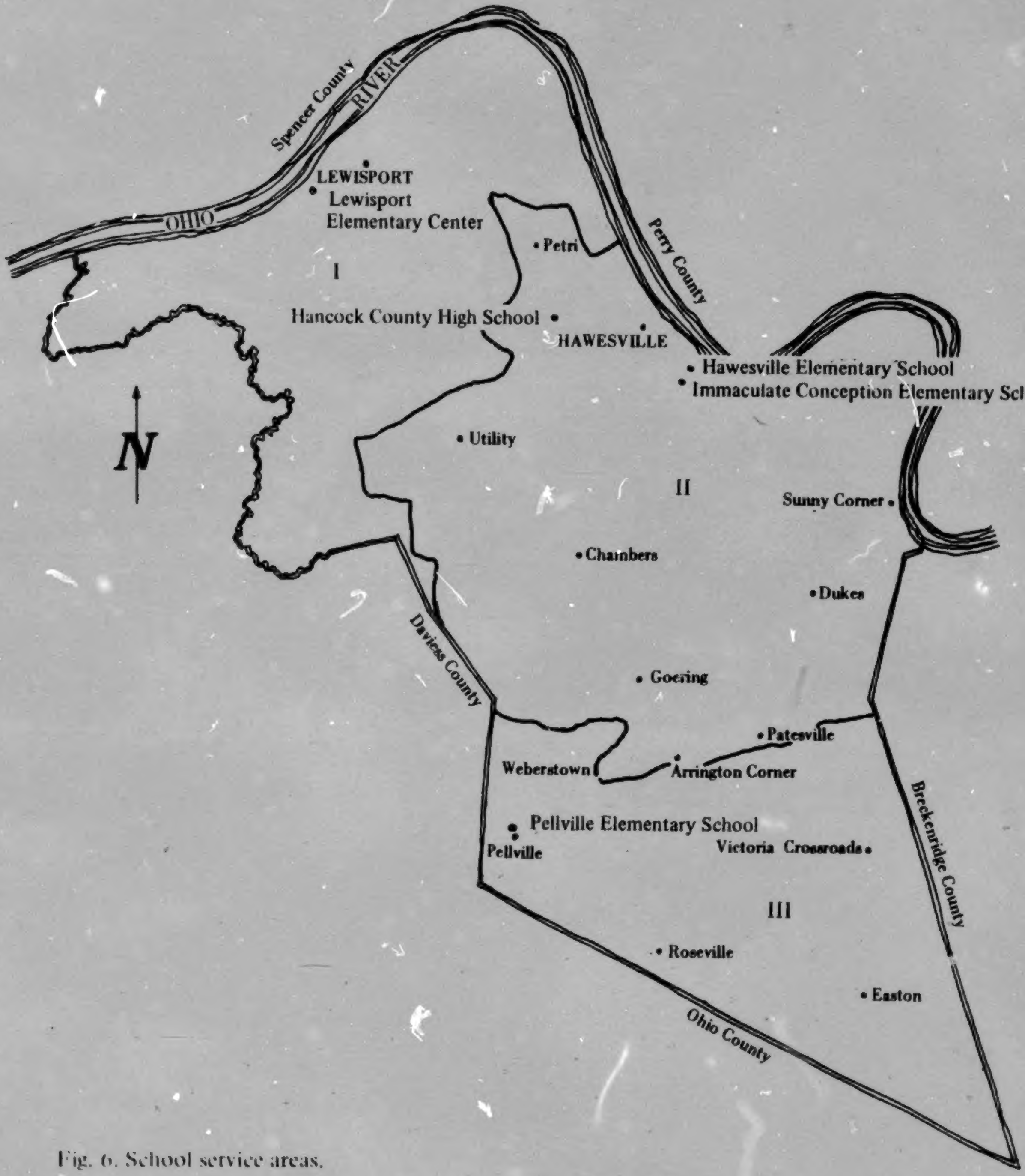
Spencer County
OHIO RIVER
LEWISPORT
Lewisport Elementary Center
I
Petri
Perry County
Hancock County High School
HAWESVILLE
Hawesville Elementary School
Immaculate Conception Elementary School
N
Utility
II
Sunny Corner
Chambers
Dukes
Daviess County
Goering
Patesville
Weberstown
Arrington Corner
Pellville Elementary School
Pellville
Victoria Crossroads
Breckenridge County
III
Roseville
Easton
Ohio County

Fig. 6. School service areas.

Source: Planning Commission, Hancock County, Kentucky, 1970.

The survey section of the report concluded by stating that if the Hancock County School District was to raise its educational services, money had to come from some new source. Since the Kentucky Foundation Plan funds local systems in inverse ratio to local revenues, the only real options appeared to be a utilities tax or new federal funds.

The report then presented 19 specific recommendations for improving education in Hancock County. These were:

1. The County Board of Education and its Administration should take a more positive and innovative role in improving the schools. In particular, additional federal money should be sought, instructional staff improved, and academic programs up-graded.
2. A bachelor's degree should be the minimum professional degree allowed in the Hancock County School System.
3. Salary schedules should be competitive with Daviess County.
4. A new Intermediate School should be constructed next to the County High School.
5. Accreditation rank should be improved.
6. A more flexible organizational structure should be implemented.
7. Lay volunteers should be used in the schools.
8. The pupil:teacher ratio of 27:1 should be reduced.
9. The curriculum program should become stronger, more flexible, and more individualized.
10. Stronger pupil guidance programs should be implemented.
11. Classrooms, libraries, and other instructional spaces and facilities should be improved and modernized.
12. All non-fire resistant buildings should be fire-proofed.
13. Mobile units should be purchased to provide temporary relief from overcrowding.
14. Library materials and services for elementary schools should be improved.
15. More use should be made of audio-visual and other instructional aids.
16. The Hawesville Elementary School should be retained for grades K-5 following the completion of the Middle School. A new, modern elementary school located to serve future population distribution should be planned for.
17. The Pellville Elementary School should be consolidated with Hawesville and the new Middle School.
18. The Lewisport Elementary School should be retained for grades K-5.

Booker's report concluded by saying its most important suggestion was that (1970a, p. 166):

> ... the Board of Education and the Administration undertake and participate in a community information program which is designed to inform the citizens of the present status and future objectives of the school system. Citizen participation and discussion on the district's plans and programs should be invited.

These recommendations were graphically represented in a flow chart (Fig. 7).

Local reactions to the Booker survey varied, but, by and large people said that it told them nothing new. As one long-time resident put it, "They just talked to the State Board in Frankfort and used stuff that was five years old." There is some rationale for this view.

In 1965 the Kentucky State Board of Education published a School Facilities Survey and Recommendations for a Long-Range Educational Plan for the Hancock County School District. This survey had presented data on school attendance that the Booker survey included in its effort; had recommended that the county adopt a five-year elementary, three-year middle, and a four-year high school organizational plan; had recommended the county's first priority to be the construction of a new middle school for grades 6, 7, and 8; had recommended that the Pellville and Sanders elementary schools be consolidated with Hawesville elementary; and had recommended that Hancock County build a school bus garage. As one teacher who had lived through both surveys put it, "We didn't need another survey--we needed money to run our schools."

This contention found support in a presentation made before a National Education Association fact-finding commission on November 12, 1970 in Louisville, Kentucky. The purpose of the hearing was to determine if various State officials had fulfilled their constitutional duties in funding public education in the state of Kentucky. A Hancock County teacher testified as follows:

> Come with me to a section of the rural valley of America. This was an expression used by industrialists as nation-wide attention was focused on Hancock County in the early 1960s. We were an agrarian segment with

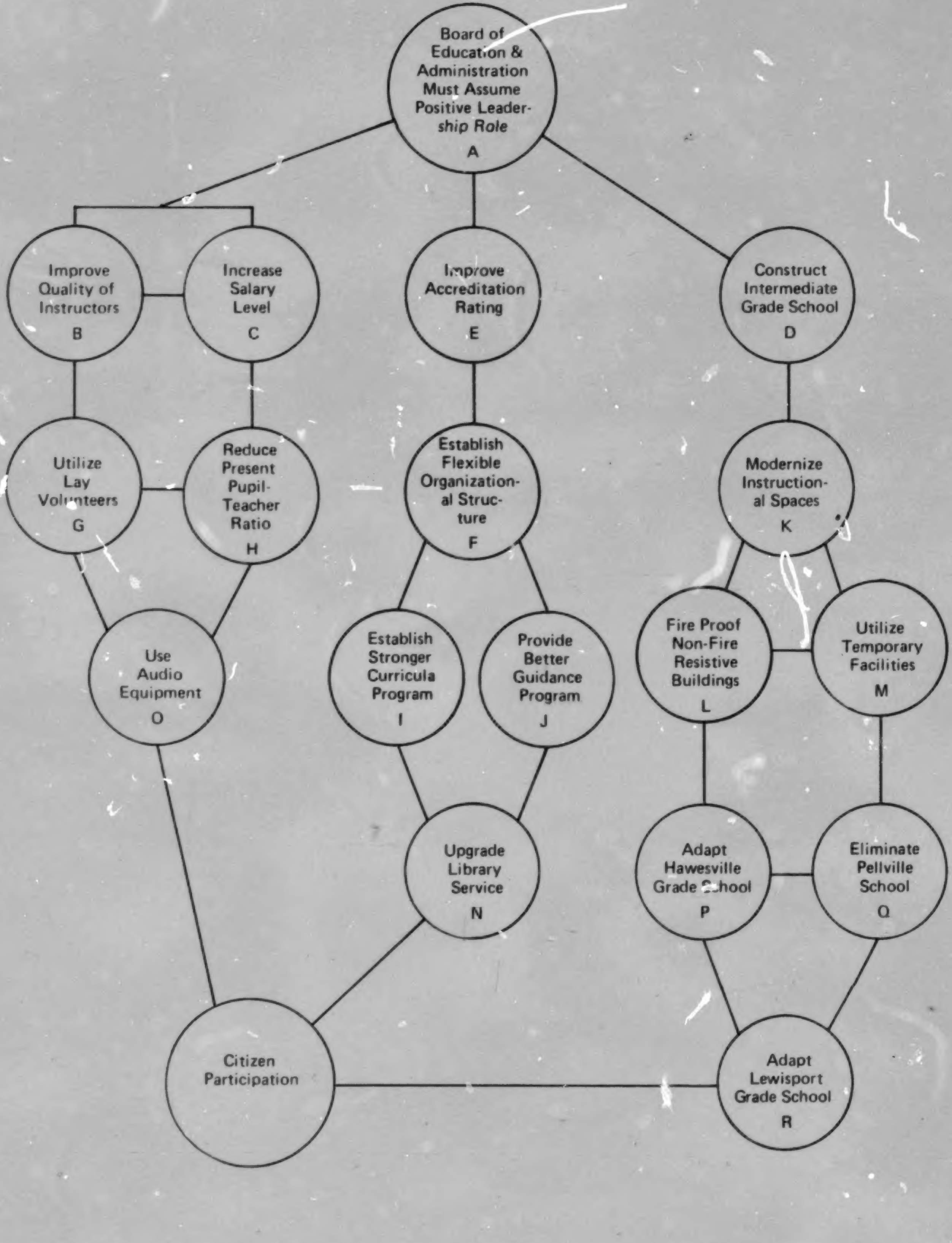
Board of Education & Administration Must Assume Positive Leadership Role
A
Improve Quality of Instructors
B
Increase Salary Level
C
Improve Accreditation Rating
E
Construct Intermediate Grade School
D
Utilize Lay Volunteers
G
Reduce Present Pupil-Teacher Ratio
H
Establish Flexible Organizational Structure
F
Modernize Instructional Spaces
K
Use Audio Equipment
O
Establish Stronger Curricula Program
I
Provide Better Guidance Program
J
Fire Proof Non-Fire Resistive Buildings
L
Utilize Temporary Facilities
M
Upgrade Library Service
N
Adapt Hawesville Grade School
P
Eliminate Pellville School
Q
Citizen Participation
Adapt Lewisport Grade School
R

Fig.7. Priority flow chart, Hancock County School District.

an agrarian economy and a population of a little over 5,000. In less than ten short years we have observed a change in population to more than 6,000 and an economy that could be described as industrial in most aspects except school financing.

Follow my attempt to show this shift and development to the exclusion of education. In 1963, Kentucky state law granted municipalities the authority to issue revenue bonds tax exempt for the purchase of acquiring or constructing industrial buildings and purchasing necessary equipment and machinery. When the news hit our area that the state had acquired and our local government accepted an industry for our county to be financed by this method questions were immediately raised by educators and other professionals concerning the use of public credit for private purposes. After examination and close scrutiny by leading area attorneys the conclusion was reached that although the revenue bonds were tax exempt and would benefit private concerns the county also would benefit through a broadened tax base because of new growth, new homes, expanded services, more businesses, more industries which would not be tax exempt and so forth.

Thus we entered the era of tax exempt industry. The first announcement came in 1963 of a big one, a $50 million investment that became operative in 1965, a concern that continues to expand until its approximate value today is $60 million. Close on the heels came the announcement of a giant package deal whose value is placed at $152 million, giving Hancock County, an area of a little over 6,000 people, approximately $200 million in tax-free industry. Sandwiched in between these announcements was a special legislative session that enacted the 1965 House Bill 1, the roll-back law, that froze for all practical purposes the property taxes at the 1965 level.

Hancock County was not the highest rate in the state, nor was it the lowest, but it was facing a most unique crucial period with not enough money nor hope of raising it. So with the growth that economists predicted would come and had so hoped would make the tax-free industry tolerable to the local economy came a roll-back of property tax rates. Little more money is being collected in 1970 than was collected in 1967 when our county had taken advantage of the two permissive 10 percent increases. Our assessment last year increased approximately $8 million. The decrease in the tax rate was 2.1 cents per hundred. Our system lost approximately $25,000 last year due to the roll-back. Property owners pay less and less taxes as assessments increase and educational needs skyrocket.

To further complicate our predicament, since our assessment is up, our local effort under the Minimum Foundation Program has increased; between '69 and '70 there was an increase of $8,000; between 70-71 it jumped to an increase of $27,000.

To further complicate our situation in the last five years, looking at our school enrollment, our enrollment has increased at an average of approximately 100 students per year over the five-year period. Now, this figure takes on meaning when we establish our total enrollment at 1,586 and we have no money to expand facilities. Although we have many needs in our educational system today, I believe if a survey were run this very night at Daniel Boone with all the teachers of Hancock County the number one priority: give us more elbow room.

Our board of education apparently believed this also when they planned to sell revenue bonds which would be amortized with revenue from the 2 percent utility tax that was levied at the first of this year. Hancock County was hoping to be the first system to use this permissive levy--this permissive tax. It is perhaps the first to need it for bonding power.

The state Department of Education holds that the constitutionality of the utility tax law must be upheld before it will approve bonds to be retired with this tax income. A real estate agent in our county agreed to enter into a friendly suit to test the legality of the law, hoping to get this through the courts soon. Last May three Hancock County industrial firms valued at $152 million decided this young man could not represent their interest and intervened. On November 2, Circuit Judge Martin ruled the law to be constitutional over their opposition. This decision will be appealed. We pray for an expedient decision. The productive lives of our children hang in balance.

We've waited long years and months, and I have a child who is in this age group, by the way; we're not working with chunks of aluminum but human lives. Think of the number of children 25 years of education touches. This is the period of tax exemption. Our fiscal court is being approached at all angles by $152 million concerns to drop an agreement entered into at the urging of Hancock County Education Association in which said company agreed to pay approximately $28,000 yearly to help alleviate our educational finance load. Now, it is considered unfair by said company that it must pay a utility tax. In fact, the court was promised, if the agreement were dropped, the suit against the utility tax would also be dropped. Pray for us.

Our industrial feasibility survey has this to say about our situation: a problem which demands immediate attention is the county's educational system. The increases in population over the past years have created an unfortunate strain on the educational facilities of this district. As a result of this stress and an earlier lack of planning by school officials, classrooms are overloaded, teaching personnel are over-worked, teaching programs and dollars are limited in both quality and quantity, and physical plant facilities are inadequate.

Frustrated? Yes! It's not as though we were asking for frills in Hancock County education; this is what we have: Hancock County High School built in 1961, the voters approved a tax, and they're still paying on this. We add 25 classrooms, and we're already bulging at the seams; Lewisport Elementary, built in 1937 with 12 classrooms and over 400 children, not all in those 12 classrooms, by the way; Hawesville Elementary in 1928, added onto in '38, added onto again in '63, 20 classrooms, 594 children; and Pellville Elementary built in 1928, four classrooms, 110 students, and I guess we might be stretching the issue to say that we're giving basic offerings.

According to the State Department education facilities survey conducted in 1965 these are our needs: construction of three cafeterias attached to the main building, approximately $60,000, this has not been done; repair and improvement of existing school grounds, $50,000, this has not been done; a two school bus maintenance and repair garage, $25,000, this has not been done; construction in the near future, this was in 1965, replacement of Hawesville Elementary with new building in a new location, a million dollars, this has not been done; cost of construction of a new middle grade building needed right now, 1965, this has not been done; renovation and construction of Hancock County High School and Lewisport Elementary School, approximately $500,000, this has not been done; facilities for exceptional children, none; upgrade financial situation of professional staff comparative to Daviess County and Owensboro and Tell City, Indiana, just across the little river from us.

Some of the problems I meet daily: my friend, the guidance counselor, with nowhere to go; he has an office in the central office with the superintendent where his files are kept. He comes to an elementary school, sits in the library because he has no office space, and you can imagine how effective his program is for a child who has a problem who wants to see the guidance counselor in the middle of the library with people coming in from both sides.

My friends, the special reading teachers at Lewisport, are sandwiched in between lunchroom shifts in a cafeteria. These same teachers at Hawesville teach in the hallways; these same teachers at Pellville teach in the library; first grade classroom in the front hall, a T-shaped hall structure partitioned off for first grade children; band on the stage with Phys. Ed in the gym running simultaneously, and this same band instructor teaches in the shower room in another school, a classroom in a cafeteria--one good thing about it, it only has room for 20 children; three condemned cafeterias; art teachers who are carpetbaggers that carry boxes of material and bags of material stored in their cars; they have no storage room; they have no art room. You can imagine how limited in media they are. Few such substitutes for some reason, perhaps two; they're either in hiding or everything that looks like a school teacher is in the classroom in Hancock County. Foot candle lighting, approximately half of what it should be in two of our schools anyway, and perhaps the most unique library in the United States, seven feet wide, ninety feet long--a shotgun library to say the least, and I guess we could say this librarian also shares the stage and the gym with the Phys. Ed director because it's built into the balcony. We have five and a half books per child, when the American Library Association standards say we need ten, and this is including our reference material, and that's for grade one through eight. We have bus drivers; half of them are teachers. Of course, this may be good to supplement an income, but it certainly works a hardship on workshops and after school meetings that are very very necessary. Many would say, "Well, why not have them at night?" Many of our teachers are from Owensboro, and they will not come back at night for meetings.

I point no finger at anyone. I merely state these facts and allow you to draw your own conclusions. I hope I have been successful in showing you that Hancock County has not moved because of shackles. Notice we have tried to take advantage of all courses available. We have been shackled for five very very crucial years. I thank you.
(Legislative Report, 1970, pp. 446-450.)

The year 1971 began with the county's schools in the midst of grave problems. The system had been surveyed by R. W. Booker and Associates and had been found wanting. A presentation before a National Education Association fact finding committee by a Hancock County teacher had made the same points. Local residents concurred when they said that they looked to surrounding districts and "felt second class." In addition, other difficulties faced the schools.

The first had to do with the local communities within the county. By 1971 there were three of these: Hawesville, Lewisport, and the southern part of the county. Each section felt that it was the most deserving. Hawesville residents, for example, pointed to the Booker recommendation that the most pressing need was replacement of the Hawesville Elementary School. Residents of Lewisport made the same claim for the Lewisport Elementary School and pointed to years of what they perceived to be neglect to further their bid for immediate attention. The residents of the southern part of the county rejected the recommendation for consolidating the Pellville Elementary School and, instead, pressed for the construction of a new building. They, too, pointed to years of neglect to further their claims.

Nor did the utilities tax money promise much relief from this debate. True, the tax brought new money into the system, but there was no consensus on how this should be spent. The administration was concerned with building to accommodate new students. Teachers lobbied vigorously for higher wages and greater teaching resources within the classroom.

Further division occurred when the Kentucky Educational Association struck all the schools within the state. The strike lasted only four days, but its consequences were notable. Teachers, for example, were not united on the merits of a strike and thus not all honored the call. This led to two factions within the school system which mirrored the sentiment within the county. Residents recall, for example, that wage earners and farmers thought that teachers were well paid for the amount of time they put in the classroom. To them, the strike was thus unjust. Others looked to the Booker survey and said that they felt teachers in the county were ill-paid. Thus, they felt that the strike was just.

In the midst of this debate on the ordering of the priorities which faced the schools, the Superintendent of Schools suffered a fatal heart attack. The board of education began searching for a new superintendent, one who could meet the issues facing the schools. They settled upon an assistant superintendent from a neighboring district, both because of his qualifications and because he was not linked to any of the factions within Hancock County. The new Superintendent of Schools inherited: a rural school system overwhelmed by rapid growth; a blueprint for change; a new funding source; a county aware of the need for change, but uncertain about priorities; a host of community interest groups; and a community-school estrangement. When asked why he had accepted the position, he said, "I came here because I saw the opportunity."

The new superintendent had a set of immediate recommendations for his first board meeting. The first was to raise beginning teachers' salaries so that Hancock County would be competitive with neighboring counties. The second was to remodel both the Hawesville and Lewisport elementary schools. The third recommendation strayed from the Booker survey: instead of mobile classrooms, it was recommended that four additional classrooms be added to the high school. When these were completed, eighth graders could be shifted from elementary schools to the high school and thus relieve some of the overcrowding. The Hancock County Board of Education concurred with these recommendations, gained the necessary state approval, and the opening of school in 1971 saw the beginnings of rapid change.

In September, another recommendation was made that strayed even further from the 1965 State Facilities Survey and the Booker report: instead of building a new middle school, the recommendation was to build a new high school featuring innovative use of space that would complement a flexible, individualized curriculum. The floor plan of this new building is shown in Figure 8.

There are three major uses of space. The first revolves around the classrooms and library in the northwest corner of the building. Here, space is fluid with few self-contained classrooms; the goal is to integrate academic space and activity into something other than a traditional classroom. The second revolves around the Commons Area in the southwest corner. Here, a multi-purpose dining area, stage, and kitchen are grouped into one space. The goal here is to create space that can serve the

1. Teachers' Planning Room
2. Storage Rooms
3. Language Arts
4. Library
5. Math Rooms
6. Biology Lab
7. Chemistry - Physics Lab
8. Science Classrooms
9. Teacher Planning
10. Projection Room
11. Locker Area
12. Social Studies
13. Stage
14. Boys' Dressing Room
15. Girls' Dressing Room
16. Kitchen
17. Dining Commons
18. Lobby
19. Administrative
20. Restrooms
21. Concession
22. Mechanical Rooms
23. Girls' Locker Room & Shower
24. Football Locker Room
25. Boys' Locker Room & Shower
26. Band and Choral Room
27. Practice Rooms
28. Offices
29. Ag Shop
30. Paint Spray Booth
31. Ag Classroom
32. Industrial Arts
33. Drafting
34. Steno Practice
35. Weight Room
36. Equipment Storage
37. Janitor
38. Teachers' Lounge
39. Vault
40. Gymnasium
41. Home Ec Classroom
42. Cooking
43. Sewing
44. Art
45. Business Education
46. Planning Rooms
47. Display
48. Office Equipment
49. Finish Room
50. Supplies

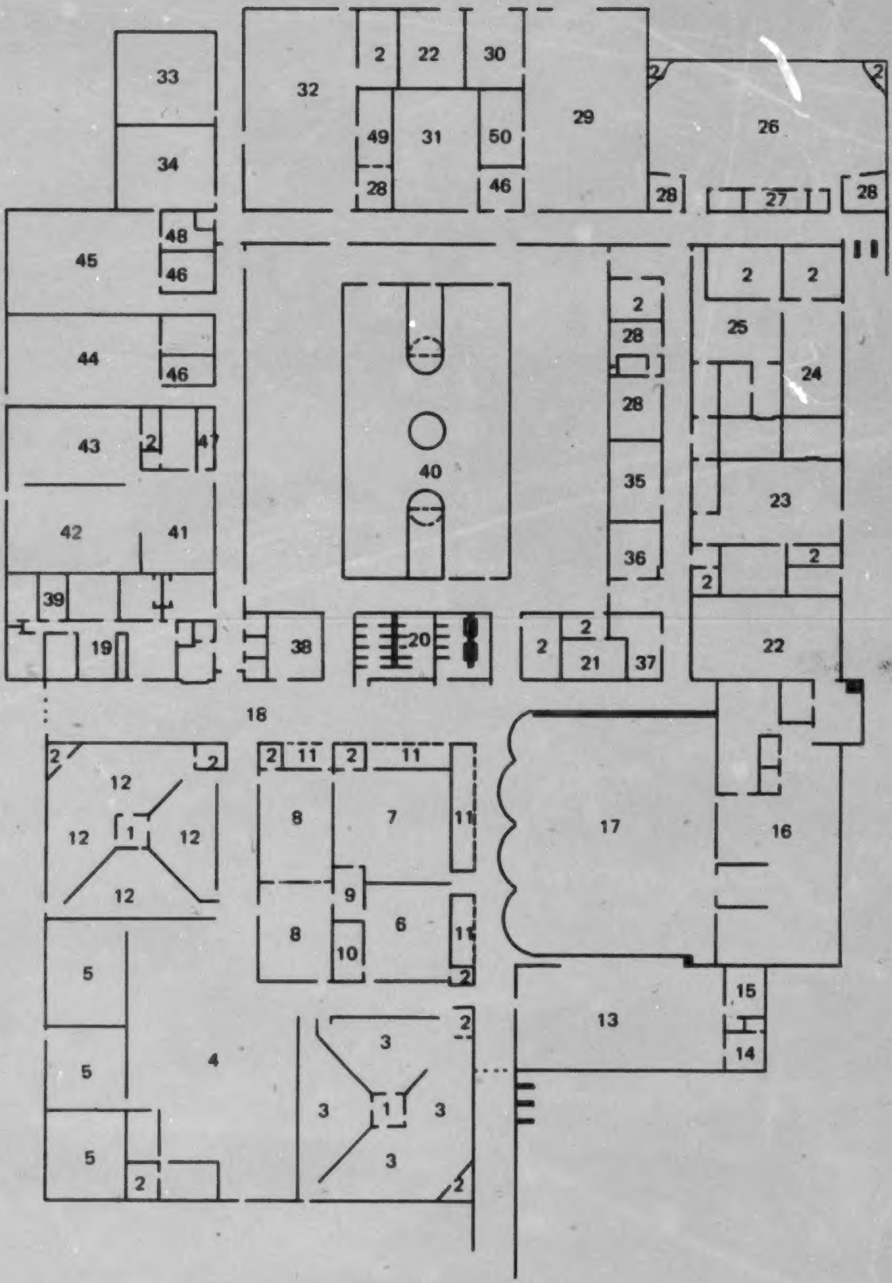
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Fig.8. Hancock County High School floor plan.

school and also act as a place where community functions, such as plays and organization meetings, can occur. The third major use of space is in the eastern part of the building, the section that borders the gymnasium to the north, east, and the south, where the goal is to create traditional space that encloses school administration, home economics, business education, health, industrial arts, vocational agriculture, band and chorus, and athletics. In summary, the floor plan presented a building offering space amenable to a variety of school and community uses.

This new high school, it was argued, would allow students to progress from older buildings to more modern plants, rather than having students return to older facilities after completing middle school. The various kinds of space in the new building would offer high school students facilities geared to their special needs and could, in addition, give the communities in Hancock County a central location to pursue various activities.

An informal consensus on the merits of this plan was rapidly achieved among the board. After a period of county-wide discussion that included presentations before many of the civic and fraternal organizations, the school board petitioned for a new State Facilities Survey. The state survey concurred with local desire. The board chucked Booker's recommendation, hired architects, and let bids. However, as one participant said of the entire experience, "It took a lot of politics to get it."

The new building program showed promise of meeting all the charges levied against the physical facilities. However, there were still those Booker recommendations concerning faculty and teaching resources. To solve these problems, a funding source that was beyond traditional sources of revenue, which provided funds adequate for maintenance, but not change, was needed. Then, in March, 1972, a circular entitled Announcement of a Competition for Small Rural Schools found its way to the superintendent's desk. The purpose of the circular was to solicit bids from a host of small rural schools who were interested in comprehensive change. The sponsoring agency would then judge the bids and select those that showed the most promise.

The superintendent immediately began negotiations. First he secured the approval of the State Board of Education. Then he sought consultant help from Western Kentucky University, the University of Louisville and the University of Kentucky. After gaining initial support, he explained the opportunity both to his board and to his teaching staff. They voted unanimously to enter the competition. Consultants at the University of Kentucky put together Hancock County's Letter of Interest.

The Hancock County proposal to the National Institute of Education attempted to meet the criticisms of both the Booker Report and the NEA hearings. In its Letter of Interest, the school system acknowledged some weaknesses (lack of consensus on goals, inefficient and inadequate instructional processes, irrelevant curricula, poor use of community resources, and lack of specialized adjunct services). At the same time, the school system was able to point out some significant strengths:

1) A young, professional administrative and instructional staff dedicated and eager to change.

2) A community that is becoming aware of the inadequacies of the present school system and has shown a readiness to become involved in improving the system.

3) An enrollment and environment small enough to encourage total community involvement in improving the quality of the schools.

4) An improving financial structure that should enable the incorporation of the costs associated with massive school program change.

5) A progressive Board of Education that recognizes that educational improvement means more than just adding to the present program (Letter of Interest, p. 5).

The proposal envisaged a curriculum that would be broken into primary blocks, an intermediate block, and a secondary block. Primary blocks would involve grades 1-5 in three elementary schools, the intermediate block would involve grades 6-8 in a middle school, and the secondary block would involve students in grades 9-12 in a new high school. Instead of traditional curricula, however, diagnostic instruction would be utilized and geared to an interest assignment. Finally, the entire community would become involved in the project.

In May, 1972 two officials from USOE visited Hancock County. They talked with administrators, teachers, and local citizens for two days. The officials left and soon afterward informed Hancock County that its system was one of six chosen to participate in the Experimental Schools program for small rural school districts. A one-year planning grant was soon awarded and Hancock County began planning its program. R. W. Booker's most difficult recommendation, gaining federal funds, had been met in a spectacular manner.

ONCE OVER THE SHOULDER BRIEFLY

This, then, is a history of Hancock County, Kentucky. It tells a remarkable story of a people coming into new land, colonizing, and setting up a diverse set of local units adapted to the various natural opportunities provided by Hancock County. For 100 years, between 1800 and 1900, those natural opportunities seemed infinite and the populations adapted to them grew in size. Through time, these various populations became identified as neighborhoods and communities in the minds of Hancock County's citizens. They exist so even today.

Then local conditions changed. Hancock County became a way-station in America's new transportation and communication network. Men saw that the nodal points in these networks, with their industrial complexes, offered greater return for less effort than did their rural, agrarian way of life. At the same time, the farms along the ridges began to play out and commercial mining of Hancock County's coal seams became unprofitable, partly because an industrialized America demanded large coal deposits mined with an expensive technology. Hancock Countians joined the streams of rural Americans journeying to the new hope held out by the industrialized cities.

Men who remained in Hancock between 1900 and 1960 tell of hard times; the small neighborhoods and communities formed during the 1800s were not well adapted to the context created by industrialization. Every aspect of Hancock County's history underlines this: small farms were not competitive in national markets; money was scarce; new highways sapped the vigor of local businesses and men had to leave the county to find work.

Then the context in which Hancock County found itself began to change once again. By 1950 the citizens of Hawesville had learned how to successfully exploit the opportunities provided by extra-local legal systems. The flood wall around Hawesville is vivid testimony of this discovery. Later in the decade, Murray Tile established a factory at Lewisport to take better advantage of the clay deposits in the hills south of town, demonstrating that Hancock County offered attractive industrial sites.

The combination of exploiting extra-local legal systems and offering attractive industrial sites came together in the early 1960s when the City of Lewisport agreed to finance $50 million worth of industrial construction through municipal industrial bonding. Then the Hancock County Fiscal Court agreed to underwrite the construction of a $142 million aluminum facility in the county. These two bond issues demonstrate the skill small local units can muster in adapting to mass society, a skill that the federal bureaucracy and the Internal Revenue Service found to be uncomfortably competent.

At the moment Hancock County is undergoing rapid change. The best illustration of this is the number and distribution of new housing. Both Hawesville and Lewisport have new subdivisions of brick homes. Windward Heights, a result of the recent industrial boom, sits midway between the two towns--as does a new trailer court. And along all the roads of the county new brick homes and trailers are taking root. All of these are dramatic evidence of change within Hancock County.

As dramatic as these changes are, Hancock County's agricultural past has not slipped away. During the fall the Lewisport Lions Club sponsors an annual horse show, while the Hawesville Lions Club sports a horse and mule derby. All parts of the county come together to support the annual county fair, an event people claim has not changed since its inception. Finally, during the picnics sponsored by industry for their employees, events such as tractor pulls take place alongside spanking new aluminum rolling mills.

Great change has also occurred in the schools. The county school system was organized around a traditional 1-8, 9-12 classroom system with elementary schools located at Lewisport, Hawesville, and Pellville and a county high school midway between Hawesville and Lewisport. Now the three elementary schools serve students in years 1-5, students in years 6-8 attend the middle school, and years 9-12 attend a brand new high school midway between Hawesville and Lewisport. Nor is this the end of educational change. The school administration has exploited an extra-local legal system to gain federal funding through the Experimental Schools program to implement a new, more individualized course of instruction in all the county's schools.

Perhaps Hancock County's change can best be symbolized by two events that took place on the high school grounds during August, 1973.

The Cultural Enrichment Committee of the Hancock County Experimental Schools program hosted an art show that exhibited work of most of Kentucky's leading artists. The show was held in the new high school along the northern part of the school grounds. During the afternoons the show drew many spectators. On the southern side of the school grounds a Baptist Revival was held during the evenings. It drew an audience nearly five times as large as the art show. Both events, one new to the county and held in a new structure, the other familiar to the county and held in a pitched tent, went on side by side. They caused one another no difficulty. It is this kind of change that the citizens of Hancock County seek: a continuation of tradition supplemented by the addition of new alternatives that make the county a better place to live. Thus far they have done a remarkable job of gaining this goal.

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Chapter V

A Social and Educational History of Constantine, Michigan

by

William L. Donnelly

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A Social and Educational History of Constantine, Michigan

Area: 110 square miles. Population (1970): 5,038. Elevation from 780 to 900 feet. Center of the School District is approximately at latitude 42° North and at longitude 85°30' West. School District covers parts of Cass and St. Joseph Counties in southern Michigan, 35 miles south of Kalamazoo and 35 miles northeast of South Bend, Indiana. Settled in 1828; incorporated in 1837. Only major town is the Village of Constantine.

BASIC GEOGRAPHY, GEOLOGY, AND ECOLOGY OF CONSTANTINE

Basic Facts

Constantine Public Schools District covers portions of seven different townships and the village of Constantine. Half of the district is located in the southwest quadrant of St. Joseph County to the east and the other half in the southeast quadrant of Cass County to the west, along the boundary between Michigan and Indiana (Figure 1). The village of Constantine is located midway between the medium-sized cities of Kalamazoo, Michigan and South Bend, Indiana, each about 35 miles from the village. Although the school district contains 110 square miles, the village occupies less than three square miles of land. All school buildings, services, and administration are located within the village limits. One-third of the students live in the village, while the remaining two-thirds come from the surrounding outlying area.

Once described as the "intellectual center of early Michigan," (Kalamazoo Gazette, August 24, 1947) for most of its history Constantine has served as a trade center for the surrounding farming area.

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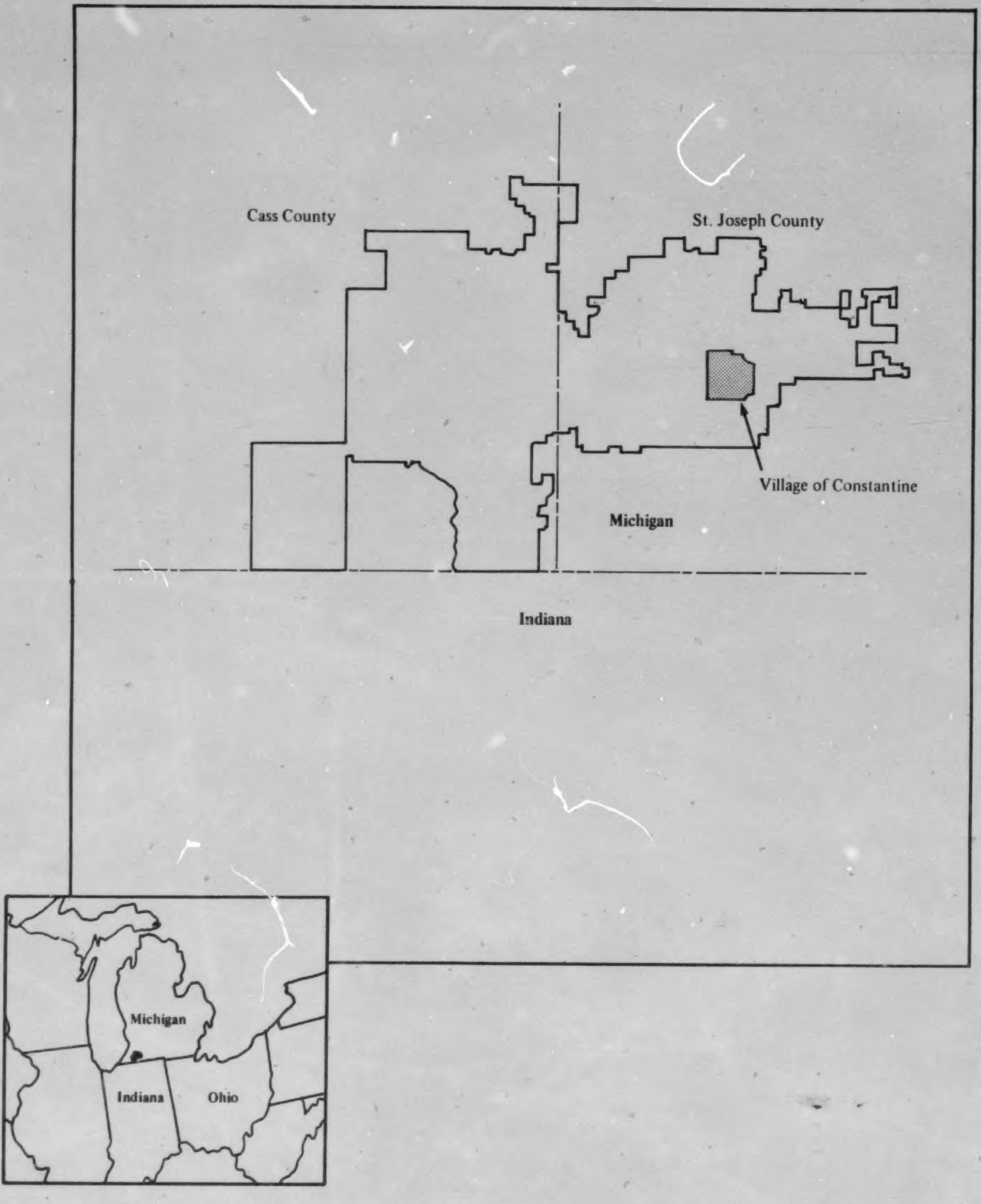
Cass County
St. Joseph County
Village of Constantine
Michigan
Indiana
Michigan
Indiana
Ohio

Fig. 1. Outline map of Constantine Public Schools.

Because of extensive changes in transportation, as well as in agricultural production and land use, this is no longer true. However, the irregular outline of the school district boundary follows part of the outline of the earlier service area when agriculture was the principal basis of the local economy. Today, the school district boundary is expanded somewhat, but does not differ significantly from the earlier usage pattern. With a population of 1,733, Constantine is the heart of a community which includes an additional 4,305 persons in the surrounding "service area." The principal service which unites this rural area into a community is the public school system.

Visitors passing through Constantine are presented with a view of a comfortable small town: streets lined with large maples and oaks (Figure 2), stately old homes, and a business district that reflects an earlier era of lively and prosperous commerce. The streets of the village contain mostly older frame houses erected before 1900 and an abundance of large shade trees which give a quiet and cool appearance during the warm months. The southeast corner of the village contains the only large group of relatively new homes though a tract of modern ranch-style homes has developed along the St. Joseph River approximately 1/2 mile beyond the village.

A major highway passes through Constantine, conveying large numbers of travelers to resort areas in northern Michigan and Canada throughout the year--snowmobile riders and ice fishermen in the winter, fishermen and campers in the spring and summer, and hunters in the fall. This highway also serves as a major artery for trucks carrying gasoline, milk, cereal grains, and mobile homes and recreational vehicles from cities and towns to the north and south. Not much local effort has been made to profit from this year-round flow of traffic; there are no drive-in restaurants, no truck stops, no shopping centers to lure the visitor. There are several retail gasoline service stations along the main street, but these represent the only attempt on the part of Constantine residents to capitalize on the potential transient market. Like the spokes of a wheel, seven secondary roads also intersect the village of Constantine, leading in from all quarters of the surrounding area. For many years, these roads served to transport the farmers and their produce to the village for marketing and exchange.

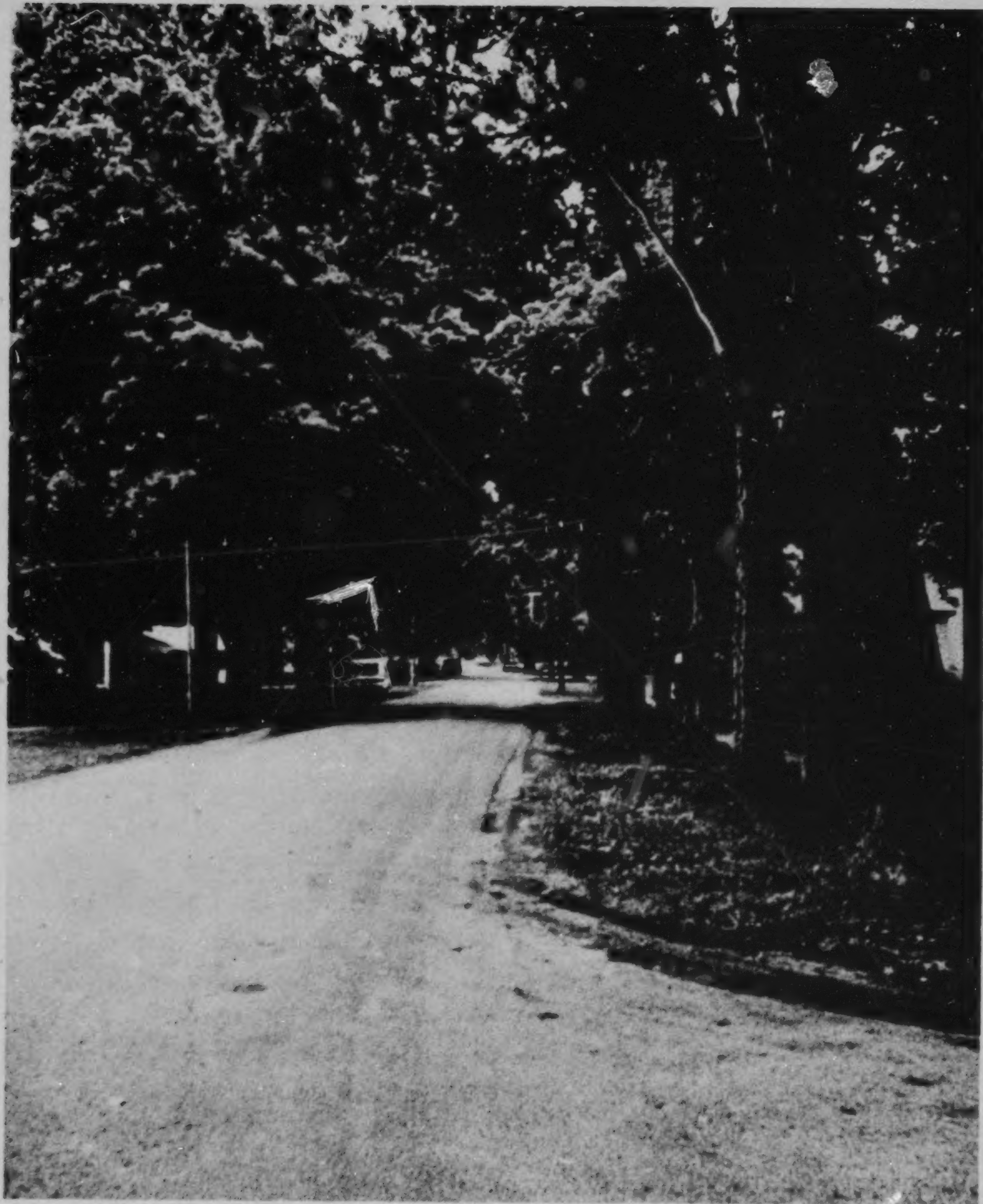

Fig.2. A typical street in Constantine, lined with oaks and maples.

The commercial district of Constantine consists of a block-long strip of nineteenth century buildings housing a variety of retail merchandising establishments (Figure 3). Because of the brief travel time to nearby small cities and the 40-minute drive to major shopping facilities in Elkhart and South Bend, Indiana, and Kalamazoo, Michigan, the commerce of Constantine is less important than it was in earlier periods. Farmers and other rural residents of the surrounding area are not as likely to purchase needed goods in the village as they were before the advent of modern highways.

Industry has played an important part in the development of Constantine. During the early years Constantine was the site of farm implement manufacturing, harness making, blacksmithing, wagon making and furniture production. This early history of light industry has continued into the present century with paper manufacturing, casket making, a venetian blind factory, and a creamery. During the 1950s, industrial production waned in the village, but in the early 1970s new growth was created by the location of several new industrial enterprises in an industrial park developed on the southeast edge of the village.

The rest of the school district reflects the agricultural background of the region. All roads leaving the village take the traveler past commercial farms averaging more than 240 acres in size with many fields planted with corn or soybeans. The landscape is dotted with modest farm homes, each having several towering silos nearby for storage of corn. Hogs, dairy cattle, and, less frequently, herds of beef cattle can be seen on many of these farms, occasionally grazing on pasture, but more often feeding on herbage in feedlots.

Farming has always been important to the area though at present less than 10% of the labor force is engaged in agricultural production and services. The farmers of this locale have always been able to adapt to the changing conditions of farm production, and over the years, wool, wheat, corn, dairy, and beef production have been the primary sources of farm income. In recent years, hogs and corn production have become the dominant farm operation. Only 5% of the school district residents derive their principal income from farming. Many of the current rural residents live on small parcels of land and commute to work in factories. There are also a number of residents who do both; having found that farming

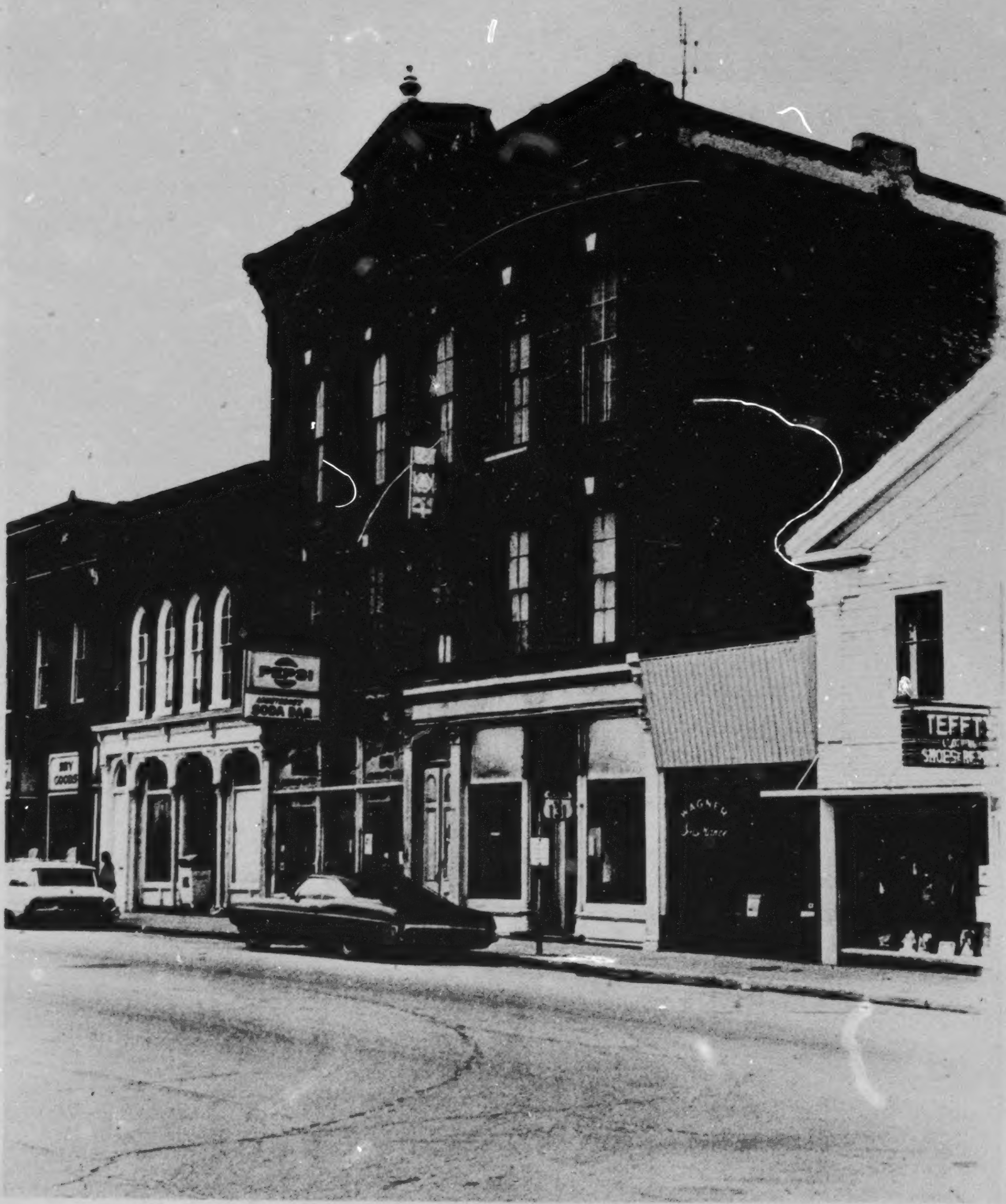
DRY GOODS
PEPSI
SODA BAR
WAGNER
TEFFT
SHOES

Fig.3. Part of the business district, composed of buildings constructed in the nineteenth century.

provides an inadequate income, such persons live on their farms, commute to a factory to work, and then work the farm on weekends and during other free time. For most of these part-time farmers, the primary source of income is from the factory job. Overall, the dominant residential pattern in the area outside the village is one of rural non-farm dwellings, where residents opt to have a little "elbow room" in their choice of housing while deriving the family income from industrial production in nearby factories.

Ex

Geography, Geology and Ecology

The area of the Constantine School District consists primarily of small prairies and gently rolling wooded areas, and the only significant relief consists of "knob and kettle" topography and depressions of swamp and marsh. The St. Joseph River, the principal waterway, follows a gentle slope toward the southwest; it is notable for a series of vast outwash plains along its course. The village of Constantine lies along the banks of the St. Joseph River on a nearly level outwash plain with elevation from 780 to 900 feet above sea level (Figure 4). The nearby level and gently rolling areas include the best farming lands while the more distant rolling areas are less fertile. During the Ice Age the area was covered by glaciers, and drift deposits range up to 136 feet in depth (Leverett & Taylor, 1911, p. 150). There are no major mineral deposits in the area though pockets of marl located in the eastern end of the district were extracted in previous years for sale as a fertilizer product.

The natural wildlife of the area consists of deer, fox, quail, possum, beaver, muskrat, and other animals which usually share the same habitat. Muskrat and mink are currently sufficiently numerous to provide a minor source of income to trappers. Deer and pheasant are the primary game animals though the area is not considered to be good hunting territory. The lakes and streams of the area contain many kinds of panfish including bluegills, sunfish, perch, bass, trout, and pike.

Virgin forest covered more than one-half of the landscape when the first European settlers arrived. Stands of oak and hickory dominated while beech, maple, and walnut were also plentiful. Most of this

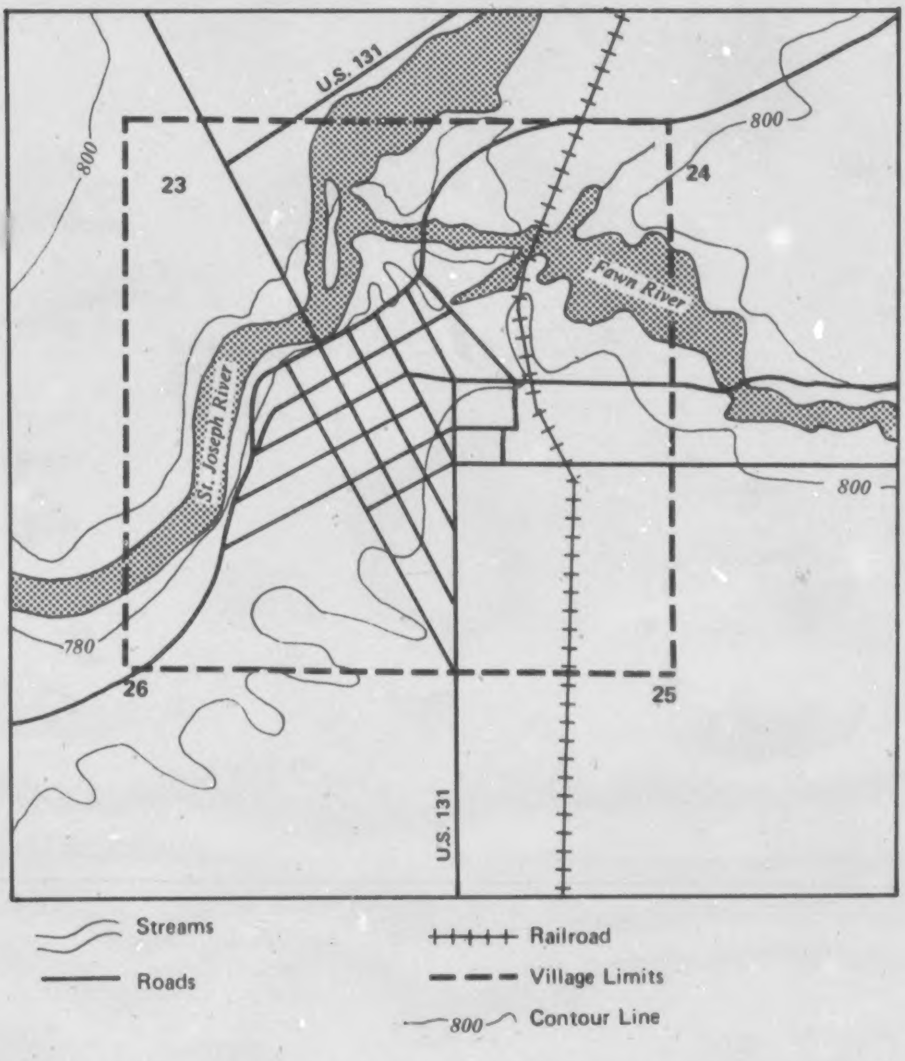
U.S. 131
800
23
24
Fawn River
St. Joseph River
800
780
26
25
U.S. 131
Streams
Roads
Railroad
Village Limits
800 Contour Line

Fig.4. Topographical map of the Village of Constantine.

Source adapted from:
"A Geographic Interpretation of the Growth and Development of Constantine, Michigan," Masters Thesis, Western Michigan University, 1967.

forest cover was cut more than 100 years ago to clear fields and construct houses, with a minor proportion of the lumber going to commercial markets. This reduction in forested areas reduced the amount of cover in which mammals and birds could reside. As farmers have continued to increase the size of planting fields, this cover has been further reduced.

The area is dotted with prairie grasslands; more than 10% of the land area is covered by standing water, including lakes and marshlands. Settlers coming to the area in the 1820s to 1840s selected the rich black soil of the open prairies first; next, the "oak openings" and level outwash plains (Figure 5) were brought under cultivation; finally, the rough, hilly wooded areas were settled. The soils of the prairies have thus been farmed for nearly 150 years, and those of the oak openings for almost as long. The soils of the hilly sections were brought under cultivation much later, and the farms on this type of soil proved less successful.

The mean annual temperature for the area is 48°F., averaging 10 to 30 days annually with temperatures above 90°F., and 120 days annually when the mean temperature is below 32°F. The growing season is 150 to 160 days long. The mean annual precipitation is 36 inches, mean annual snowfall is 33 inches. Lake Michigan is approximately 60 miles west of the school district and is the principal determinant of local weather conditions. Local residents consider the area to be part of the Michigan "banana belt," which has milder winters and less snow accumulation than areas to the north, where Michigan's reputation for harsh winter weather is fulfilled.

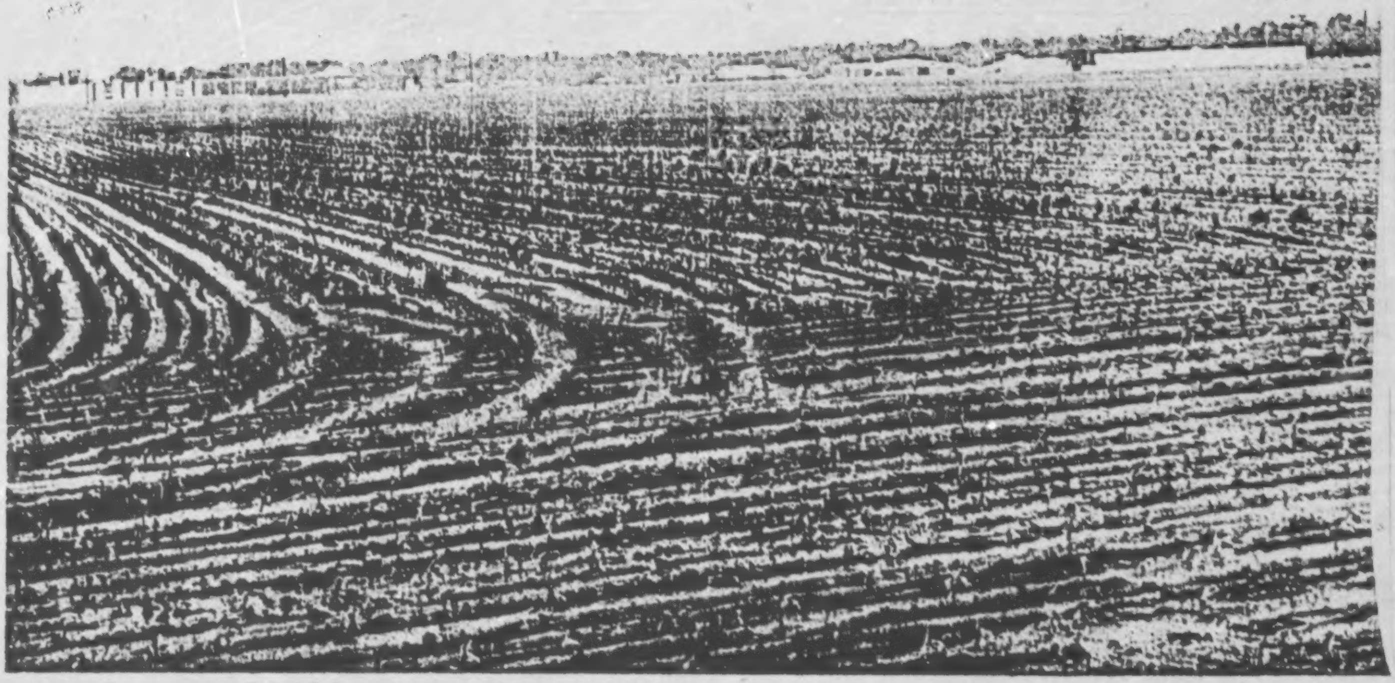

Fig.5. A level outwash plain currently being farmed close to the southeast of the village of Constantine.

THE SETTLEMENT OF CONSTANTINE, 1828-1850

The history of Constantine is the record of a community which has endured considerable change during the past 144 years. The village today is far different from the 1930s or the 1860s. To understand the history of Constantine, one must be aware of the outside influences which have affected life locally as well as the local conditions which have aided or impeded the change process. The several historical periods of this community are examined to provide an understanding of the way life is today in Constantine.

The first people of Michigan were the native Americans, who hunted, fished, and farmed the land for several thousand years before the arrival of the Europeans. The valley of the St. Joseph River was the home of several bands of the Pottawatomie, Ottawa, and Chippewa, and they were known locally as the Nottawa-seepe. These bands occupied the lush prairies and "oak openings" of the area. The site of Constantine is located along a war trail which followed the St. Joseph River.

French fur traders came to Michigan in the 1600s and lived and traded with the Indians on an amicable basis for more than 200 years. In the early 1800s, the Indians ceded land in southwest Michigan to the United States, and consequently, most of the Pottawatomie were moved west of the Mississippi River.

Michigan's early settlers were mostly poor people who came in search of the inexpensive and reputedly fertile farming land of the southern Michigan counties. The Land Ordinance of 1785 provided that the land belonging to the United States should be surveyed into townships of 36 sections each, and that it was to be sold at a minimum price of $1.00 per acre. A change in 1820 provided for a cash price of $1.25 per acre, and most of the land in Michigan was purchased at this price. In 1800 the minimum purchase of land was set at 320 acres, but by 1824 this had been reduced to 80 acres, thus enabling more rapid settlement as the purchase price came within reach of more people (Dunbar, 1965, pp. 161-162).

By 1790, the soils of New England were already becoming depleted and this fact, coupled with a growing population, led to a great exodus from that area. Many New Englanders moved to western New York; half a century later, their descendants were among the first settlers of Michigan. In the vicinity of Constantine the first settlers came from Ohio and Pennsylvania (History of St. Joseph County, Michigan, 1877, p. 113). By 1834, people had migrated to Constantine from New York and the New England States. By 1835, the population of the village had grown to 300 (Dowty, 1967, p. 112). The following letter suggests why these early immigrants were attracted to the area around Constantine.

> Constantine St. Jo. County
> Sunday June 12, 1837
>
> Our folks--
>
> Here I is--not exactly in the Bay State, but clear to the tother end of Michigan, a smart chance towards the west. Well, I started from Detroit in a teamster's wagon, the stage being crowded, for Marshall, the county seat for Calhoun Co. A distance of about 130 from Detroit. First day we made Ann Arbour, the shine town of Washtenaw. Second Jacksonburgh the capital of Jackson & the third Marshall. It rained and hailed during our passage here so that the roads for a considerable portion of the way were bad--very rough--hard riding. The counties of Wayne, Washtenaw and a part of Jackson are nothing to "brag on" if they are in Michigan. But as you go west the country becomes better--the land more fertile--more beautiful in appearance and the inhabitants look more like folks--their dwellings more comfortable, and all around looks prosperous. The western part of Jackson and whole of Calhoun abound in wheat lands of the first quality, thousands of acres are to be seen as you pass along which look fine--such as I have never seen in Yorkstate. The oak openings--the plains and the timberland are, from the appearance of the crops, of the richest soil--Ann Arbour is quite a village, on the Huron River--some 600 or 800 inhabitants. There are quite a number of small villages in this section consisting of a few houses, stores and so forth collected around Mills. Jacksonburgh on the head waters of the Grand River is nothing much, about as large as Abbott's Corners. Marshall is a lively place of about 1000 or 1200 inhabitants I should think, with a bank, two papers, mills etc.
>
> Started from Marshall on my own responsibility. That is, on foot. Took a southwest direction through a part of Branch into St. Joseph to Constantine--a distance of 90 miles. Came 35 miles the first day, and arrived on the third, about 8 o'clock P.M. My walkers were pretty considerably well tuckered out, and my feet blistered. This is the finest county that I have yet seen, and it

would make you sigh for the land of the west if you were to see it once. Hamburgh would lose its attractions, and you would wish never to behold it again. The soil, so rich and fertile--so easy of cultivation--so productive with all, that the labour which is necessary to insure a good crop is nothing what it is compared with York State. The openings consist of land covered with oak timber very scattering and not very large. The oaks are of several kinds--the white oak, the burr oak, and the red oak. It takes from three to four yoke of oxen to make a beginning or to break the ground for the first time, on account of the heavy roots which are under the turf. I passed one large prairie--the Notawassippi about 6 miles long and 3 broad - it looked elegant. On one side the St. Joseph would along--on the other was the forest. These plains make ground farms, not a stump or a stone--nothing but a fine soil to work in. O 'tis fine business to farm it in Michigan. Wheat in this region is $10 per bushel. Oats about the same, all other kinds of produce in proportion. They raise from 30 to 40 bushels per acre, but the great demand at the west always produces a market at high prices.

Constantine is situated on the St. Joseph about 150 miles from Lake Michigan by way of the river. It has one store and doing a fine business. A steam boat is being built to ply between this place and the mouth of the river. This is most beautiful place. The St. Joseph is a fine stream about twice as large as Buffalo Creek up home, running at a rate of four miles an hour--of pure water, and plenty of fish.

Yesterday, Monger, two more fellows and myself took a ride over into Indiana, to Fisher's Lake, upon which we had a fine sail and passed through, White Pigeons Village situated on a prairie of the same name. You cannot conceive how beautiful this section is. All that has been told of Michigan does not come up to the reality in my estimation. The lands, however, have all been entered, and are now to be purchased only second handed. But there is a fine chance here at that. I know of one--a farm of 180 acres--130 under improvement which if I owned I would not exchange it for all Hamburgh. It is for sale at $5500. $2500. down the rest in two years. It is near Constantine about three fourths of a mile distant and two miles from White Pigeon, with a good frame house and barn. The land alone last year rented for $800. by which you may see it is worth something. If you could only sell out in Hamburgh and come here you would never regret it for the farm would pay for itself in a short time. The county is healthy, as I should judge from the appearance of the inhabitants and from those with whom I have conversed

I do not know how long I shall stay here for Monger cannot tell yet whether he shall have employment for me. I shall stay at any rate until I hear from H. I intend to remain here if possible for I like this place better than any I have seen. Business, or rather money is scarce here as well as at all other places. Went

> to church this forenoon, in a school house, pretty good preaching--great many folks--black as half indians, good many of them, for they go out in the sun without covering, women and all. I am now in a store, on the banks of the river, a pleasant place--as you ever did see. What are all the peoples about? I spose they have plenty of gossip to amuse themselves with their hard time. If I leave here I may go to Chicago and from there to the Mississippi in Illinois. Write as soon as you receive this, and send by steamboat as it will come much sooner than by mail.
>
> F. Bragman

The early residents of Michigan brought with them an independence of spirit based on extreme individualism and self-reliance, and on a belief that the undeveloped richness of the American frontier offered greater possibilities than did areas which had been settled longer. Those who came to farm sought a piece of the sod to own and make productive. Those who came to establish the villages provided the mills and the mercantile trade which serviced the farmers. It was a time when individual industriousness was highly praised and sometimes rewarded with financial success.

Some early settlers were speculators of a sort. They settled on a piece of land and partially developed it, hoping to realize a profit at the end of a year or so by selling the "developed" land to a later immigrant. While some nearby neighboring "prairie villages"--such as Centreville and Burr Oak--were started in this way, Constantine, from its very beginning, was not planned for such purpose. Rather, Constantine represents the "mill town," designed as a regional center of commerce to service the neighboring farmers.

Meek's Mills

William Meek came to the area in the summer of 1828 from Wayne County, Ohio and was joined by his family in 1829. In that year Meek purchased 121 acres of land at the confluence of the St. Joseph and Fawn Rivers. After commencing cultivation of a farm, Meek built the first grist-mill "within fifty miles." In 1830 he built a sawmill, and in that same year Meek's Mills consisted of five families. The village was platted as Constantine in 1831 and incorporated in 1837, but residents of St. Joseph County continued to call it Meek's Mills for several years, presumably because the name Constantine was too pretentious for such humble pioneer surroundings. A story illustrating the rivalry felt among neighboring towns was reported in the local newspaper in 1859.

> The growth of our village began to excite the jealousy of the neighboring towns, and people living at White Pigeon, a distance of only four miles, would even affect ignorance of any such place as Constantine. It is a remarkable fact that persons destined for Constantine arriving at White Pigeon, on making inquiry for their destination, would be stared at with astonishment, and the reply: "Constantine! Constantine! We don't know of any such place in this country." "But," says the traveller, "we are informed that it is situated on the St. Joseph River, four miles north of this place." "Oh, yes," says the Pigeon gentleman, "there is a little place over there they call Meek's Mills. I guess that must be what they mean" (Constantine Weekly Mercury, October 20, 1859).

There are conflicting accounts of how Meek's Mills was renamed Constantine (Dowty, 1967, pp. 42-44). By one account, a man named Thomas Constantine lived in the village during the early years. His family name may have given inspiration to the early settlers who sought a more august name that would match their dreams of making the village an important city on the western frontier. Other nearby villages settled during this period were named Athens, Augusta, Cassopolis and Marcellus, and reflect this effort to recover the glory of ancient Greek civilization. Most houses and commercial buildings erected in the village during this period were constructed in the Greek Revival style, which was popular between 1820 and 1860. Many buildings constructed during that period, such as the Harvey House Hotel which was constructed in 1845 as a store and warehouse, are still part of the Constantine scene.[1]

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[1] According to an unsubstantiated belief, Daniel Webster may have been the architect who developed the street plan for the village. On his visits to Constantine, Webster stayed at the old Homestead Hotel on Washington Street. He is also reported to have advised his son to seek his fortune in frontier towns like Constantine.

In 1836, William Meek sold his property and moved from the village. It has been speculated that he was dissatisfied with the renaming of the village as Constantine. Joseph R. Williams of Massachusetts purchased the Meek property and water power. Williams formed a corporation with the renowned Daniel Webster and others from Massachusetts. They erected a large flour mill, employing 20 men and producing 25,000 barrels of flour annually, which was in great demand in the "Atlantic Country." While the mill brought some money to the village, much of the profit returned to the owners in the East. In 1856, the flour mill was destroyed by arson and the dam maliciously damaged. Both were later rebuilt by new owners.

Growth of Industry and Commerce

The industrial and commercial nature of Constantine was well established during its first decade. Other historians have reported that Constantine was recognized as an industrious and prosperous town during this early era (Dunbar, 1970, p. 268; Fuller, 1916, p. 292; Dowty, 1967). A newspaper, the Constantine Republican, began publishing in 1836, and from its beginning was a keen promoter of the commercial potential of Constantine. During this period, flatboats, keelboats, and arks carried wheat and flour from the wharves at Constantine to Lake Michigan. One historian reported that in 1837 Constantine was larger than the three villages of Lockport, Geneva, and Cassopolis combined. "Its success appears to have been due, apart from its excellent physical advantages of water power, transportation facilities, and fertile farming lands, to the great energy and practical wisdom of its inhabitants" (Fuller, 1916, p. 292).

Steamboats commenced operation on the St. Joseph during this period and were used primarily to tow keelboats upriver to Constantine as well as to carry light cargo loads downstream. In 1836, the steamboat Constantine was designed; she was built and launched two years later, 1-1/2 miles above the village.

The business of the early merchants was conducted mostly by barter and exchange. Most proprietors located their shops along Water Street, adjacent to the river. Dealers took wheat, converted it to flour, and had it shipped to their eastern creditors via the St. Joseph River and the Great Lakes. In exchange, the dealers obtained various goods which were then sold locally. Early newspaper advertisements contained frequent lists of goods from the eastern markets: ready-made clothing, imported foods and spices, jewelry, etc. Counted among the merchants of the time were seven dry goods (general) stores, a book shop, and an apothecary. There were also three physicians.

During this period, considerable manufacturing was begun. Constantine boasted of carriage and wagon factories, blacksmiths, saddle shops, a gristmill, sawmills, a shingle mill, a fanning mill manufactory, cabinet and furniture shops, two tanneries, flour mills, farm machinery and equipment factories, and a foundry.

The Bank of Constantine was established in 1836 as a "wild cat" bank. It survived the "Panic of 1837," but suspended specie payment in 1841 when inflation weakened its currency.

In 1836-37, plans were made to construct a canal overland from Constantine to Niles, thereby cutting across the southerly bend of the St. Joseph River into Indiana. The canal project was discarded, however, and the local group obtained a charter for a railroad between the same two points. The Michigan legislature granted the charter to the *Constantine and Niles Railroad Company*. However, the crash of 1837 halted these plans and no further action was taken until the state sold its interests in the Michigan Central and Southern Railroads about 1850.

The Early Settlers

One of Constantine's early settlers was John S. Barry who, in 1834, moved to Constantine from White Pigeon, where he had been a merchant. He immediately established himself in partnership with John Briggs, trading and shipping via the St. Joseph. Along with his successful business, Barry became the village's first postmaster; he represented St. Joseph County at the first state Constitutional Convention in 1835, served as State Senator from 1835-39, and was elected Governor three times, in 1841, 1843, and 1849. He was a Democrat of the Jefferson school and a member of the old Democratic Party. He lived in Constantine until his death in 1870 and is remembered today as Constantine's most prominent citizen.

Another early settler was John J. Bagley, who was born in Medina, New York in 1832. His family moved to Michigan in 1840 and settled briefly in Mottville before moving to Constantine. For the next six years, Bagley lived in Constantine and attended school there until he finished when he was fourteen years old. "Crowded into those impressionable years were exceptional practical and education experiences which combined with an extraordinary spriritual influence in home life..." (Kalamazoo Gazette, August 24, 1947). A strong-willed Republican, Bagley was elected Governor of Michigan for one term, serving from 1873 to 1877. Both he and Barry are remembered for having had an almost insatiable desire for hard work.

It is reported that in the early days Constantine's voters believed in "electing the man" regardless of party, and that their office holders were a mixed crowd who served for long terms (History of St. Joseph County, Michigan, 1877, p.114). The tabulations of votes cast in Constantine Township for the Presidential elections of 1840, 1844, and 1848, however, showed the Democratic candidates besting the Whig candidates in each case; as noted earlier, John Barry ran successfully as a Democrat in several elections. However, after 1850, the political climate began to change, and Constantine has voted strongly Republican ever since. The prime ingredient in this transition probably involved the strong anti-slavery sentiment of the area. The Democratic Party was identified with the cause of the slave-owning states, and at the time of the Civil War became identified with the southern rebellion. In fact, the area around Cassopolis, which was the county seat of Cass County and was located almost 25 miles west of Constantine, had a large proportion of Quaker settlers; and it became one of the major stopping-off points of the Underground Railroad during the 1840s and 1850s. Several houses in the Constantine area are believed to have had secret rooms in the basement or attic for the purpose of hiding fugitive slaves.

The census of St. Joseph County in 1850 lists the place of birth of all residents of Constantine Township. At this time the village population was 760, or nearly one-half of the total township population of 1,494 persons (Dowty, 1967, p. 112). According to this census the largest proportion of the residents, 32%, had been born in Michigan. This group was probably almost completely made up of children who were born in Michigan within the previous two decades, but whose parents came from New York and New England. In the

1850 census, 32% of the population of the village was under the age of 24 years. Those persons who had been born in New York made up the next largest group, 28%, with 8% born in Pennsylvania, 7% born in Ohio, 5% born in England, and 4% born in Vermont. The remaining 15% were born in several other states, several European countries, and Canada.

The First School

In the winter of 1830-31, the basement of Niles Smith's store became the location of the first school in the village of Constantine. Thomas Charleton, a clerk in the store, began the classes. The first separate schoolhouse was built in 1831 near the southeast corner of the intersection of Third and South Washington Streets, and until churches were built several years later, this small wooden frame building also served as a general meeting house. In 1847, the second school building was erected at the same location. In 1849, twelve-month attendance became a requirement for several years. The earliest schools in the farming area surrounding Constantine were one-room log cabins with crude floors and poor lighting. These schools were usually built at the intersection of two roads where children could walk to them from all directions.

Teachers in country schools, as well as those in the village, were not well-trained and were certainly poorly paid. It has been reported by local residents that male teachers received about $15 per month plus board while women usually did not receive more than $5 per month plus board for like service. This discrimination in teaching salaries continued for many years. In 1876, school records indicated that school was held for eight months and that men teachers received $44 per month in salary while the more numerous women teachers received only about $16 per month (History of St. Joseph County, Michigan, 1877, p. 114). A teacher's duties included sharpening quill pens, cleaning and heating the building, and thrashing miscreants when necessary. The rural schools were frequently interrupted by winter snow, spring planting, crop tending in summer, and harvest in the fall. Life in the village school was more regular, however, and offered a broader range of subjects than the usual "three R's" of the rural schoolhouse.

PROSPERITY AND DECLINE AS A TRADING CENTER, 1850-1970

Continued Prosperity: 1850-1880

By 1850, Constantine had become established as a regional trading center, serving the surrounding farming country. The St. Joseph River brought prosperity; large shipments of grain and flour moved from the Barry warehouse downriver to Lake Michigan; returning vessels carried a variety of goods for sale locally. Business boomed and people dreamed of the day when Constantine would be a regional metropolis. Considerable effort was expended to advertise the attractive residential lots, the water power for industry, the commercial potential, and the transportation available. This latter factor was to play a key role in Constantine's future.

Early on, local people recognized a need for increasing the transportation services of Constantine. Plans for a railroad between Constantine and Niles had been halted by the economic crash of 1837. The charter held by the railroad stated that the railroad was to make the St. Joseph River a point on its line, and the people of Constantine were led to believe that the railroad would pass through their village, thereby strengthening the already well established east-west traffic flow. But as some historical accounts have suggested, the people of Constantine "were caught napping," and the railroad was built through White Pigeon, four miles south of Constantine in 1851.

Another account gave John Barry credit for discouraging the location of the rail line through Constantine. His opposition while serving his final term as governor of Michigan is recalled in the following description:

> When legislators decided to run the rail line through Constantine, along a route from Toledo to Chicago, Governor Barry was opposed, saying, "Hell, no! I'd rather be a king among hogs than a hog among kings." And the rail line was run through White Pigeon.[2]

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[2] Personal communication to author from a life-long resident of Constantine, May 2, 1973.

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If this account is accurate, then perhaps Barry might have been interested in preserving Constantine as a small village in which he was the wealthiest and most powerful resident. He might have opposed the establishment of the railroad through Constantine in order to protect his successful grain shipping business on the St. Joseph River. If Constantine had developed as a major rail shipping point, it is likely that Barry would have found himself challenged by other entrepreneurs for the leadership of Constantine.

Later Barry apparently persuaded the railroad company to comply with the conditions of its charter and to construct a spur line from White Pigeon to Constantine. While serving as governor, Barry was reported to have made use of the railroad spur line to return to his home from the state capital in Lansing.

Undoubtedly, other towns in southern Michigan were disappointed as well when they were bypassed by the railroad, but Constantine surely suffered a shock because of the already existing commerce which was dependent on transportation facilities. Several unsuccessful attempts were made during the next decade to obtain an east-west rail route through Constantine, and the village never gained a position in the new mainstream of commercial transportation. For a number of years, local businesses made special efforts to accomodate to the new railroad through White Pigeon. The proprietor of one of Constantine's several hotels drove an "elegant omnibus" to White Pigeon each morning to make connection with the seven o'clock train to Chicago. He also drove his guests to the local station in Constantine (Constantine Mercury, June 6, 1865 and August 17, 1865).

Efforts to obtain an east-west rail line through Constantine were made at least as late as 1869. In 1865, local citizens attempted to secure the Grand Trunk Railroad right-of-way, and in 1869, they offered the Michigan Central Railroad a $50,000 loan if the company would run its line through Constantine Township; the offer was declined. Having failed to secure an east-west railroad through Constantine, citizens made an effort to develop the spur from White Pigeon as far north as Kalamazoo. This effort was eventually successful, and for many years the Michigan Southern operated two trains north and one south daily through Constantine. This line provided Constantine with sufficient service for passenger travel north and south and with transportation for local commodity needs. But Constantine's days as a regional shipping point were drawing to a close.

The U.S. Census of 1860 revealed that the population of the village had increased by 17% from 1850 to 1860. During this decade, however, there was a net loss of residents who possessed capital for investment. Moreover, a decrease in shipping had occurred (State of Michigan Census, 1854, pp. 335-338). In 1839-40, the local flour mill had processed 25,000 barrels of flour and employed 20 persons. By 1853, Constantine had two flour mills, which produced a total of 4,000 barrels and employed only six persons. It is apparent that the flour industry was a victim of the change in transportation brought on by the railroads.

While flour production declined, wheat production continued to grow. By 1874, there were 148 farms in Constantine Township averaging 134 acres; 3,802 acres in Constantine Township were planted with wheat, an increase from 1,609 acres in 1854. Yield per acre had dropped, however, from 13.8 bushels per acre in 1854 to 10.6 bushels per acre in 1874, suggesting perhaps that the soil was already becoming depleted from continuous planting in wheat (History of St. Joseph County, Michigan, 1877, p. 114). Along with wheat, corn, sheep and hogs were raised, and the area was known for producing a high quality wool.

By the mid-1860s, Constantine was beginning to adjust to the loss of its importance as a shipping point on the St. Joseph River. The Constantine Hydraulic Company was organized to construct dams and improve water power facilities on the St. Joseph and Fawn Rivers. A dam across the St. Joseph was completed in 1873 and included a canal on each side of the river. During this period, local industry included sawmills, flour mills, foundries, farm implement factories, a woolen mill, furniture factories, a brewery and a distillery.

Although its importance in shipping had declined, Constantine continued as a retail market place for the region. In 1860 there were seven dry goods stores, six clothing outlets, four hotels, two groceries, a silversmith, a book shop, two hardware stores, and a Daguerrian artist among others. Constantine was also enough of a regional market place for the Mercury to publish periodically the current buy and sell bid prices for various farm commodities in the manner of a commodity exchange.

That the town was growing was also evident in housing construction. The Constantine Mercury reported at least 36 houses scheduled for construction during the summer of 1861. From 1860 to 1875, successful merchants built many of the largest homes in Constantine. The Italian Revival style was preferred, having replaced the Greek Revival after 1860. Most of these homes remain today as a reflection of that period of commercial prosperity.

The First National Bank of Constantine was organized in 1864 and continued as Constantine's only bank until 1894, when the Commercial State Bank was organized. In 1925, the two banks were consolidated to form the First Commercial Savings Bank of Constantine. Since that time the bank has grown to include six branch offices; more recently, the home office was moved to Cassopolis.

Water Street, adjacent to the river, supplied the needs of most of the area residents. It is reported that Saturday brought so many shoppers into the village that some experienced difficulty in finding a vacant spot at one of the many hitching rails located along the business district. Saloons, numbering from seven to thirteen, flourished along Water Street to serve the farmers and boatmen. The flow of intoxicating fluids was sufficient to support a brewery and distillery locally for many years. This flow was apparently also sufficient to create considerable public concern. Water Street became an undesirable place for women and children to shop, and this promoted the construction of several stores along Washington Street, near the intersection of Water Street (Dowty, 1967, p. 79). Worrying about the lack of public order due to drunkenness, the editor of the Constantine newspaper was moved in 1865 to declare that "more drunken men were seen on the streets and they were drunker" than he had seen in a long time. He criticized local authorities for permitting such a condition.

The problem apparently had persisted in Constantine for a number of years. In a prayer delivered during a sermon in 1850 at the First Methodist Church of Constantine, Elder Flavius J. Littlejohn, a circuit rider, jurist and historical writer, offered the following:

> Oh, Lord, there is great wickedness and much drunkenness in our young and rising towns. Therefore, O Lord, we crave Thy blessing. Now Milwaukee, just sprung up, is bad; Chicago, another mushroom, is worse. Yet do Thou, Lord, bless and improve them. Then there is Michigan City, a place of sand and whiskey, and LaPorte of mud and wickedness; and indeed they need Thy blessing. And there is South Bend, and also Niles, which think themselves righteous, but are full of rumholes and rottenness. Lord, they need Thy blessing. And there is Mishawaka which boasts itself something, but has nothing but self-righteousness. Good Lord, open its eyes, that it may receive Thy blessing. Then we have Elkhart and Bristol and Mottville--little things but wicked. Do, Lord, bless them. And lastly, then, dear, good Lord, even bless Constantine, where Governor Barry sells whiskey at three cents a glass! Amen. (Smits, 1928).

It is likely that public intoxication was a problem then, but there was probably another motivation for Littlejohn's sermon. He had campaigned unsuccessfully against Barry in the gubernatorial race of 1849-50.

By the 1860s, the merchants had clearly assumed the most prominent position in the community. The local economy was built around retail trade with village residents and with farmers. The retail trade section of the village was the hub of activity, and the merchants and bankers provided most of the leadership for the community. Merchants were usually elected to the school board and to local government offices. Their influence helped to maintain a strong belief in industriousness and free enterprise, and especially in hard work. It was common for a shopkeeper to open his store at seven o'clock in the morning and to remain open until seven or eight in the evening and until ten o'clock on Saturday evening. Such demonstrations of hard work and long hours were justified by the profitability of the independent merchant's business. Most successful people in town and the more successful farmers of the area professed a belief, frequently recounted, of the primary importance of hard work. Work was good for you and it kept you "out of trouble." Anyone who gained a reputation as a "hard worker," whatever his occupation, held the respect of his neighbors and gained a measure of security in the community as a "good" citizen.

Agriculture and Industrialization

During the second half of the nineteenth century, southwestern Michigan was known as a grain producing region. Wheat, the main crop, was grown and transported to distant markets by rail. Over the years, this continuous one-crop farming lowered the fertility of the soil, and wheat production declined. The lure of more fertile farmland in the western territories caused many farmers to pack up and move on to "greener pastures." Their exodus was part of the broad and sweeping changes which were occurring in America following the Civil War. The railroads were pushing west, followed by waves of settlers continuing the search for the prized lands of the western frontier. Wisconsin, Minnesota, the Dakotas, Iowa, Nebraska and the Far West territories--all were attractive to those who had been less successful in Michigan. The northern counties of Michigan were also being settled, and some of Constantine's residents were attracted to the opportunities in logging and mining which that region offered as well.[3] From 1880 to 1920, many farms in St. Joseph and Cass Counties were deserted; by 1920, only half as many farmers remained to work the land as had done so 70 years before.

The farmers who remained enlarged their holdings by purchasing the land of those who moved farther west. As wheat production declined, other crops were introduced to broaden the base of the farm economy. By 1920, the chief cash crops were corn, wheat, rye, and potatoes, in that order. Dairying, poultry raising, and vegetable growing were also becoming important. Several areas of "muck," a dark peat-like soil found in low regions, were cultivated during the 1920s and 1930s for growing peppermint and spearmint as cash crops. For several years, this area led the nation in the production of mint oil, which is used as a food additive.

The decline in farming in the region after 1880 was paralleled by decreasing services available to the farmer and decreasing mercantile trade in Constantine. While few businesses failed, those that remained were able to eke out only enough profit to maintain a modest living for the owners. Most of the shop buildings on Washington Street are still operating today as retail businesses, but the older retail block along Water Street currently houses less than half the number of businesses which flourished at the turn of the century.

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[3] Bruce Catton's autobiography, Waiting for the Morning Train, describes how his father moved from Constantine to Benzie, Michigan, during this period.

Constantine was also transformed by the forces of industrialization which were sweeping America in the last years of the 19th century and the first half of the present century. The transformation in rural life during the first half of the twentieth century is probably greater in its consequences than all the changes which had occurred previously in America's history. Changes in transportation, communication, mechanization, scientific farming, and farm organization have all contributed to alter the way of life in rural communities. The truck and automobile made it possible for the farmer to obtain supplies and equipment from distant points and to get his products to market in less time and in better condition. Motor vehicles permitted the farmer to be in closer contact with the greater cultural variety of the city. Dependence on Constantine as a market place declined. Local industry no longer enjoyed the complete attention of local farmers, and a shift in the type of industry locating in Constantine began about 1900. The local foundry, brewery, and farm implement factory closed and were replaced by a paper factory, two casket factories, and a creamery. Blacksmiths, harness makers, and wagon manufacturers were replaced by the automobile service station and auto dealer. Two former residents built automobiles in the village; one in 1913, and a second in 1920-21.

The coming of the automobile produced many changes in the way farm tasks were accomplished. In 1910, most butter was churned on the farm. By 1940, milk production had doubled, but only about one-fifth of the butter was churned on the farm. Trucks hauled the milk to the creameries, saving the farm family many hours of toil. The Constantine Co-operative Creamery, which began in 1915, was organized to serve the farmers of Constantine Township. Over the years the company has grown while the number of local dairy farms has decreased. As a consequence, its field of operation has enlarged far beyond Constantine Township, as far north as Paw Paw and Lansing, east to Hillsdale, and south into Indiana. Of the 900 farmers presently shipping raw milk to the creamery, only about 15 are located in or immediately adjacent to Constantine Township.

Because the costs of milk production rose drastically while the price received for milk did not, most dairy farmers switched to raising beef or quit farming altogether. Many who converted to raising beef found that to be unprofitable as well because they were unable to compete with the larger operations in the western states. Hogs, however, require less acreage per head than do cattle, and the smaller farms in this section of Michigan, as contrasted to the large grazing ranges of the western beef production areas, are more suited to raising hogs. Consequently, between 1960 and 1970, most local beef producers switched to raising hogs. The hogs are fattened on corn, sold on the hoof and shipped to Kalamazoo and other cities.

The Constantine Co-Op Inc. was formed in 1920 as a feed mill supplying feed grains, farm supplies, chemicals, and a feed grinding and mixing service to farmers within a radius of 12 miles of Constantine (Figure 6). The Co-Op currently is owned by about 100 common stock holders, but does not restrict business to members only. In 1972, the Co-Op had total sales of $710,654. Nearly three-fourths of that amount were accounted for by sales of grains, mostly corn and wheat, which were subsequently shipped away from the Constantine area by truck. Purchases of feed grains and seed by hog farmers and feed drying services accounted for the remainder of the total sales of the Co-Op.

Local industries probably employed no more than 350 persons at any time from 1900 to 1970. The creamery, the casket factories, and the paper products factory were the major employers with 50 to 80 workers each. For those who remained in Constantine during the early 1900s and who no longer derived a livelihood from agriculture, the choice was to migrate from the area or to search for work in other fields. By the late 1920s, residents of the area were beginning to commute to Three Rivers and Sturgis for employment in factories. For the young, a job outside the community often led to a permanent move away from the hometown in order to live closer to work.

The dry goods stores, groceries, butcher shops, bakery, and other businesses remained active until the decade following World War II. As in most small rural towns in the Midwest, the business district of Constantine lost out in the competition with the large shopping facilities available in and around larger cities. Improved prosperity, coupled with modern automobiles and highways, enabled the rural dweller to travel to the city to shop. The result was that Constantine lost much of its drawing power as a regional marketplace. Two hardware stores continue to operate; two supermarkets have sprung up on the edge of town; a jeweler, an auto parts store, a dry goods store, women's and men's clothiers, a barber shop, a cafe, two saloons, several filling stations and a bank are also among the current businesses.

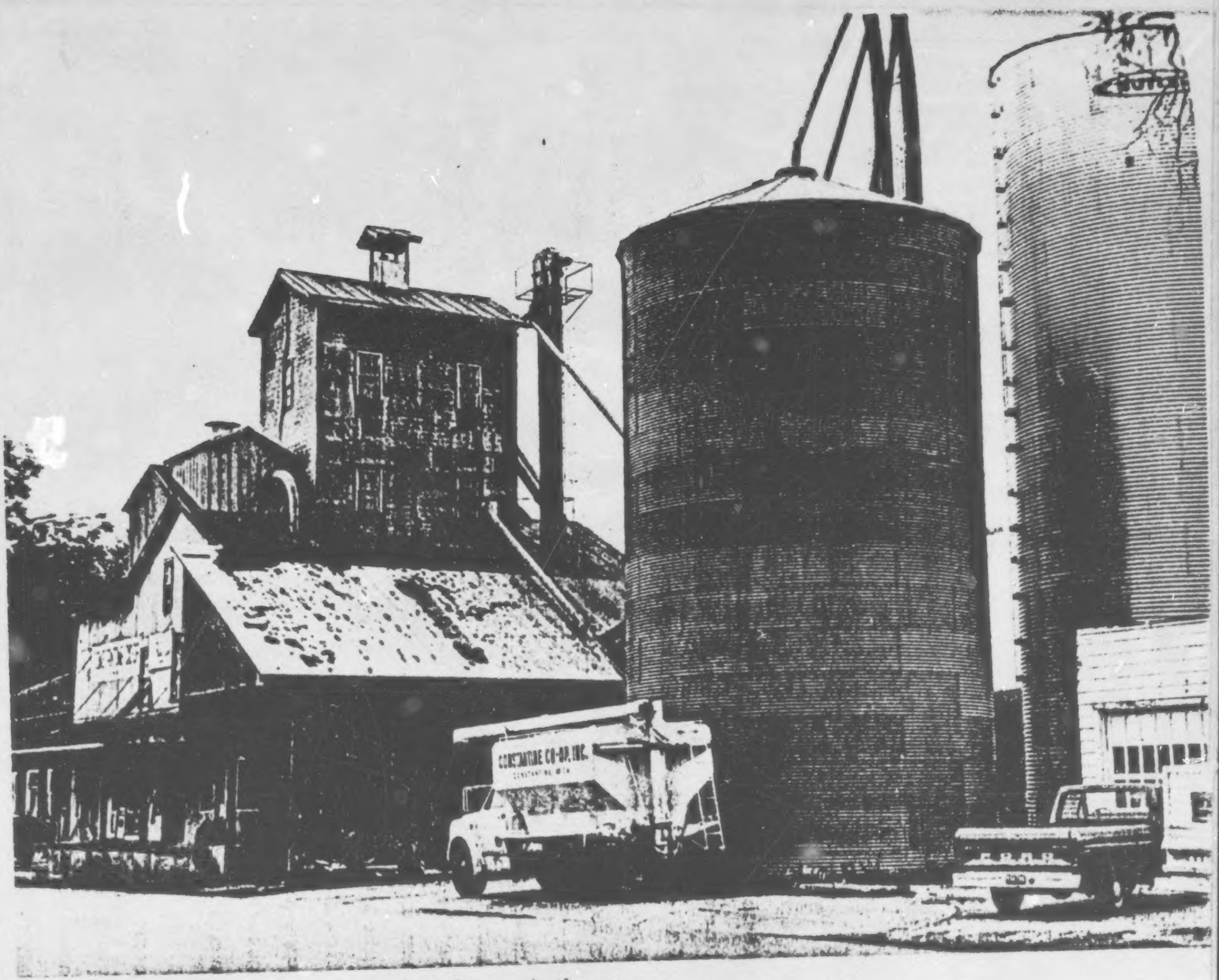
CONSTANTINE CO-OP, INC.
CONSTANTINE, MICH.

Fig.6. The co-op supplies livestock feeds to farmers in the area.

The history of one of the local businessmen, Robert T. Weir, is evidence of the industrial changes in the village. Weir began the production of wrapping paper in the 1890s in the "old brewery," located near the old Carbolite foundry. The "straw-mill," as it was locally called because of the production of wrapping paper made from straw purchased from local farmers, was closed by Weir about 1900 when he constructed a dam on the Fawn River and built a new paper factory. Weir continued production of wrapping paper until 1917, when the factory began producing chip board and stock for food containers. In 1923, the American Can Company leased the plant from Weir, continuing production of the same lines and adding the production of packaging stock for dress boxes.

During most of this period, the paper factory employed 60 to 80 workers, maintaining steady production, employment, and wages even during the Depression. The American Can Company continued production in Constantine until 1951, when it was sold to the Davies Company. The Davies Company maintained production of the same paper products until 1967, when the plant was shut down. The factory stood idle for several years while the workers sought employment in nearby cities and villages.

Labor unions did not exist in Constantine when Weir opened his paper factory, nor for many years after. George Bunch, who came to Constantine in the late 1930s, is credited locally with having a key role in initiating union organization in the village. Bunch led an effort to establish a local of the United Paperworkers in the American Can Company, where he was employed. Following a three-day strike by workers at the American Can Company, the local became the accepted representative of the employees in the company. The organization of this local led to more equalized pay and better working conditions for employees.

Unsuccessful efforts were also made to establish trade unions at the Constantine Creamery, which employed about 50 workers, and at the Drake Casket factory, which employed about 7[illegible] workers. Many of the employees and stockholders at the creamery were farmers related by family ties. The strong sense of independence among this group of workers and the large number of workers who owned stock or who were related to individuals who owned stock in the creamery defeated the drive for union organization. The Drake Casket factory, one of two at the time in Constantine, was owned and operated by a local family who were strong supporters of the Republican Party and who were opposed to union organization. Efforts to organize workers at this factory were not successful.

During the 1940s, unionizing efforts were successful at the creamery and at the venetian blind factory which, by then, had replaced the Constantine Casket Company. Drake Casket factory has continued to operate without union organization, though in recent years only about 15 workers have been employed.

The Depression

Most residents recall the years of the Great Depression as a period when other parts of the state and nation suffered heavily while Constantine was spared. The Depression struck harder in the northern lower peninsula and in the upper peninusla of Michigan, where the soils are thin and sandy and farming was a more marginal enterprise. Unlike some parts of the Midwest during the 1920s and 1930s, southern Michigan was not affected by drought; farm production continued at nearly normal levels during this period. The food processing, paper, and casket making industries of the village were less affected by the economic slowdown than were the automobile industries of Detroit. The out-migration of the earlier decades was halted as more people chose to remain in Constantine to weather the storm, thus accounting for much of the nearly 10% population growth from 1930 to 1940.

The lesser impact of the Depression in Constantine had some long-term consequences, however. Many parts of the Midwest experienced widespread poverty which was in part blamed on the Republican Party and which resulted in popular shifts to Progressivism. Such was not the case in southwestern Michigan, where support for the Republican Party remained strong. Nor was there ever a popular belief in state or federal assistance. Because widespread poverty did not occur, the long existing belief in self-reliance was not questioned. Poverty was still blamed on a lack of industry and overindulgence, not on a maladjustment of the economy.

During this period, federal subsidies through the WPA helped many small communities develop and install water and sanitary sewer systems. Constantine's political leadership was solidly Republican at that time and was reluctant to participate in any Democratically sponsored programs. Thus, no WPA sponsored water or sewer projects were conducted in Constantine, although several minor road surfacing projects were completed on village streets. Years later the village was required to undertake an expensive program to develop water and sewer facilities due to state and federal standardization, and many residents recalled with regret the earlier decision not to participate in the construction of the public works system when costs were lower.

Although there were few WPA projects in the village, some men were able to find employment on WPA sponsored highway construction in nearby areas. A locally generated public project was also conducted when a benevolent physician, Dr. Sweetland, donated a tract of land adjacent to the school for a sports stadium. He then encouraged those who were unable to pay for his professional services to "work-out" their debts by helping to build the stadium, which was constructed in the shape of an oval bowl with earthen embankments. The stadium remains today, one of the best in the area, serving the athletic programs of the Constantine Public Schools.

Economic Change: 1960-1970

The relative stability of industrial production in the village throughout the first half of this century is evident in employment figures: the creamery employed about 50 to 60 workers; the paper factory, under various owners, employed 60 to 80 workers; the two casket factories each employed 40 to 60 workers, and the venetian blind factory continued to employ nearly 50 persons. This stability was disrupted in the 1960s, a decade which began a period of economic slowdown for Constantine.

Besides the closing of the former Weir plant operated by the Davies Company, production at the Drake Casket factory was reduced to about 15 workers, and the venetian blind factory ceased operations. An exception was the creamery, which continued to expand until its work force numbered almost 100 by the end of the 1960s. Even so, by 1970 the total industrial work force in the village had decreased from nearly 350 to 150.

This decline in industrial capacity in Constantine during the 1960s was matched by a rapid growth in the mobile home and recreational vehicle industry centering around Elkhart, Indiana, beginning in the mid-1950s. The development of Elkhart as an industrial center brought economic prosperity to the Elkhart area and to the area of the Constantine Public School District. The sky rocketing growth of mobile home production in the Elkhart area attracted many workers who had been displaced by the reduction of industries in Constantine. They believed that the seasonal fluctuations in production could be offset by the high wages offered. Thus, no significant economic hardships resulted from the loss of local industry, as most workers were able to shift to the new industry. Rather, the significant change was that these workers changed their place of employment from Constantine to employment in industries outside of Constantine. This new stage of industrial growth signalled some important changes for Constantine. The new manufacturing operations also expanded the locally oriented view of the residents as they commuted out of their village for employment. The infusion of new jobs with higher pay scales for workers, and the in-migration of people from other areas of the nation brought Constantine ever more closely in contact with the outside world. Consequently, new ideas and beliefs and new life styles were introduced as the locally oriented world of the villagers changed.

The People

Until 1950, the people of Constantine had been a fairly homogenous group since the first Yankee settlers arrived in 1828. The village population grew slowly after the initial rapid influx from 1830 to 1870 (Table 1). Many of the current residents are descendents of the early settlers, indicating the relatively stable and continuous nature of the population. The decline in population from 1884 to 1910 and the small increase from 1910 to 1930 reflect the lesser economic fortunes of the community during that period. Boats on the St. Joseph had been replaced by the railroads as a means of shipping, and the main rail line bypassed Constantine, leaving only a spur. The considerable water power available from the St. Joseph meant that some industries stayed on and others were added. Never dependent upon a single business or manufacturer, Constantine has never suffered a severe economic setback, such as a one-company town would experience if that firm departed the area. The agricultural and industrial sectors of the local economy were not severely crippled by the Depression years, and the population increased by nearly 10% from 1930 to 1940. The period from 1950 to 1960 reflected the highest growth rate for any decade since 1870, and was a result of the rapidly growing mobile home and recreational vehicle industry around Elkhart, Indiana. Beginning in the late 1950s, this industry produced a demand for unskilled and semi-skilled production-line workers. Migrants from Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, and particularly West Virginia made up a large proportion of its work force. Most of these families were white and Anglo-Saxon, much like the original settlers. The majority of these "Southerners," as they were called locally, did not live in the village, but chose to live in the rural area nearby.

Part of the growth of this period was obscured by the number of young people who left to go to college, military service, nearby cities and more distant places. The proportion of young adults in Constantine's population was unusually low for several decades after 1884, while the proportion of those over 65 years was exceptionally high (Dowty, 1967). Part of this is explained by the fact that Constantine was, for many years, a place to which old farmers moved when they retired from the farm. The village population continues to reflect a large proportion of those over 65 years and a small proportion of those under 30 years. By contrast, the surrounding townships contain larger proportions of those under 30 years.

The reputation of Midwesterners for joining social and civic organizations has been strongly supported in Constantine. In the early years of the twentieth century, the Maccabees, Grange, Odd Fellows, Masons, Rebekah Lodge, Eastern Star, American Legion, Pythians, and Pythian Sisters were all active as fraternal and public-minded organizations. Following World War II some of these organizations became less active, and new organizations appeared to take their place; Rotary and Rotary-Anns, Jaycees and Jaycettes are among the most active in recent years. Church related groups have also continued to be active for men, women, and youth.

The fraternal and civic organizations of Constantine have consistently provided much of the leadership for public projects. Fund drives, tree plantings, park improvements, aid to needy families, support of scouting, and youth recreation programs are among the most frequent activities. Additional associations include the Band Parents, who provide support for the music program in the schools, and the Athletic Boosters, who support the athletic programs of the schools. The Swing Club, made up of married couples, holds monthly dance parties. Participation in social activities has always been a means to demonstrate togetherness and a sense of community. The individual who actively participates in civic projects or runs for local political office is thought to have demonstrated his responsibility to the community.

Table 1

POPULATION OF THE VILLAGE OF CONSTANTINE AND CONSTANTINE TOWNSHIP, MICHIGAN, 1835 TO 1970

Year	Village		Township		Total Pop.	Total % Change
	N	% Change	N	% Change		
1835	300	---	---	---	---	---
1845	---	---	---	---	829	---
1850	760	153.3[a]	734	---	1,494	44.5
1860	879	17.0	1,007	27.1	1,886	20.8
1870	1,290	46.8	1,115	10.7	2,405	27.5
1884	1,398	8.4	966	-13.4	2,364	- 1.7
1890	1,346	- 3.7	795	-17.7	1,141	- 9.4
1900	1,226	- 8.9	693	-12.8	1,919	-10.4
1910	1,244	1.5	666	- 3.9	1,910	- 0.5
1920	1,277	2.7	649	- 2.6	1,926	0.8
1930	1,259	- 1.4	730	12.5	1,989	3.3
1940	1,384	9.9	794	8.6	2,178	9.5
1950	1,514	9.4	797	0.4	2,311	6.1
1960	1,710	12.9	1,062	33.2	2,772	19.9
1970	1,733	1.3	1,363	28.3	2,096	11.7

Sources: Dowty, 1967, pp. 55, 114, 153; St. Joseph County Census, 1850; Nineteenth Census of the United States, 1970.

[a] Percent change from 1835 to 1850.

Music has traditionally served as a focus for social activities in Constantine. Among Constantine's social organizations were two bands which flourished for many years. The Hull and Arnold Quadrille Band operated from 1838 to 1885, and "played all over Southern Michigan and Northern Indiana, wherever people wanted to trip the light fantastic" (Smits, 1928). Crossettes' Silver Band was widely recognized and was selected to perform at the cornerstone laying ceremony at the State Capitol in Lansing in 1874. Other musical events took place in the opera house, which was built in 1887 and which served the community for many years. A bandstand, erected in the park, provided a center for weekly band concerts and public gatherings. A strong community interest in music was established during the early period and continues to the present, as evidenced by local support of the High School Band.

Social gatherings also are usually informal, including baby showers, wedding showers, merchandising parties, lounging in the park, bridge parties, drinking beer at the local tavern, and reunions of local kinship-based clans. For the youth, cruising around the village in an automobile and playing frisbee in the park are important pastimes. There are informal "clubs" which meet regularly to play bridge and poker, and for golfing, bowling and basketball games. For some individuals, most non-work time is scheduled around such gatherings. At the other extreme are those who choose privacy and isolate themselves whenever possible from such group contacts. Many prefer to socialize with only a few close friends or relatives, and still others choose to socialize entirely outside of the community.

Those who share similar intersts are brought together in these social groupings. Those who work together are frequently involved in the same recreational activities. Civic organizations provide a medium for public service, but they also enable members to make claims for prestige. They complement the occupational roles which individuals carry out in the community. Those with higher status ranking in the community dominate the membership in civic and fraternal organizations. By contrast, less formal social groupings tend to be recreation-oriented, rather than serving public needs. They offer recreation for the individual, but provide less prestige.

The Newspaper

The newspaper in Constantine has always been regarded as an important part of the community, providing a regular news source and continuous support for the commercial and industrial sectors of the village. It has long had a reputation for quality and has provided a measure of status to the community. While most residents fondly recall the newspaper as an important element in the earlier history of Constantine, few are aware of the many changes in names and owners which have occurred, and its history has never been clearly established in public documents. The St. Joseph County Advertiser, which had supported the Whigs, was published in nearby Centreville from 1845 to 1851. At that time, the newspaper was purchased by Messeurs Hull and Farquar and moved to Constantine. Later in the same year, Farquar left the partnership, and the paper was published by Levi T. Hull until his death in 1898.

The history of this newspaper in later years included several name changes under the ownership of Mr. Hull and succeeding publishers. From 1851 to 1858, the newspaper was published as the Constantine Weekly Mercury and St. Joseph County Advertiser. From 1858 to 1861, the newspaper continued under the banner of the Constantine Weekly Mercury. From 1861 to 1870, the the publication name was listed as the Constantine Mercury and St. Joseph Advertiser. In 1870 the newspaper resumed its former name the Constantine Weekly Mercury and St. Joseph County Advertiser, until a fire destroyed the shop in 1874. Following a rebuilding of the printing facilities, the newspaper resumed in 1874 under the banner of the St. Joseph County Advertiser and Constantine Weekly Mercury and continued publication until Hull died in 1898. For several years following his death, the wife and son of Levi T. Hull published a shopper's guide weekly newspaper titled the Items. Publication of this newspaper ended during World War I. No information is available to explain the many name changes under the ownership of Mr. Hull.

In 1897 Clayton and Earle Clemens moved from Marcellus, Michigan, and began publishing the Constantine Record. Following Hull's death in 1898, the St. Joseph County Advertiser and Constantine Weekly Mercury was purchased by the Clemens brothers and combined with their own newspaper. The new publication was named the Advertiser-Record. For several years the two brothers operated the Advertiser-Record before selling to Charles Flint, who was succeeded by Mr. Hauk and Mr. Foreman, and then by Kenneth Butler. In 1931 Joseph Cox purchased the newspaper from Butler and he continued to publish under the banner of the Advertiser-Record until February of 1972, when the newspaper was sold to a publisher in Marcellus, Michigan. Combined with the former White Pigeon Post, the newspaper is presently named the St. Joseph County News. The paper, which is currently edited by Al Grossman, maintains offices in White Pigeon and provides coverage for the entire county. The publishers have continued to reflect a county-wide focus. Since 1851 the paper has reflected the majority political sentiment of the area in support of the Republican Party.

Churches

The earliest religious services in Constantine were conducted by Reverend Erastus Felton, a Methodist missionary, in 1830. In 1848, the First Methodist Church constructed its first building, which was used until 1878 when the present church, the United Methodist Church, was constructed. During the days of early settlement, the Methodist circuit rider was an effective agent, spreading Methodism throughout the state. The well-defined central organization of this church, with bishops and supervisors and assigned pulpits, must have been a primary factor in its subsequent growth. The equalitarian nature of the service, its simplicity and emotional spirit, and the doctrine of "free grace" have had considerable popular appeal and have also contributed to its growth.

A Baptist Church was organized in the village in 1832 and continued to be active until 1860. Along with other churches, the Baptists used the schoolhouse to hold services for several years. Because the several churches used the schoolhouse, one congregation was frequently forced to wait in the school yard for another church group to complete its service.

The Presbyterian Church was formed in the village in 1836. It is reported that the earliest members were Congregationalists who organized the church with the assistance of a Presbyterian minister from White Pigeon, "with the understanding that when it should become convenient to associate with other Congregational churches, it should be made Congregational" (Constantine Mercury and St. Joseph County Advertiser, September 27, 1888,

p. 3). The Presbyterian church members voted in 1888 to merge with the Reformed Church, which had been organized in 1843 and had attained a membership of 145 by 1876. Together they became the First Congregational Church which continues to be active at present.

The Evangelical Lutheran Church, organized in 1866, grew steadily to become one of the largest church groups in Constantine. The present church building was constructed in 1874, and in more recent years the congregation elected to change the name to Messiah Lutheran Church. Three additional churches, Calvary Bible Church, Trinity United Missionary Church, and the Full Gospel Assembly, have been located in the village in recent years. Several unaffiliated churches as well as a Brethren and a Baptist Church are located in the nearby farming areas.

An Episcopal Church was formed in the village in 1836, but dissolved several years later. In 1886, a Christian Science Church was formed and continued activities until shortly after the turn of the century. There are no organized Catholic or Jewish religious associations in Constantine, and only a few residents identify themselves with either affiliation.

The Protestant denominations in Constantine have maintained the Christian doctrines as powerful influences which affect much of the life in Constantine. Religious affiliation has always been identified with good citizenship and reputation. Those who attend and support the churches have been influential in the political, educational, economic and social organizations of the community. Most organizations integrate Christian beliefs into their philosophies and openly profess them as fundamental organizational principles.

Members of the Methodist, Congregational and Lutheran churches have consistently had strong influence over school operation and have been most often associated with the commercial and industrial sectors. Those who are detached from church organizations are less likely to be admitted to the groups which have control of the schools and business sectors of the community.

The Schools

In 1855, the first brick school building in Constantine was erected near the location of the earlier wooden school building. Because it was too small to accommodate the increasing number of students, the brick building was sold in 1867 and subsequently torn down. Three houses were constructed on the same location from the remaining bricks, and those three identically constructed homes stand to the present day on South Washington Street as reminders of one of Constantine's earlier schools. The next building, the Union School, was built in the form of a Greek Cross at the location of the present Middle School on Canaris Street. This three-story building was proudly proclaimed by residents as the most "well provided" structure in the state.

Students from the nearby farm areas who wished to continue beyond the eighth grade came to the Union School with the village children. During this period, until the churches were able to build permanent large structures, the school continued as a public meeting place for community groups.

Following a fire in 1894 which destroyed the top floor, the school was remodeled as a two-story building. Then, in 1926, the building was almost completely destroyed by fire, and classes were conducted in churches and two store buildings until the new brick building was completed in 1927. This new building housed all 12 grades until 1952.

From 1859 until about 1900, the financing of the school system was entirely supported by funds raised through local taxes. Because the village had been relatively prosperous throughout its history, the value of taxable property was adequate to support the schools. Until the Depression, state aid was minimal. In 1933, the state legislature adopted a 3% sales tax which made increased state appropriations possible. In recent years, the legislature has been responsive to the quickening increase in the cost of education and has adopted legislation which assists in equalization of funding for all districts throughout the state.

Prior to 1903, farm youth wishing to attend Constantine High School and obtain schooling beyond eighth grade were required to pay tuition. A law was passed in that year which permitted school districts not having a high school to levy a tax for payment of tuition and transportation of pupils to an approved high school. This law was followed in 1910 by a statewide movement to consolidate schools.

ANNEXATION AND CONSOLIDATION, 1953-1970

Annexation and an attempt to consolidate the schools have been important elements in the history of the Constantine Public Schools during recent decades. These events have influenced the development of the district by determining its present area and highlighting local social relationships. Annexation is the process by which the small one- or two-room country schools in St. Joseph and Cass Counties took legal steps to incorporate with the Constantine Public Schools. It is a story of rural dwellers who, under continuous pressure from the state educational agencies, delayed as long as possible before annexing their beloved country schools to the village district. Consolidation of the Constantine Public Schools with other nearby village districts was turned down by the voters in 1964. The defeat of consolidation is a reflection of the rural community's attachment to its own schools and its desire to preserve community identity through its schools.

Annexation

The annexation of small country schools to the Constantine Public Schools district, which occurred over a period covering two decades, is significant for several reasons. First, the state Board of Education and the Michigan Department of Public Instruction (which was changed to the Department of Education in 1963) played important advocate roles throughout the state in urging the small, one-room country school districts to join nearby larger districts in order that higher quality education would be available. Second, many of the smaller districts began sending their pupils and paying tuition to Constantine years before the districts finally decided to annex. Third, the annexation question became a contested issue as the price of education increased.

The pressures to annex were slight during the early years from 1910 to 1950. During this period, some country districts began sending their children to Constantine and closed the local schoolhouses. However, while children from most districts attended Constantine High School, none of the districts annexed; they continued to maintain the school district by holding annual meetings and regularly voting for operation and the cost of tuitions to send the children to Constantine schools. Some districts maintained school continuously until annexation in the 1950s and 60s. Others operated their own school during years when enough school-age children lived in the district to obtain state aid, but sent them to Constantine in those years when not enough children were available to meet the state's minimum attendance requirements. Broadstreet School, located north of the village, for instance, began sending children to Constantine about the end of World War I, and the White School, located south of the village, began doing so in 1925. Several other districts also paid tuition to Constantine and sent their children to the village schools. Constantine was not the only school to receive tuition students from other districts. For several years in the 1930s, Peck Academy, a country school, paid tuition and sent its students to Brick Chapel School, another country school. Since then, both districts have sent their children to Constantine, although voters did not decide to annex to Constantine until May 9, 1955.

The Michigan Department of Public Instruction began efforts to urge country schools to consolidate about 1910. Although the state department did not actually force the smaller schools to join larger districts, it strongly and persistently urged them to annex. The movement began slowly, and at least until 1920, most one-room country schools in the state were still operating. In 1910, there were 7,338 school districts in the state; in contrast, by 1967 that number had been reduced to 740 (Dunbar, 1970, p. 611).

The Department of Public Instruction, with the support of the state legislature, began about 1951 to increase the pressure on small country districts to annex to nearby village schools. The state was able to encourage annexation by manipulating the distribution of financial aid to local districts. During the 1950s, state aid was refused any school district enrolling fewer than four students. Later, this minimum enrollment figure was raised to 10 students. The state department also required 180 days of instruction to qualify for state aid. Many small country districts preferred to hold school only 160 days each year to enable farm children to work at home during the growing season. They were thus forced to comply with the state directive or lose financial aid.

The Department of Public Instruction also encouraged the use of school buses to transport rural children by underwriting a major portion of the costs of bus transportation. Reimbursements for school bus expenses were only available to those districts wealthy enough to afford buses, thereby creating an advantage for larger and wealthier districts. Smaller districts, unable to afford a school bus, usually provided a mileage reimbursement to a local driver who used his privately owned vehicle to transport students to the distant high school.

During the 1950s and 60s, when annexations and consolidations were occurring at a rapid pace, there was considerable effort to build new and improved school buildings to handle the redistribution of pupils in the enlarged districts. During this period, the Department of Public Instruction provided technical expertise to the village districts to assist them with planning in the construction of these new school buildings and in the development of improved bus transportation systems. They also provided assistance in the drafting of bond issues to support the increased expenditures.

The Department of Public Instruction also provided encouragement to annexation, indirectly, through various programs conducted through the office of the County Commissioner of Schools.[4] Appointed locally, but reporting directly to the Department of Public Instruction, the County Commissioner's office was responsible for a variety of services for disseminating up-to-date educational policy information and instructional expertise. Not all districts shared equally in receiving services and assistance from this office, however. Smaller districts which were reluctant to consolidate or annex found themselves less often receiving support from the county office. "The small schools did not benefit as much (as the village districts) from the special services available from the Intermediate District."[5] Perhaps most important, however, the County

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[4] The title of this office was changed in the late 1950s to County Superintendent of Schools, and in 1963 was changed again to Superintendent of the Intermediate District.

[5] Personal communication from A. Jaffe, former Superintendent of the St. Joseph County Intermediate District until his retirement in 1965.

Superintendent, as the administrative officer directing all of the country districts in his county, was able to keep the pressure on those districts he supervised.

Through the County Commissioner of Schools, the Department of Public Instruction sponsored "teacher institutes" (in-service programs) which were conducted to present recent innovations in education and to provide up-dating of teaching skills for the teachers in the county. At these meetings arguments for annexation were also presented which seem to have had a memorable effect on the residents of the Constantine district area. The Department of Public Instruction promoted the concept that the minimum effective size of a school district was at least 100 pupils per grade. Teachers and school board members in Constantine accepted and promoted this concept in their community, arguing that this optimum minimum would permit teachers to teach in their specialty. They suggested that a school with fewer than 100 pupils per grade would be forced to employ teachers to teach in other areas in addition to their trained specialty, thereby decreasing educational equality. Older residents of the country districts look back on this argument with mixed emotions. Some remain firmly convinced that many of the small country schools had better quality teachers than some of the elementary grade teachers in Constantine during those years. They remember the argument as merely a tactic to force the closing of the country schools.

The Tracy School on Miller's Mill Road, northwest of Constantine, offers an example of how one country district finally decided to annex. The school first closed in 1928, and the children rode to Constantine on the Broadstreet School bus. It was reopened in 1934 and operated continuously until 1961, when the district annexed to Constantine. Enrollment at Tracy had always been high and in some years, the seventh and eighth graders were bused into Constantine because of overcrowding. The one-room building was then used through grade six. In 1961, when the district annexed, there were 32 children enrolled through sixth grade.

One of the problems of operating a small country school district was the difficulty in obtaining teachers. Most of the country schools did not pay salaries competitive with the larger districts. For some districts, the search for a replacement teacher was a frustrating task.

Some years, a teacher would agree to work for the district, then later renege when a better offer was available. When well liked, the teacher received the confidence and loyalty of the parents. In the annexation negotiations with the Constantine school board, the Tracy board members insisted that their last teacher, Ilene Gose, be hired by the Constantine system. Mrs. Gose continues at present to work as a teacher in the Riverside Elementary school.

School Board meetings were usually well attended in the Tracy district. They were "social gatherings," which permitted the neighbors to conduct a brief meeting on school business and then to spend the remainder of the time talking with friends and neighbors. "Everybody would come for the annual school meeting. The kids would play outside, and all the adults would meet inside. It was a big event."

The pressures to annex to Constantine increased, however. The school building was overcrowded, and enrollment was increasing. State inspectors for fire safety, building codes and sanitation conducted investigations. They informed the school board that repairs to the floor, roof and plumbing were necessary. The heating system was declared inadequate, and the septic system too close to the building.

The school board was distressed. Volunteers had recently completed repairs to the roof. A new septic system had been installed. The coal and wood furnace maintained adequate heat all winter. The required modifications would cost the little district more in taxes than annexation to Constantine.

Most residents in the district had gradually come to the realization that the wider availability of curriculum in Constantine would benefit their children. Parents also believed their children would have more opportunity to participate in athletic programs in Constantine. Finally, there was the indirect but steady pressure from the Department of Public Instruction. "They just kept you guessin' whether you would be able to keep school. It wasn't anything direct, just that you knew that they wanted you to annex."

On June 9, 1961, a special meeting of the Tracy school district was held, and the residents voted to annex with the Constantine Public Schools. Some older residents were still opposed to annexation; they did not want an increase in taxes. Families with children, however, were aware that the inevitable time had arrived.

Ironically, after annexation to Constantine, the Tracy School building was used for two years by Constantine with Mrs. Gose teaching second and third grades in the building. The residents of the former Tracy district recall that it was "the state" which told them their building was inadequate as a school building, yet, after annexation, Constantine Public Schools were permitted to use the building for two years.

Students from districts which did not annex had to provide their own transportation when they attended school in Constantine. Some attended school by riding horses into Constantine. Some hitched rides with farmers, workers, or older students who drove automobiles into the village. Still others lived with families in the village during the week and lived at home on weekends. Among these, many worked for their room and board by doing housework or other chores. Finally, some students rode on the Broadstreet School bus, the first school bus in the area.

Although transportation of pupils had been promoted by the Department of Public Instruction for many years, it was not until 1946 that Constantine decided to purchase two school buses. Between 1953 and 1955, 10 country schools annexed to Constantine (Table 2). Suddenly, the school district was in need of a larger bus system. The school board purchased additional buses, including the bus belonging to the Broadstreet School. Bus runs were long, with some children riding more than two hours each way through the school district, which had taken on a checkerboard appearance. One bus went as far as Williamsville, a small hamlet at the western edge of the Constantine district in Cass County, passing through several country districts which had not yet annexed.

Despite the growing support for annexation, some country residents continued to prefer to maintain their own schools, allowing those pupils who wished to complete high school to find their own means of transportation to attend Constantine High School. Still other districts voted each year to maintain the district, but also elected to transport all of their pupils to Constantine and pay the tuition. The taxes assessed in the country districts were adequate to pay tuitions for all students, school board salaries, annual election costs, building maintenance and the transportation of pupils to the Constantine schools.

Table 2

COUNTRY SCHOOL DISTRICTS ANNEXED TO THE CONSTANTINE PUBLIC SCHOOLS, BY DATE

Name	County	Date
Porter No. 4	Cass	August 3, 1953
Porter No. 13	Cass	August 31, 1953
White	St. Joseph	September 3, 1953
Barker Street	St. Joseph	June 30, 1954
Porter No. 12	Cass	1954
Little Red	St. Joseph	January 4, 1955
Brick Chapel	St. Joseph	May 5, 1955
Broadstreet	St. Joseph	May 5, 1955
Peck Academy	St. Joseph	May 5, 1955
Oak Grove (Porter No. 2)	Cass	August 8, 1955
North Porter (Porter No. 7)	Cass	August 27, 1956
North Porter (Porter No. 11)	Cass	August 28, 1956
King (Porter No. 8)	Cass	March 18, 1957
Corey (Newberg No. 7)	Cass	June 14, 1957
Glines (Mason No. 1)	Cass	August 26, 1958
Kessington (Mason No. 5)	Cass	August 26, 1958
Masterman	St. Joseph	May 16, 1959
Tracy	St. Joseph	June 9, 1961
Hebron (Porter No. 3)	Cass	May 15, 1962
Maple Street	St. Joseph	April 1, 1963
Shavehead (Porter No. 5)	Cass	June 28, 1968
Quaker Street	St. Joseph	July 1, 1970

During the early 1950s, the annual millage assessed in the Brick Chapel district, for instance, averaged eight mills. But while the small districts had been sending their children to Constantine and paying the required tuition, they were not relieved of pressures from the Department of Public Instruction to annex. In the 1952-53 school year, the Brick Chapel district had less than the required four pupil minimum enrollment and the state aid was revoked, requiring the district to levy twenty mills on property owners.

Most of the country schools levied tax rates from five to 11 mills on property during the years of annexation, whereas the Constantine district annual levy averaged about five mills higher during the same period. Before 1955, this difference did not seem important to the village residents. The tuitions paid by country school districts enabled the Constantine district to hire teachers and provide all educational services. In fact, the village school system benefited, because the addition of the country children increased the pupil population and permitted more teachers to be hired. The additional pupils thus permitted increased specialization of the teaching staff, a wider choice of courses, and full utilization of the existing school facilities.

The increasing number of pupils in the Constantine system gradually forced the residents of the district to begin thinking about building new school facilities. In the 1950-51 school year, the 506 pupils attending Constantine school were receiving instruction in one building built in 1927 and designed for a capacity of 400 students. In 1952, the first three rooms of the Eastside Elementary School were constructed; six more rooms were added the following year, and in 1954 the voters passed a bond issue to pay for the final seven rooms, which were completed in 1956. By 1955, because of annexation, the pupil population had climbed to 759, an increase of 50% in five years. The residents of Constantine began urging the country districts to pay equal taxes for the education of their children, and the school board adopted a strong policy position to support community sentiment.

By 1955, the Department of Public Instruction was increasing efforts to quicken the pace of annexation. Regulations on the distribution of state educational aid permitted local school boards to limit enrollment of tuition students. The effect of this ruling was that school districts like Constantine were given the option of refusing admittance to students from the country districts who wished to pay tuition to attend the Constantine schools. While Constantine never used this option to force country districts to annex, residents in the country districts were threatened by its potential application.

A variety of pressures were coming to the Constantine school board from the Department of Public Instruction and from the residents of the district to annex the outlying districts. The school board, in turn, began to take a more active role in effecting annexation of the remaining districts in the nearby area. The superintendent of schools in Constantine acted as a spokesman, attempting to develop interest in annexation among residents in the surrounding districts, and a committee of local residents was formed to investigate possible problems of annexation and provide recommendations to the board. The main work of the committee involved an investigation of the anticipated increase in enrollment due to annexation and the development of a plan for the building of the elementary classroom facilities. Some residents of the former country districts still recall these efforts of the state agency and the school board as attempts to bully the country districts into annexation.

In 1955, the Friends of Michigan Schools, known to many as the "little red schoolhouse movement," was created to help small school districts maintain local identity and resist the pressures driving them toward annexation, and to protect "the right of the people to vote on school issues."[6] The organization got its start from opposition to the

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[6] Personal communication from Harmon Cropsey, Executive Secretary, Friends of Michigan Schools. The organization is active as a lobby group in the state capital, Lansing, where efforts are made to influence legislative action on educational issues.

Michigan Board of Education and the Department of Public Instruction's efforts to annex small school districts.

The Friends of Michigan Schools was most active in the western counties of Michigan. It was effective in Cass County, but less influential in St. Joseph County. Partly through the efforts of Harmon Cropsey of Volinia in Cass County, the organization was able to exert considerable influence in slowing the process of annexation in several rural counties, but in the long run was only able to delay for a while the trend toward larger school districts and the demise of the small country school.

The annexation issue was to remain controversial for a long time, especially because of the need for more classrooms. In 1956, the voters in Constantine approved a second bonded debt to pay for the construction of a new gymnasium which would eventually be part of a planned high school building. The gym and four music instruction rooms were completed in 1957. The approval of this new debt increased awareness among the residents of the Constantine district that there was an increasing gap between what they were required to pay for education and what the residents of the nearby country districts were paying. While the tuitions paid by independent districts could be used for the actual costs of instruction, they could not be used by Constantine for repayment of the bond debt, even though the new buildings had been constructed to accommodate the increasing number of new students from country districts. Those districts which had not annexed were seen to be gaining the benefit of the new school facilities without having to pay for them and "that was the bitter pill," as one resident remembers it.

From 1956 to 1963, 10 more country districts annexed to Constantine as, one by one, district voters decided that annexation with Constantine was preferred to any other option. The classrooms became more crowded. In the 1963-64 school year, 1,438 pupils were registered at Constantine, nearly tripling enrollment since 1950. The need for additional classrooms was definite. The voters passed a large bond issue in 1964 to construct Riverside Elementary and the high school.

The difference in the cost of education became more important after the voters approved the bond issue in 1964. Property taxes for schools in the country districts continued to remain substantially less than the rate of taxation in the Constantine district. Residents of the Constantine district were resentful that those living in the country districts were able to send their children to Constantine schools while paying less in taxes. The residents of the country districts argued that they were not going to pay any more in taxes than was required by law for the tuition costs of sending their children to school. They were aware that the Constantine district was anxious to enroll the children from the surrounding area in order to have a school system of sufficient size to permit a broader educational program.

Some residents in country districts were also opposed to sending their younger children to the Constantine schools because they believed the elementary instruction available in their own small schools was at least equal to the program available in Constantine. Some parents also distrusted the curricular offering in the Constantine schools and felt that they would have less control over the instruction of their younger children. There was much pride in the small county schools. Looking back, many of these parents are now willing to concede that the Constantine schools were able to offer a superior program. Many country residents continue to be dissatisfied, however, with the fact that elementary pupils must ride school buses to Constantine often for as much as an hour or more each way, a distance which they think is too great for young children. They express the opinion that at least the country schools were located nearer to the homes of the children.

When residents of a country district were finally convinced that it would be advantageous or necessary to annex with Constantine, the issue was placed on a referendum. The elections to decide the annexation question were considered to be of prime importance in the country districts and usually brought out a high percentage of the voters. However, in Constantine the special elections held to decide whether to receive a country district frequently produced only light voter turnout, and in some cases, fewer than 20 votes were cast.

In sum, the country schools had been under pressure from the Department of Public Instruction to annex to larger school districts. Between 1910 and 1953, none of the districts in this area annexed, although several ceased operating and sent tuition students to Constantine. As their state aid was manipulated, as they became aware that better education facilities existed in larger systems, and as they experienced difficulty in hiring teachers, the residents of these small districts slowly and reluctantly decided to annex to Constantine. From 1953 to 1955, 10 districts voted to annex; six of them were in St. Joseph County and four from Cass County. (See Table 2.)

Some of the country districts were more interested in annexation than others. Some voted down annexation one or more times before finally reversing and casting a majority vote for closing of the local school. It is possible to speculate why some country districts decided to annex before others. Perhaps they could see more clearly that to resist the pressures of the state agencies and national trends in education was futile. Perhaps they looked more favorably on the Constantine school system. Perhaps they were less committed to the neighborhood school which had adequately served previous generations.

It is not possible to do more than speculate, however. There is no geographical pattern of those districts which decided to annex early in this period and those which fought to the last. Some of the first districts to annex were among the more remote in Cass County, but some of the last districts were also in more remote areas. On the other hand, Tracy School, for instance, was located next to the village of Constantine and did not annex until 1961; Quaker Street School was the last to annex in 1970, and it is less than five miles from Constantine. There were no significant political or demographic differences between the country districts either. Most residents are conservative in their political views and the Republican Party is preferred by most of those who identify with political parties. All of the districts are predominantly white, mostly of Anglo-Saxon heritage. There are no significant ethnic groupings in the district. If subtle differences existed during the 1950s and 1960s, they have surely disappeared in recent years. Perhaps the answer lies in the memory of one resident who thoughtfully replied that "when they made up their minds they had no choice except to go with Constantine, then it was time."

Another interesting question is why 12 country districts in Cass County, supervised by the Cass County Commissioner of Schools, decided to annex to Constantine, located in St. Joseph County and supervised by the St. Joseph County Commissioner. Presently, these 12 country districts occupy approximately 15% of the total land area of Cass County; they make up over 1/2 of the Constantine school district area or 70 out of the 110 square miles. One possible answer to this question is that residents of the area have long recognized St. Joseph County as being more progressive than Cass County in education and social services. Speech therapy and special education programs were offered to schools earlier in St. Joseph County, for example.[7] But this difference only begins to answer the question.

One important reason for the 12 Cass County districts electing to join with Constantine in St. Joseph County rather than with Cassopolis, 25 miles to the northwest in Cass County, was the concern of many residents about the concentration of black people in the Cassopolis area. Many residents of the country districts, most of whom are white, were strongly opposed to sending their children to Cassopolis because of the large number of black children enrolled in that village's school system. Many residents of the area recall the sometimes heated debates conducted during school board meetings in several of these country districts. And many remember the frequently expressed threats of educational disaster if their children were forced to attend school in Cassopolis.

The Shavehead School, one of the last districts to annex to Constantine, provides one example of a Cass County district's decision to annex. The school was active until 1965, when only three students remained. The families of those students then decided to send them to Constantine, and the Shavehead district paid tuition until June 28, 1968, when the district was annexed to Constantine. The families living in that district were reluctant to the last to close their little school. They liked their school and looked upon the Constantine district as being in a "land grab" competition with other nearby, larger districts. It is reported that the superintendent of schools in Constantine warned the Shavehead residents that the alternative to annexing with Constantine was to have their children attend school in Cassopolis. "He told us, 'If you don't join with Constantine, Cassopolis will step in.' That was the threat of all those colored."[8]

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[7] Personal communication from A. Jaffe, former Superintendent of the St. Joseph County Intermediate District.

But the most important factor in shaping the school district was the effect of settlement patterns on the competition between the village-based school districts in St. Joseph and Cass Counties to annex the smaller districts. Eight miles to the north of Constantine is the city of Three Rivers, which limited the number of small country districts which Constantine might annex in that direction. Eight miles to the northeast is the village of Centreville, the county seat; again, there was a limited number of districts which were available for annexation. The city of Sturgis is 14 miles to the southeast. White Pigeon is almost directly south of Constantine and only four miles distant. To the west of Constantine and White Pigeon, there is no community of equal [illegible] for nearly 25 miles until Edwardsburg. The greater distances to the west of White Pigeon and Constantine contained only small, one- or two-room country schools and provided a more open field of possibilities. Both White Pigeon and Constantine were crowded by other neighboring districts in St. Joseph County, but the area in southeast Cass County offered both districts the opportunity to expand and thus survive as viable school districts.

During the years of annexation, most of these village and city school districts were aggressively attempting to annex country districts.[9] The rivalry between the villages of White Pigeon and Constantine, however, was stronger than most, in part because it reflected the rivalry which had existed between them since they were first settled. While it was partly an effort to increase the amount of state aid to the respective districts, it was also a fight for survival between the two districts. There was always the possible threat that if one of the districts was able to dominate by gaining most of the available country districts in the southwest corner of St. Josepn County and the southeast corner of Cass County, the other village district might eventually also be swallowed up. This reasoning received credence from the widely held belief that school systems must attain a size equaling 100 students per grade to be efficient and provide a broad instructional program.

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[8] Personal communication from a long-time resident of the Shavehead School District.

[9] The only exception to this pattern was Sturgis, which apparently rebuffed several nearby districts wanting to join what is reputed to be the best school system in St. Joseph County.

The interest in the preservation of the community school system in Constantine was related also to the economic interests of merchants in Constantine. Most merchants believed that annexation and growth of the Constantine school district would be good for business because parents would be likely to shop in the community where their children attended school. They wanted to preserve the trade area at a minimum, which in earlier times had been based primarily on the flow of agricultural trade between the outlying rural areas and the village of Constantine, and hoped to expand it through the annexation of country school districts. In fact, this trade area bears a strong resemblance to the current outlines of the Constantine Public Schools district area.

The competition between Constantine and White Pigeon for acquisition of the small country school districts went on steadily through the 1950s and 1960s. As each small district decided to annex with a larger district, the White Pigeon and Constantine school boards would make solicitous offerings. On some occasions, members of the respective village school board or administration would attend meetings held in the country districts to discuss annexation and the services and quality of education available in Constantine or White Pigeon. The Constantine Public Schools system had been recognized by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for many years. Since most other village schools in the region had not been granted this status, this became an important bargaining advantage. White Pigeon, on the other hand, had a lower property tax rate. Occasionally, joint meetings between the Constantine school board and one of the country district school boards would result in lively public discussion as residents defended their views. Some residents recall guarantees offered by Constantine school board members in exchange for their decision to annex to Constantine.

Under the previously given circumstances, it is not surprising that annexation produced an unusually shaped school district in Constantine. The following example shows how one school district was annexed to Constantine and another to White Pigeon. In 1956, the Baldwin Prairie school serving the small community of Union requested annexation to Constantine. At that time, the Constantine school buildings were overcrowded and the Constantine school board informed the Baldwin Prairie school board that Constantine could not immediately absorb their district. The Baldwin Prairie school board then approached the White Pigeon community schools requested annexation, and was accepted. Later, in 1958, the Kessington school, west of Baldwin Prairie, requested to be annexed to the Edwardsburg school district. Edwardsburg, a village in Cass County located 10 miles west of Kessington, reportedly turned down that offer, and Constantine, nearly 15 miles east of Kessington, accepted the smaller district. The resulting effect of these two annexations has children riding school buses from their homes in Kessington, through a part of the White Pigeon school district, to attend school in Constantine. Similarly, students living in Union ride school buses through part of the Constantine district to attend school in White Pigeon.

The School District After Annexation

The annexation of 22 small country districts between 1953 and 1970 changed the size and the character of the Constantine Public Schools district. In 1950, the school district served a village population of 1,514 and also accepted tuition students from the country districts. By 1970, the school district had grown to 110 square miles and in 1972 enrolled 1,659 pupils, two-thirds of whom lived outside the village. While over half of the school district is located in Cass County, the schools are all in the village of Constantine, which is in St. Joseph County.

The purpose of annexation was to eliminate the one-room country schools and provide a broader curriculum and a better qualified teaching staff in larger schools. Annexation also enabled greater standardization of education because the small country schools were less likely to accept readily the changes in state-wide educational policy. They were a truly local unit, governed by the families and neighbors who lived there. Annexation ended the one-room schools, and it ended the intimate closeness which many had felt toward the little schools.

Several years passed before the country dwellers began to develop an identity with the school system. They found it difficult to identify with the new district because all the schools were located in the village. It was also hard for them to forget the "we-they" dichotomy developed during the years when annexation was a heated issue. Further, they had little control over deciding questions of educational policy in the village district. One of the arguments which had been put forth by country residents who opposed annexation had been that the Constantine schools were controlled by a school board which was always made up of village residents. The schools were viewed as being run by the village residents and primarily for the village residents; rural children were only allowed to attend, it was argued, so that the state aid to the district could be increased.

But annexation had changed the nature of the relationship of village residents to their school district as well. They saw that the school system was no longer only for them, but also had to serve equally all of the country residents. Apparently recognizing the political necessity of gaining a broader base of support, in 1954, the school board approached Elwood Russell, a farmer, and convinced him to run for a position on the board. He was elected to a four-year term and subsequently served for several more terms until 1966. He was the first farmer and the first resident from outside the village of Constantine to gain a seat on the board. Mr. Russell's farm was located in St. Joseph County, immediately adjacent to the village of Constantine; still some farm residents of Cass County believed that he could not represent them. In 1959, a strong drive was begun to elect a representative from Cass County who would be able to reflect the views of the residents of that portion of the school district as well. Robert Hutton, a farmer, was elected in that same year and served for a single term of four years. Since that time, three other residents of Cass County have been elected to serve on the school board.

During the 1960s, most members of the school board were residents of the village, although some residents of the surrounding townships also served terms. While antagonisms between village and country dwellers over control of the school decreased, the ability of village residents to elect the largest number of school board members indicated the continuing strong influence which they had in the schools. In 1970, the school district contained a total population of 5,038 people, of which only 1,733 resided within the village. Yet, the proximity of the schools, and the continuing higher level of interest in school affairs among village residents was reflected in the make-up of the school board.

Since 1971, however, the influence of the country residents has grown stronger; only one member of the board resides within the village, and three members live less than one mile beyond the village limits. Finally, three school board members reside in Cass County.

Consolidation

Even as the White Pigeon and Constantine school districts were expanding through annexation of nearby country schools, efforts were being made by the Department of Public Instruction and the Michigan Board of Education to promote consolidation among the two districts. In 1958, two members of the state board hosted a dinner meeting at the Harvey House Hotel in Constantine for the White Pigeon and Constantine school boards to discuss the possibility of consolidation. Opinions expressed by members of the Constantine school board convinced the visitors that Constantine was definitely opposed to consolidation with White Pigeon; members of the White Pigeon board did not present strong opposition. Nonetheless, the visiting state board members left the meeting well aware that the rivalry between the two villages closed out the hope of consolidation at that time.

In 1963, there was an immediate need for additional classrooms brought on by the rapid growth of the Constantine school district through annexation. In addition to Constantine, Centreville and White Pigeon were also in need of new high school buildings; many residents were convinced that a regional high school serving all three districts would enable economies of scale that would permit a better high school program than was possible if each community built a separate facility. Residents in each district wanted broader curriculum offerings, including foreign languages and more extensive science courses.

A movement to consolidate began. Proponents argued that consolidation would result in lower educational costs for all the counties, while at the same time it would enable a broader curriculum program throughout all grades. Led by Suzann Hammon in Constantine, a group urged the school board to conduct an investigation of the local conditions which might help the village to reach a decision about consolidation with one or more other school districts. When the school board declined to conduct such a study, the group raised $300 from private donations and contracted with two professors at Western Michigan University to do the research. research.

Based on a variety of local data focused on socio-economic conditions, business patterns, population projections, school bus routing and other issues of school economics, the survey findings led the two investigators to conclude that consolidation would be advantageous. The study also pointed out that the shortage of vocational educational programs in the three districts could be corrected through consolidation, with less financial cost per resident (Feasibility Study, 1964).

Opponents argued that the benefits of consolidation, as voiced by its supporters, would never be realized. Administrators in each of the districts reasoned that such additions would be too costly to implement. Some residents claimed that consolidation would result in loss of local control of the schools. Opponents were also concerned that a joint high school erected on farmland located between the three villages would be too distant from any of the available fire fighting equipment, which was located in each of the villages. However, no actual location for a new high school was ever selected. Another concern was that the youth of the village would have less opportunity to participate in high school athletics if the districts were joined; many parents hoped that their sons would become starting players on the varsity basketball teams, and a consolidation would reduce the number of teams from three to one and the number of players from 15 to five. Finally, many residents did not want consolidation to end the intense rivalry between White Pigeon and Constantine that was focused on the inter-scholastic athletic competitions and on the competitive displays of the two high school bands. The high school football and basketball competitions had been especially symbolic of this rivalry for many years.[10] In fact, residents in all three communities were afraid that consolidation would mean the loss of community autonomy.

In the spring of 1963, Suzanne Hammon, a proponent of consolidation, campaigned for election to the Constantine school board and won. Her election seemed to indicate that Constantine residents supported consolidation. Late in 1963, supporters of consolidation began to petition the school boards in Centreville, White Pigeon and Constantine to have the issue placed on the ballot. Most of the support for consolidation was initiated by Suzanne Hammon in Constantine and by Matt Schumacher in White Pigeon. There was also support in Centreville led by Al Alexander, Harry Oxender, and June Weed. Faculty at Western Michigan University and the Michigan Department of Education were also interested in the consolidation of White Pigeon and Constantine. Support for inclusion of Centreville came from both opponents and proponents of consolidation in White Pigeon and Constantine; both sides apparently believed that adding Centreville to the proposition would strengthen support for their respective positions.

On May 25, 1964, a special school election on the issue of consolidation was conducted in Centreville, Constantine, and White Pigeon. Each voter was asked to cast four separate ballots concerning four propositions of the consolidation question. The first proposition asked the voters to decide "Shall all of the territory of the following districts be united to form one school district?" The three districts were then listed. The second proposition asked the question if the voters were willing to permit a six mill increase in property taxes to be used for operating purposes for the proposed consolidated school district. The third proposition asked for voter preference on an increase of two and one-half mills to pay off the bonded indebtedness of the three school districts. Finally, the fourth proposition asked if the proposed consolidated school district should assume the bonded indebtedness of the three school districts.

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[10] The two schools have been battling on the football field since 1924. The event has been called the "Tomahawk Battle" since 1929 when the head of an ancient tomahawk was found on the Wahbememe Farm located between the two villages. With the addition of a new handle, the artifact has served as a momento presented to the victor of the annual meeting between the football teams representing these two schools. For the next year, the victor is able to display the trophy until the teams meet again on the football field. Until 1941, the contest was held on Thanksgiving Day and alumni placed much importance on the event. For the next several years, the game was played on Armistice Day, November 11, to avoid the heavier and earlier snowfalls of the 1940s. In recent years, the game is played as it occurs on the schedule established for the St. Joseph Valley League to which both schools belong. The interest of alumni and parents of the players continues to be very intense and in recent years, at least, has exceeded the fervor of the students and players. Twice each season, the two schools play varsity basketball and the games are marked by close contests and sell-out crowds of excited fans.

All the propositions failed to be approved by significant margins. The voters in Centreville turned down all four propositions by a margin of nearly two to one; in Constantine, the voters rejected all four propositions by a ratio of seven to three; and in White Pigeon, the voters voted overwhelmingly against all four propositions by a ratio of nearly nine to one. In all, almost 2,500 voters turned out to decide the issue: over 400 in Centreville, 1,000 in Constantine, and 900 in White Pigeon. The election was the largest turnout of voters ever recorded for each of the school districts. Consolidation of the districts was decidedly a dead issue, and the autonomy of each of the three school districts was preserved.

REJUVENATION SINCE 1970

Socio-economic and Political Structure

The profile of the labor force in Cass and St. Joseph Counties in 1970 measured slightly below average for the entire state of Michigan in most socio-economic index scales (Michigan State University, County and Regional Facts). Both counties reflected low unemployment rates of 4.1 and 4.6% respectively, compared with 5.9% for the state. The median number of years of school completed for all persons over 25 years for Cass and St. Joseph Counties was 11.9 and 12.1 respectively, while the state average was 12.1. Seventy-eight percent of the males of these two counties were included in the labor force as compared to 75% across the state. Approximately 5% of the male labor force of the counties was employed in agriculture, while 50% of the labor force was employed in manufacturing, much higher than the state average of 36%. Median family income in 1969 was $9,781 and $9,686 for Cass and St. Joseph respectively. At the same time, the percentage of families living on income below the "poverty line" was 8.3 and 8.0% respectively. Both counties compared unfavorably with state averages of $11,032 for median income and 7.3% of families with income less than the "poverty line."

The decade of the 1970s began with a revitalization of industry in the village. Over the years residents have made repeated efforts to improve the economic and employment structure of the area, most recently through the creation of the Constantine Area Development Corporation. In March, 1969, a group of businessmen and civic leaders formed a non-profit corporation to attract new industry to the area. The charter of the corporation proposed "to encourage, aid, assist and promote the industrial and commercial welfare and growth of Constantine and the area it serves ...." The search for new industry began immediately, and, in 1971, the corporation was instrumental in the location of a paper products manufacturer in a building which had been unused for several years. That firm currently employs 75 workers and plans to expand facilities in the near future.

An electrical utility company purchased a tract of land in the village in 1971 and subcontracted the construction of two industrial buildings. A national firm manufacturing lids for food containers purchased one building and began operations in Constantine in 1972, providing employment for about 100 persons. Two additional manufacturers in the recreational vehicle industry

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have also located in the industrial park and are capable of employing a total of 100 workers. A casket factory which employs 30 workers, a creamery which employs 100 workers, and several smaller shops bring industrial employment in the village to over 400 jobs.

The development of the industrial park (Figure 7) in Constantine has been the result of a process of cooperative effort between the utility company, acting as the developer of the facility; the Constantine Area Development Corporation, enlisting public support; and the government of the Village of Constantine, providing the necessary municipal services.

Constantine is situated midway between Chicago and Detroit in an area currently enjoying economic growth. In recent years manufacturers have begun moving away from large cities to suburban and exurban areas from 75 to 150 miles distant from the cities. Improved transportation makes moves to the rural areas possible, and the positive benefits of lower overhead and more relaxed rural living are powerful attractions for such firms. Constantine is located near the interstate highway system and has adequate rail service. Additionally, the village is blessed with an abundant water supply, a citizenry eager for industrial growth, comfortable housing, and a respected school system.

A wide range of health care is available to the area. Elkhart and South Bend, Indiana and Kalamazoo, Michigan are all less than one hour's driving time from Constantine, and each has hospitals, doctors and dentists, psychiatric care facilities, and a variety of other health and welfare related agencies. There are also two smaller cities of about 10,000 persons within 15 minutes by automobile, each having hospitals. In addition, Constantine has two doctors of medicine, one of osteopathy, and one chiropractor, as well as two semi-retired dentists. Moreover, St. Joseph County and Cass County provide support for health services. The result is that Constantine does not suffer from a shortage of health facilities.

Furthermore, the area is amply provided with a range of other public services from Western Michigan University, Michigan State University, and the University of Michigan; from St. Joseph and Cass County agencies; and from state and federal agencies. These services include child welfare, conservation, community coordination, consumer services, counseling, agricultural extension, handicapped services, family planning, welfare, and drug and alcohol abuse counseling.

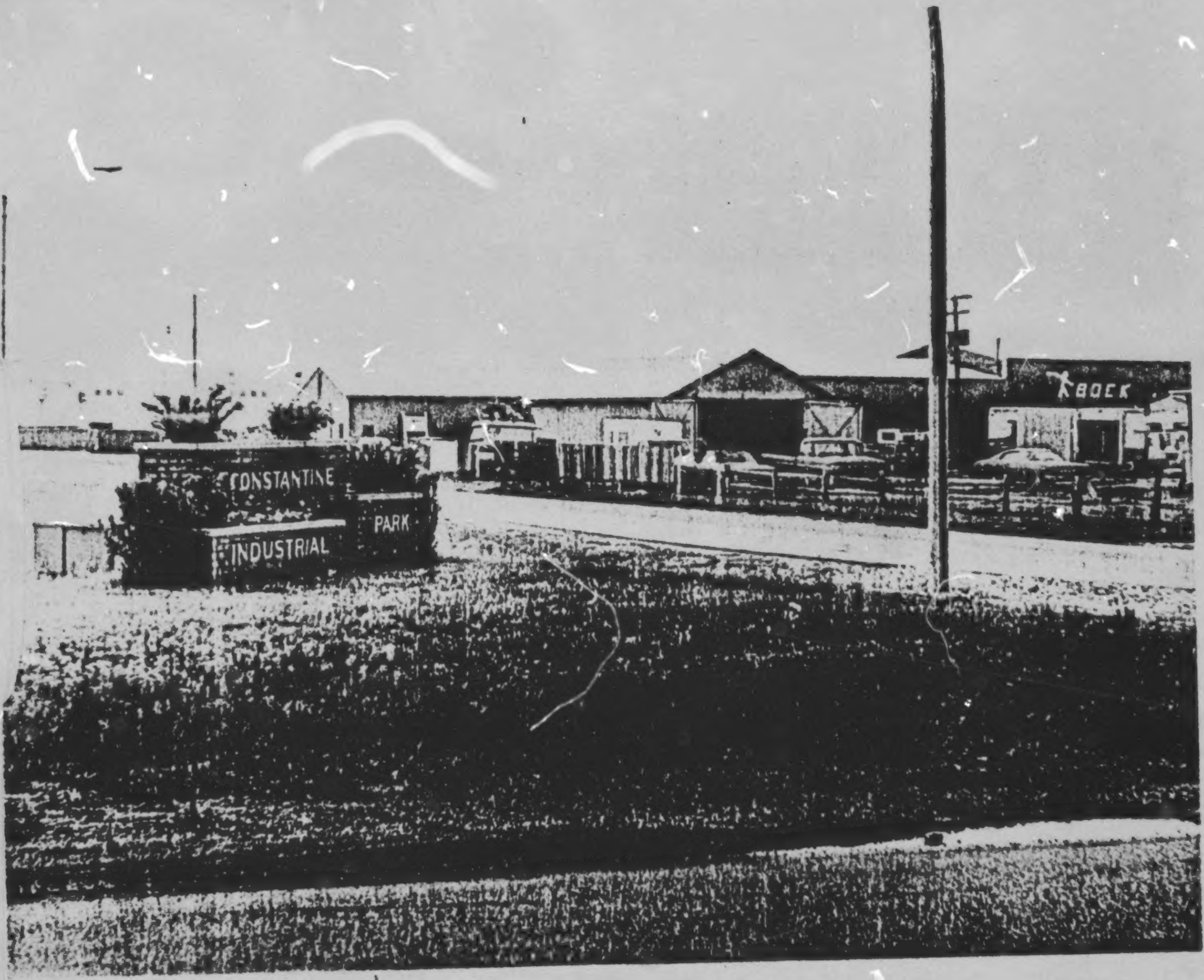
CONSTANTINE
INDUSTRIAL
PARK
BOCK

Fig.7. Constantine industrial park.

Although the enlarged school district encloses parts of seven townships and overlaps portions of two counties, its governmental structure is clearly defined. All school districts in Michigan have independent operational status which does not conflict with the governmental operations of township and county units. Township government consists of one supervisor, two trustees, a treasurer and a clerk, all elective positions. Its primary responsibilities are the collection of property taxes for financial support of the school system and zoning regulation. The school district receives local revenues through property taxes assessed and collected by the townships. The appropriate tax rate for each property is certified to the Township Clerk and Assessor. When taxes are collected, they are then distributed to the appropriate school district. Thus, a resident of Florence Township who also resides within the Constantine school district will pay taxes to the Florence Township tax collector, who then forwards the tax receipts to the Constantine Schools. Other residents of the same township who live outside the Constantine district area pay taxes which are forwarded to their respective school districts.

The village of Constantine was originally incorporated in 1837. The incorporation lapsed in 1839 and was not renewed until March 15, 1861. The village has operated as a municipal unit since that time. Under the state charter, Constantine is governed as a General Law Village with an elected council of six members, a president, and a clerk. The council is empowered to hire a Town Marshall (Chief of Police), a Street Commissioner, and other employees as are deemed necessary. For the last several years, the village has employed an administrator to coordinate the departments of police, streets, and waste water treatment. The primary incursion of higher levels of government into local operations is centered on the recently constructed waste water treatment facility for the village. The schools depend on the village for water and sanitary systems, and the village police department is responsible for security on school property.

The county governments are responsible for road maintenance, a sheriff's department, health, welfare, care of the aged, civil defense, mental health, cooperative extension service, and elections. The county maintains Circuit, Probate, and District Courts and a prosecuting attorney's office. Until the 1961-1962 Constitutional Convention, rural counties dominated the state legislature and promoted rural interests. The new constitution established a one man-one vote rule which gave greater power to the urban counties. Restricted by the constitution, county government lacks legislative power and administrative structure to deal adequately with the complexity of modern problems. County governments have been accused of not meeting responsibilities. The complexity of environmental problem solving has motivated the state legislature to create regional planning councils to coordinate planning and policy making on a multi-county basis. The new regional councils, implemented since 1968, have been viewed with trepidation by some, as an extra and unnecessary governmental layer, designed to undermine and destroy local government.

The School District

The Constantine Public Schools operate under the authority of a seven-member school board elected at large. At present six of the seven members are residents of the townships; only one board member resides in the village. The board has responsibility for hiring a school superintendent who in turn administers the entire system. The school system is supervised by a state Board of Education and the Michigan Department of Education for purposes of program and curriculum design and implementation. The St. Joseph County Intermediate School District serves as liaison to the state department by coordinating teacher certification for all schools within its jurisdiction, evaluating school lunch programs and bus routes, determining eligibility of districts for federal programs, collecting school enrollment data, and enforcing pupil attendance at school. Among other services, the office also conducts special education programs; coordinates vocational and career education programs, including shared-time programs between various districts; and coordinates the provision of educational materials and services for the districts in the county. Accreditation of the school district is the responsibility of the University of Michigan, with additional accreditation for the high school program granted through the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. Additionally, the Constantine

Public Schools rely on nearby Western Michigan University at Kalamazoo, Michigan, and Ball State University at Muncie, Indiana for educational leadership and advice.

The Constantine Public Schools consisted of a single building located in the village until 1952, when the construction of several new school buildings signaled the growth of the district. The Eastside Elementary building was begun in 1952 and enlarged in 1953 and 1956. In 1957, a new high school was begun with the construction of a gymnasium. In 1966, the high school and Riverside Elementary School were constructed. Until these buildings were completed, for several years the district used some of the country school buildings and eight mobile classroom units which had been purchased and were later sold. Several small buildings have been added, including two structures which were built by high school students in the building trades program. The original school building, constructed in 1927, continues to serve as a middle school. In 1966, a bus maintenance building was also erected, reflecting the increased importance of school buses to transport two-thirds of the students to school each day. All school buildings are located within the village of Constantine.

School attendance was relatively stable for many years. In the 1860's, it averaged slightly over 200, and by 1914, had grown to only 259. By 1950-51 a total of 506 students were attending Constantine schools. Thereafter, annexation contributed to a substantial growth in enrollment. By 1961-62, the number had increased to 1,184, and by 1972-73, to 1,648 pupils. The district area had grown to 110 square miles, covering parts of St. Joseph and Cass Counties with an irregular boundary, reflecting the decisions of the small one-room districts to annex with Constantine or with one or another of the neighboring districts. This irregular boundary also reflects the choices of individual property owners living near the edge of the district who may petition the Intermediate School District to become part of the neighboring school district.

For the school year beginning in September, 1972, the school system had a budget of $1,291,492 with a per pupil expenditure of $783.67. for the 1,648 students. Fifty-eight percent of that budget was derived from state aid. School taxes, mostly on property, accounted for 37%, with the remaining 5% coming from federal revenues and from tuitions paid by non-resident students. There have been no serious budgetary crises in recent years although community sentiment requires frugal financial operation of the schools.

Instructional materials and salaries for principals and teachers accounted for 68% of the schools' expenditures; operation and maintenance of the plant, 12%; transportation, 10%; administration, 3%; fixed charges and capital outlay accounted for another 8%. Administration and teaching salaries are below state averages though the staff has a reasonably high degree of professional training. The ratio of pupils to teachers is 22:1, which is average for southwestern Michigan school districts. The administrative staff is small, consisting of a superintendent and three principals for four school buildings.

As of the 1972-73 school year, the two elementary schools were operated with self-contained classroom units. A specialist program was utilized in reading with all other instruction carried out in classes containing 25 to 30 students. In recent years the mean age of the teaching staff has dropped because some older teachers have retired and the teaching staff has expanded.

The middle school concept has become popular in the Midwest in recent years, and Constantine was quick to adopt it. Although it emphasizes flexibility in teaching techniques, the Constantine Middle School has maintained self-contained classroom units. Average classroom size is 30 students. The teaching staff of this building is young, with most teachers less than 40 years of age, as is also the case of the high school staff.

The high school had been accredited by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for three decades until 1962, when accreditation was terminated because of inadequate building facilities. After a new building was constructed in 1966, the high school regained accreditation in 1969, and in recent years has made efforts to satisfy recommendations for improvement of curriculum suggested by the accrediting committee.

A recent study of the high school program conducted by a committee of teachers concluded that science (with much individualized instruction), driver education, and the college preparatory program were the strong points of the curriculum, while vocational education and business education were the programs most in need of improvement. However, the high school does offer a limited number of vocationally oriented courses, and recent planning efforts by school staff have focused on improving vocational education offerings. One effort to improve vocational training is a cooperative work-study arrangement with local merchants and industry. High school students attend classes at school for part of the school day and complete their daily coursework by part-time employment as clerks in a retail store (girls) or as apprentices in machine shops (boys). Despite location in an agricultural area, Constantine Public Schools offer no courses in agricultural education, apparently because of lack of student interest.

In recent years, between 40 and 50% of the graduates have gone on for additional schooling at nearby universities, colleges, community colleges, business schools and trade schools. No records are available on the number who complete such additional schooling.

There is a reasonably high degree of student participation in school athletic programs. Student athletes are accorded high status in the school as well as in the community. Student government operates as an extracurricular activity with little effective voice in school policy and operation, and participation in it consequently carries much less prestige.

Recent Educational Changes

The process of curriculum change frequently begins with a suggestion from teachers or principals. After a formal proposal is drawn, a presentation, usually by the principal, is made to the school board. Discussion of the proposed change usually does not involve residents. Many residents do not feel adequately competent to make decisions either about curriculum or about the organization and financial operation of the school district. Such matters are better left to the professional administrators who have been hired by the district to make the decisions. For many residents there is a general feeling that the educational process has become so complex that it is impossible for the lay person to be competent about school operation unless he is willing to devote a considerable proportion of free time to such efforts. For some others, the nature and complexity of the school bureaucracy is such that individuals feel powerless to deal with perceived injustices or misdirections of the school system. Still other residents complain that certain groups are singled out to receive preferred treatment from the school system.

For these reasons, and many others, there is a relatively low level of participation by residents in the decision making process of the school system. The school board meets twice monthly, and most policy and budgetary issues are handled during those meetings. Most of the time, the meetings are held without a single community resident in attendance. Only on those occasions when a controversial issue has arisen will concerned residents appear to voice opinions. Only a minority of the residents follow the events of the meetings as reported in local newspapers. School elections usually produce only a modest amount of interest among the electorate. There are more than 3,000 persons in the district who are old enough to vote, yet less than 1/4 of them are registered to vote. Most school elections are held with only 10-20% of voting age residents actually casting a ballot. There are no political party affiliations in local school elections, thereby removing opposing party philosophies. Whenever two or more candidates are challenging for the same school board position, debate usually is limited and relatively little controversy is generated.

Residents often complain among friends about perceived wrongs or shortcomings of the schools, but they are usually reluctant to use the political process or public meetings to voice such concerns. Thus, while there are frequent complaints about school operation among many residents, only a handful take an active role in attempting to effect change. Most changes in school curriculum are proposed and implemented before residents actually learn about the change.

One example of the process of curriculum change is the effort to obtain federal financing for an "Outdoor Education Laboratory." The initial planning and application for funds were begun by David Thornton, a science teacher in the high school. In October, 1966, the school district was awarded a grant totaling nearly $60,000 for a period of four years under the provisions of Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. The funds were used for planning and for purchase of equipment for the development and maintenance of the project.

When the award of the grant was announced, the Superintendent of Schools, Clayton Wilson, appointed a Planning Committee in order to involve residents of the community in further development and implementation of the plan. However, the Planning Committee held only one formal meeting and the bulk of the work was done by David Thornton, who was appointed part-time Director of the Outdoor Laboratory.

Planning for the Outdoor Laboratory was completed and work begun on the 40-acre tract.[11] Trees were planted and the land was allowed to continue to return to its natural condition. A pond was formed and became the focus of study of aquatic life. Windbreaks of shrubs were planted, and fallen trees and brush were piled up to serve as shelters for wildlife.

The Outdoor Laboratory had been planned and developed mostly through the efforts of one teacher. He received support from the school administration and some indications of interest by residents. But the project was not conducted as a "community project." Most residents were pleased and proud of the improvement, but were content to allow the school organization to develop the project.

For several years, Thornton assisted elementary teachers by conducting "science lessons" and managing educational "trips" to the Outdoor Laboratory. However, when other teaching and school commitments did not permit him time to work with elementary students, the practice was discontinued. In recent years, the Outdoor Laboratory is used less frequently for teaching science in the elementary grades.

Even though federal funding for the Outdoor Laboratory was discontinued in 1970, the project has continued as part of the school system and community. Classes in the schools use it occasionally for the study of nature. The youth of the district use it for outdoor parties. Two putting greens have been added for golfers who want to practice. Snowmobilers and horse riders ride the trails. Sportsmen train hunting dogs in the fields, and those who just want to walk in the open spaces have this park-like acreage located right at the edge of the village. Although active community participation in the planning and development of the Outdoor Laboratory was never an important part of the project, some residents are proud of this significant addition to the schools and community.

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[11] The 40 acres of land are part of a 55-acre tract purchased in 1964. Ten of the remaining 15 acres were used for a site for Riverside Elementary School; the last five acres served as the location of the school bus garage and parking lot.

In addition to the outdoor education program, other innovative programs were on-going in 1972 when the system was being considered for NIE's Experimental Schools program. Since 1968 the school district had been providing a program for students with impaired hearing, which served students from both St. Joseph and Branch Counties. In order to assist the reading program, "perceptual" training was instituted in the elementary schools in 1969. Tests have indicated a considerable reading improvement since that time. The high school's accreditation in 1969 may also be taken as a sign of the school district's reinvigoration.

To assist in teaching child care to senior girls, a special pre-school "Play School" was developed. Home Economics students spend an entire semester working with pre-school youngsters. A unique class in building skills was also developed. It concentrated on school planning and construction and taught valuable skills to the students, who constructed needed school facilities. The first student-constructed building contained two classrooms, the second building, five. The eventual goal was to find the means by which students would be able to construct a new middle school (Letter of Interest, 1972, pp. 4-5).

Any school system has weaknesses as well as strengths, and so the same Letter of Interest also pointed to areas where improvement was needed. Some of these were as follows:

- A definite weakness in vocational training for both Middle School and High School students.
- Few opportunities for low achievers to experience success in the current program.
- Not enough student involvement in curriculum development.
- Too little individualized instruction. Most students were expected to cover the same material at the same rate.
- Lack of opportunity for students (especially low achievers) and teachers to meet and discuss honestly mutual educational problems.

- Lack of opportunity to develop positive social attitudes: respect for individual differences and opinions; acceptance of each other and acceptance of self.

This was the educational situation when, in March of 1972, Constantine Public Schools were informed of the Experimental Schools program by an *Announcement of a Competition for Small Rural Schools* sent to all school districts in the United States having fewer than 2,500 pupils. The superintendent of schools called a meeting of all administrators and one teacher to consider applying for the program. The group met during Easter vacation, planning and writing an application for the program. The effort was directed by the superintendent. After a site visit by Cynthia Parsons in the middle of May, in June, 1972, the Office of Education notified the district of the award of a one-year planning grant.

A FINAL NOTE

Constantine is frequently described as "a nice place to live" by residents, who recount with pride the friendly and cooperative spirit of the inhabitants, the cleanliness and lack of esthetic blight on the land, and the quality of the schools. They compare their way of life with the more frenzied pace in the cities, where neighborliness is thought to have disappeared. Most of the housing in Constantine was built before the twentieth century. Greek Revival, Italian Revival, and Gothic styles, reflecting the moods of nineteenth century architecture, dominate the scene. Many of the residents preserve the original character of their homes, preferring "restoration to modernization." Constantine is known throughout the area for the well-preserved appearance of many of these older homes. With its many shade trees and its lack of bright neon advertising, the village presents a visage of a bygone era, before plastic and neon took over the American scene.

The bygone era is remembered by the long-time residents of the community. They gladly recall earlier times when life was simpler and the pace slower. Residents have always thought of their village as a civilized and cultured place which combined the best qualities of rural village life and cosmopolitan fashion. The old, well kept houses and the shady streets are only the most visible manifestation of this romantic attachment to the earlier years in Constantine.

Constantine is going through a period of change, that is certain. Changes in the work force and types of occupational roles are required by the new industries entering the area. Changes in living patterns are occurring as people opt for rural living rather than moving to the city. Most of the recent population growth of the area has occurred in the townships surrounding Constantine. Within the school district area are several small lakes surrounded by homes. Living "on the lake" is preferred by many younger families and by some nearer retirement age as well. Many residents choose to live "in the country" with sufficient acreage for gardens, pets, raising small numbers of livestock, or just for some "elbow room." Rural non-farm residence is more popular than living either on the farm or in the village.

Outstate Michigan has traditionally been conservative and consistently votes Republican. Constantine has not varied from this posture and, in fact, is known throughout the area for being more conservative than other nearby communities. During the 1960s, the John Birch Society had chapters in Constantine with a mailing list of over 400. All successful candidates in recent village elections have run on the Republican ticket, and Democrats only occasionally attain office in some of the surrounding townships. Dissatisfaction with the politics of their elders is beginning to set in among the youth, however. Their reaction is not reflected in support for organized politics, but in a disenchantment with the entire political process.

The cultural rebelliousness which has been characteristic of American youth since the mid-1960s reached the youth of Constantine in the early 1970s. While their elders still believe in the special qualities of small-town rural America, the youth attempt to overcome their purportedly "hick" background. In dress, speech, and political sentiment, Constantine's youth are eager to assimilate the "youth culture" as it percolates out to the rural areas. This process of percolation requires time, and local youth are aware of the cultural lag between themselves and their urban peers. They attempt to overcome this lag by visits to the nearby cities to purchase clothing, to dance, to date, and to be where "it's happening." They prefer to listen to the hard rock sounds of the popular radio stations in Chicago and Detroit while their parents are more content with the broadcasts of local radio stations. The youth want to lessen the cultural distance to the city, but do not express much desire to live there. By contrast, the older residents of Constantine want to maintain some distance from the dissonant life style of the city. They note proudly the more relaxed and convivial neighborliness of the small rural community.

Constantine's residents have always treasured a sense of autonomy and self-sufficiency which was demonstrated in the community's ability to provide most of the necessities of life. Established as a service center for an agricultural economy, the village was able to operate with near self-sufficiency for a period, but it could never attain total self-sufficiency because of an interdependence with the outside world, especially in relation to Constantine's role as a transportation and commodities exchange center.

With the coming of the railroad and the beginning of industrialization following the Civil War, farmers were no longer wholly dependent on local services. The railroad provided rapid transportation of goods, and signaled the growth of new industries. As late as the 1920s, however, the self-sufficiency of the community outweighed its interdependence with the outside world. The rural community was still locally centered. During this century changes in transportation, communications, mechanization, agricultural production, and integration of various levels of society have gradually lessened the ability of the rural community to maintain its self-sufficiency.

The belief in individual free enterprise and in civic service are staples of that view of the self-sustaining community. To witness threats to community autonomy is difficult for long-time residents of Constantine. The in-migration of a large number of outsiders has brought a variety of new social situations to the community. The expansion of the schools, the new occupational roles, and the trend to rural non-farm residence patterns are all part of this new mosaic. The ideals of the small town are brought into conflict with the emerging values and beliefs introduced from the outside. Individual free enterprise is threatened as large absentee-owner corporations locate factories in town. Civic service in the community is threatened as residents find a multitude of other options for their free time, travel and civic service outside the community among them. The highly valued striving for achievement seems to be disappearing among the youth, replaced by a concern for happiness and a life without "hassles." And, of course, community autonomy is threatened as federal and state regulations are placed on a multitude of local functions, including health, education, and public welfare.

The balance has shifted in the past two decades. Interdependence with the outside world, in government, education, the economy, in all phases of the community, has outweighed that small town striving for autonomy. All of this is part of the massive changes affecting rural America in the past century. But, the implications of change to a new way of life, to new values and beliefs, to greater contact and interdependence with the whole of American society, will require considerable adjustment. Some are more ready for the changes than others. The conflicts between locals and cosmopolitans, between the hip and the square, and between the old guard and the newcomers will be reflections of the basic forces altering Constantine in the 1970s.

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Chapter VI

A Social and Educational History of Perry County, Mississippi

by

C. Thompson Wacaster

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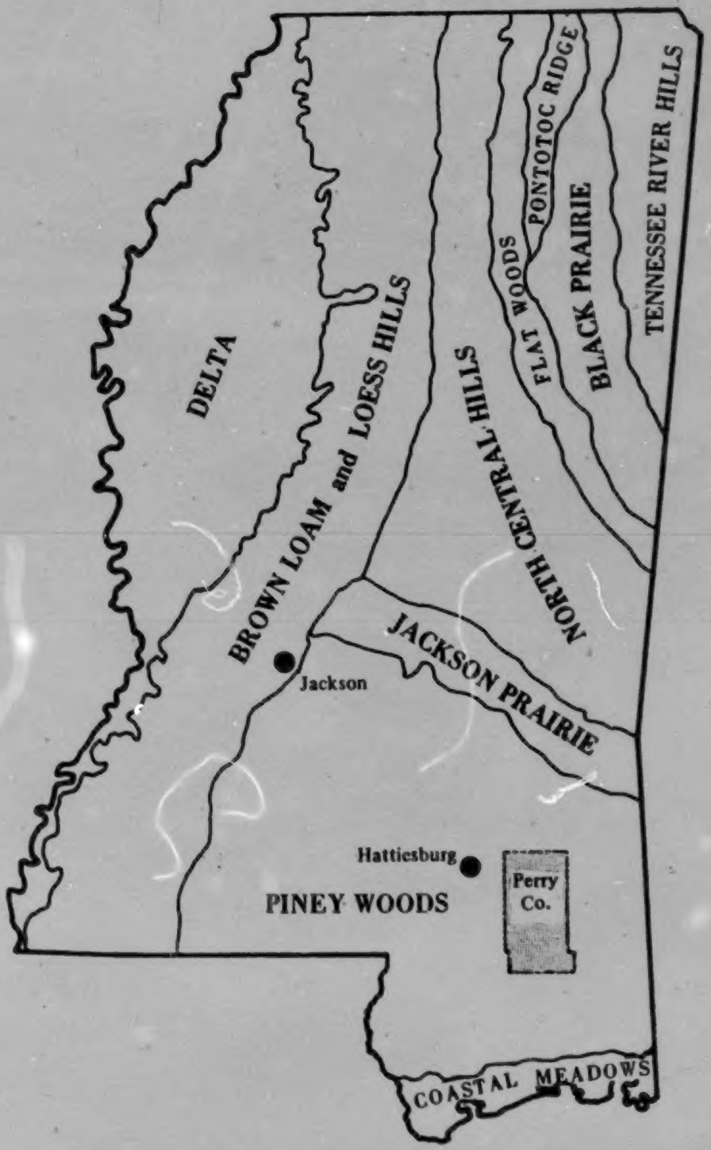
DELTA
BROWN LOAM and LOESS HILLS
NORTH CENTRAL HILLS
FLAT WOODS
PONTOTOC RIDGE
BLACK PRAIRIE
TENNESSEE RIVER HILLS
JACKSON PRAIRIE
Jackson
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Perry Co.
COASTAL MEADOWS

Fig. 1. Map of Mississippi showing Perry County.

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A Social and Educational History of
Perry County, Mississippi

Area: 653 sq. miles. Population (1970): 9,065. Elevation from 103 to 230 feet. County is approximately at latitude 31° N. and at longitude 89° W. County is in the southeastern area of the state, about 50 miles from the Gulf Coast, 100 miles southeast of Jackson, Miss. and 60 miles northwest of Mobile, Ala. Settled circa 1812; incorporated 1906. Major towns: New Augusta, Beaumont, and Richton.

AN INTRODUCTION TO A PINEY WOODS COUNTY IN THE DEEP SOUTH

Perry County lies in the southeastern portion of Mississippi, some 50 miles from the Gulf Coast. Jackson, the state capital, is 100 miles to the northwest of the county; Mobile, Alabama, 60 miles to the southeast; and New Orleans about 100 miles to the southwest. The nearest city of substantial size is Hattiesburg, which is 12 miles to the west.

The county was formed from a section of land taken from the western edge of Green County on February 3, 1820, three years after Mississippi became a state. Perry County in turn was divided in April of 1906 by an act of the state legislature, with the western portion becoming Forrest County (U.S. Work Projects Administration, 1970E, pp. 2-3).

There are three incorporated towns in the county: New Augusta, Beaumont, and Richton. Though serving as the county seat since about 1902, New Augusta was not incorporated until 1953. The 1970 Census indicates there are 511 residents of the town. Beaumont is located in the east central portion of the county. It was incorporated in 1955 and has 1,061 inhabitants. Richton is situated 14 miles north of Beaumont in the northeastern corner of the county. The town was incorporated in 1905. A total of 1,110 people live there now (ibid., p. 1; Ladner, 1968, pp. 228, 243, 244).[1]

The remainder of the county's 9,065 residents are distributed throughout the countryside, many being grouped together in unincorporated communities such as Runnelstown, Janice, Arlington, and Mahned.

The countryside itself has influenced the ways of life of county residents and thus ultimately what goes on in the schools. Hence, it also has a place in this descriptive account of Perry County.

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[1] The schools of Richton are organized into a Municipal Separate District, while the remainder of the schools in the county comprise the Perry County School District. The Richton schools are not a part of the Perry County Experimental Schools Project.

THE GEOGRAPHY, GEOLOGY, AND ECOLOGY OF A PINEY WOODS COUNTY

The 653 square miles (417,960 acres) of rolling hills, river bottom, and swampland that constitute Perry County take the shape of a rectangle with a north-south length of the county being approximately twice the east-west width. The range in elevation is not extreme; state highway department maps show benchmarks of 230 or more feet in the northeast and northwest corners of the county, a 103 foot low point in the Leaf River bottom land between New Augusta and Beaumont, and southern elevations of 136 to 224 feet (Mississippi State Highway Department, 1969).

One river and a number of creeks drain the county. The Leaf River enters Perry County at nearly the midpoint of the western county line. Said to have been named by the Choctaw Indians because of the leaves from the heavily-wooded banks that swirled in the river's many eddies, it flows southeastward across the entire county to an eventual rendezvous with the Pascagoula River and ultimately the Gulf of Mexico.

Several large creeks drain the northern portions of the county and flow into the Leaf River. These are the Tallahala (a Choctaw name meaning "Smooth Rock"), the Bogue Homa (another Indian name meaning "Red Creek"), Thompson Creek, and Gaines Creek. Draining some southern portions of the county and running northward into the Leaf River are several smaller creeks such as Milky, Carter, Coleman's, and Weldy. Water in the southwestern corner of the county flows into Black Creek, which then roughly parallels the Leaf River's route to the Pascagoula (U.S. Work Projects Administration, 1970K, pp. 1-3).

The river and creek bottom land, concentrated in the central portion of the county from east to west, is used for pasture and some crops, though most of it is forested with pines and hardwoods. The latter includes oak, sweet gum, cypress, hickory, beech, sycamores, and magnolia, while long leaf, loblolly, short leaf, and slash constitute the former. The Runnelstown area and other sections of the hilly northwestern portion of the county have soil that is especially suited for early vegetables. The rolling northeastern quarter of the county, too, is reported to have soil that is highly suitable for agricultural purposes as well as for cattle raising, though a good portion of the land there is also in timber. Most of the rest of the county is tree-covered, with 160,000 acres south of

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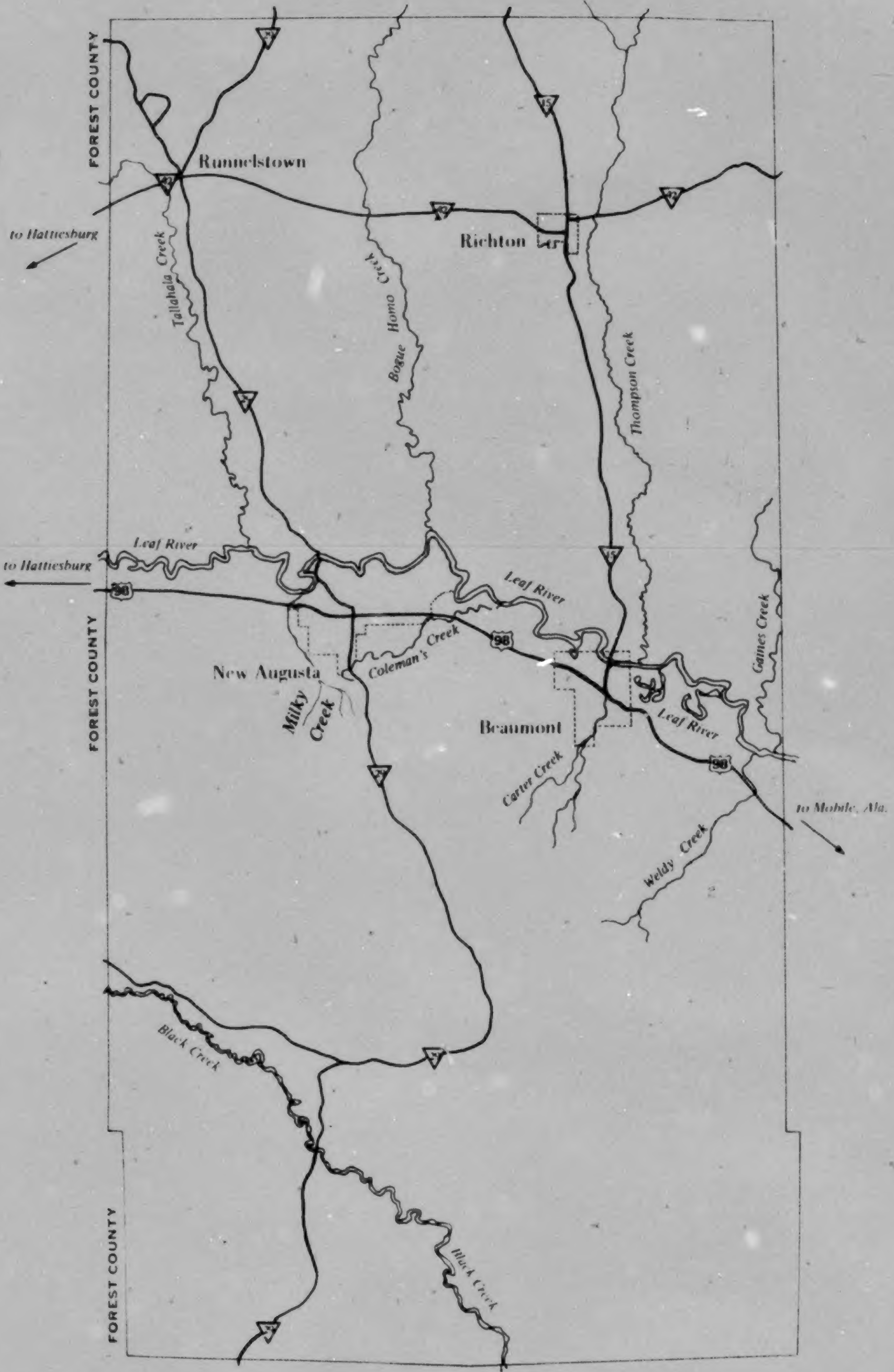
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Leaf River
98
Coleman's Creek
New Augusta
Milky Creek
FOREST COUNTY
Beaumont
Leaf River
Games Creek
98
Carter Creek
to Mobile, Ala.
Weldy Creek
Black Creek
FOREST COUNTY
Black Creek

Fig. 2. Perry County, Mississippi.

the Leaf River included in the Piney Woods of the Desoto National Forest. In all, 78% of Perry County is forested, 14% is in crops, and 8% is used for pastures (ibid., 1970C,J,K; Perry County Rural Areas Development Committee, 1967, pp. 8, 13).

A variety of wildlife inhabits the county. Deer and a few black bears are the largest animals in the area, though there are also raccoons, opossums, and, in recent times, armadillos. A long-time county resident recalls what it's like to be down in the Leaf River bottom land during wild turkey season:

> You can be out in those woods before dawn breaks and there's not a sound. Then one bird sings, then all of a sudden there must be 200 different birds all going at once. I love to be out at that time of day...

Cardinals, brown thrashers, mockingbirds, and even an old Tom himself will be a part of that chorus.

All four poisonous snakes found in the U.S. crawl around Perry County. The coral snake, rattlesnake, cottonmouth moccasin, and copperhead, however, are far outnumbered by the harmless water snakes, blacksnakes, chicken snakes, and others. Stories of encounters with snakes on land, in the water, in boats, and even in trees abound.

Fish stories are almost as numerous as the fish that give rise to them. Catfish swim along the bottoms of the creeks and rivers with some having been introduced to the ponds and small lakes of the county. White perch, bass, and bream are other fish caught by county residents.

Fleas, redbugs, ticks, and fire ants also are found in Perry County, while the stagnant waters of the bottoms and the swampland breed hordes of mosquitos. An extensive program of control, however, has helped make spring and summer evenings relatively pleasant times to venture out-of-doors now and has virtually eliminated the threat of malaria.

The average temperature in Perry County is 66.7°, while the relative humidity averages 74%. The spring and summer thunderstorms, along with the winter rains that come out of the Gulf and the American Southwest, produce an annual rainfall of 58.65 inches. The prevailing winds are from the south at six miles an hour (Perry County Rural Areas Development Committee, 1967, p. 14).

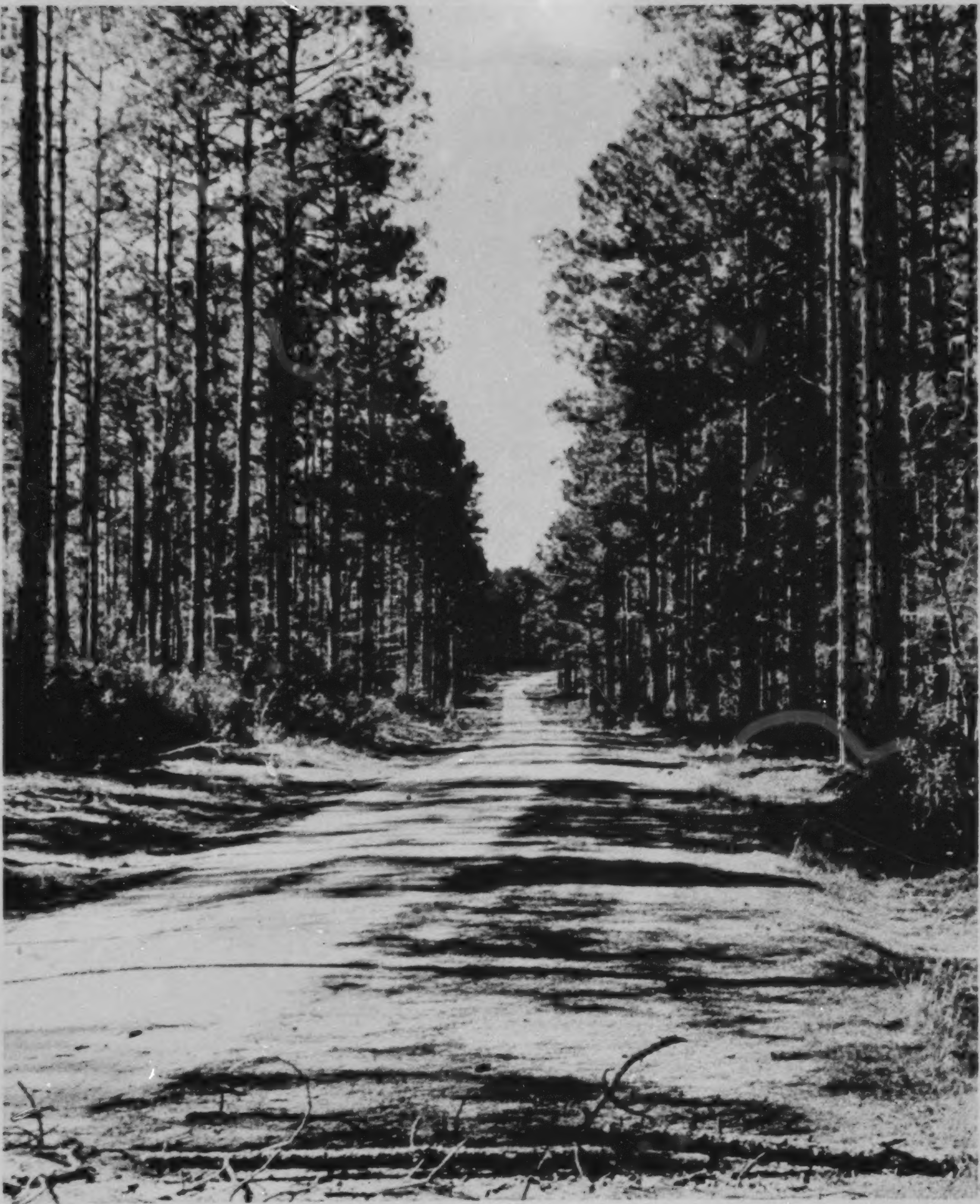

Fig.3. The pine thickets of the DeSoto National Forest cover much of the southern third of Perry County and play an important part in the local economy.

Some of the various geographical, geological, and ecological characteristics of Perry County identified above undoubtedly have influenced the lives of county residents. The thick pine forests of the county are reported not to have been conducive to the establishment of large cotton plantations (U.S. Work Projects Administration, 1970B, p. 1). Cotton could be grown profitably in some sections of the county, though the soil apparently did not allow as large a yield per acre as could be had in northern and western areas of the state. The combination of pine forests and soil may have helped determine the present ethnic composition of the county. It worked against the establishment of large plantations while permitting some cotton to be grown profitably, thus accounting in part for the relatively small black population of the county.

The soil in the northern end of the county partially accounts for the concentration of agricultural development there. Certainly the truck farming in the Runnelstown area must have been encouraged by ground that was especially suited for raising early vegetables.

The heavy pine forests that once impeded the development of cotton plantations, along with the pine and hardwood forests of the bottom lands, later came to be a mainstay of the local economy. Indeed, in the early years of the twentieth century, the timber industry was booming in the county. Virgin stands of long leaf pine were particularly attractive to the logger, so much so that the county's great pine forests were overcut (ibid., 1970D, p. 12). As a result, nearly all the major logging companies are reported to have pulled out of the county by the late 1920s, probably becoming a part of the vast migration of lumbermen to the Pacific Northwest.

During the late 1930s, the Civilian Conservation Corps undertook extensive replantings of the pine forests. Natural reforestation, spurred by the ideal climate and soil conditions for pine, was also underway. The wood products industry in the county began to revive. About 1940, the hardwood trees of the bottom lands attracted a hardwood plywood producer to Beaumont where the Perry County Plywood Company was established.

In later years, pulp, paper, and lumber companies again became interested in the county's timber, acquiring or supplementing extensive land holdings. Some of the holdings in 1967 are shown in Table 1.

Table 1

LUMBER COMPANY HOLDINGS IN PERRY COUNTY, 1967

Company	Number of Acres
Masonite Corporation	49,000
Scott Paper	8,000
Richton Tie and Timber	6,000
International Paper	2,800

Source: Perry County Rural Areas Development Committee, 1967, p. 8.

Another large plywood plant was opened in the county in the 1960s along with two pole and piling firms (ibid., p. 65).

The 160,000 acres of national forest land, of course, would also be attractive to these wood products companies and therefore contribute to the economy of the community. Federal land, however, is not taxable and is not open to industrial development. With more than one-third of the county under federal ownership, the tax base of the county is circumscribed. The potential and real impact of this situation on the operation of county government and other aspects of county life is probably considerable.

Finally, the rivers and creeks, the forests, and the abundant wildlife combine to lure many county residents out-of-doors. Hunting, fishing, and rambles in the woods are an important part of the way of life in Perry County, Mississippi.

THE EARLY SETTLEMENT OF PERRY COUNTY: 1806-1906

By the early 1700s, the French had established settlements on the Gulf Coast at Mobile, Pascagoula, and Ocean Springs. The village of New Orleans was laid out in 1717, and Natchez was settled in 1720. A variety of factors apparently delayed the settling of the interior portions of what are now the states of Alabama and Mississippi. By 1798, disputes among Spain, France, England, the United States, and the State of Georgia had been largely reconciled, and on April 7, the United States Congress acted to create the Mississippi Territory. This action, coupled in 1803 with the reopening of the Mississippi River to trade and with the consummation of the Louisiana Purchase, set off a land boom in the territory. People from the eastern seaboard of the United States came down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers on flatboats. Others traveled the newly opened Natchez Trace, while still others came by ship around Florida to the Gulf Coast and New Orleans (Federal Writers' Project, 1949, pp. 61-67).

The white man's press for land prompted the U.S. government to negotiate a series of treaties with the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians to permit white settlement of the Mississippi Territory's interior. In 1805, the Choctaws signed the Treaty of Mount Dexter which ceded to the United States land that included the area presently comprising Perry County (U.S. Work Projects Administration, 1970D, p. 1).

Settlements in the interior portion of the territory first sprang up along the rivers, since much of that area was wilderness and there were almost no roads (Federal Writers' Project, 1949, pp. 79, 82). The Pascagoula River was part of one such route to the interior. At least as early as 1806, settlers followed its waters northward from the Gulf and entered the Leaf River in their search for suitable farm land (Perry County Rural Areas Development Committee, 1967, p. 11). The land ceded by the Choctaws, however, wasn't officially opened for settlement until 1809.

By 1812 three houses had been built on a site on the north bank of the Leaf River in what is now Perry County. This cluster of houses was called by the Choctaws "Three Smokes" and served as the nucleus of what soon became the town of Augusta. These houses and the lives of their occupants have been described as follows:

> ....At this time there were no mills to saw lumber or kilns to burn brick, so the houses were rudely constructed of hand-hewn logs, about twelve inches in diameter. They were split halfway, leaving a smooth surface on the inside. The houses were usually two large rooms with a wide hall between them, and were covered with boards rived by hand from some special specie of tree which would split easily. The fire places were made of sticks and clay held together by dried grass or hay. Kitchens were built away from the main house and often with dirt floors. There were no stoves so they cooked on the fire. Baking was done in a big shallow pot with a close fitting lid so that hot coals could be placed on both top and bottom of the baker. These people lived on things either grown or raised at home, together with fishing and hunting...(U.S. Work Projects Administration, 1970D, pp. 4-6).

Perhaps because of continued immigration into the region, perhaps out of a desire to have a county seat within a day's ride of all residents, land was taken from the western edge of Greene County, Mississippi in 1820 to form Perry County. This new county, named for Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry, the popular hero of the War of 1812, was populated by 2,037 souls, 1,539 being white, 491 Negro slaves, and 7 Negro freedmen (Mississippi Power and Light Company, 1962, p. 57).

Augusta was designated the county seat, since it had already gained some importance with the establishment of the state's first U.S. Land Office there in 1819 (U.S. Work Projects Administration, 1970D, pp. 3-4). A civil government was organized for the county that included the following positions (*ibid*., p. 8):

Chief Justice of Quorum (1)
Associate Justice of Quorum (4)
Justice of the Peace (9)
Sheriff (1)
Constable (1)
Coroner (1)
Tax Assessor (1)
Ranger (1)

Ante-bellum Years

The ante-bellum years from 1820 to 1860 are reported to have been years of "prosperity and growth" in Perry County (*ibid*., 1970B, p. 1). This may have resulted from at least three factors that profoundly influenced the

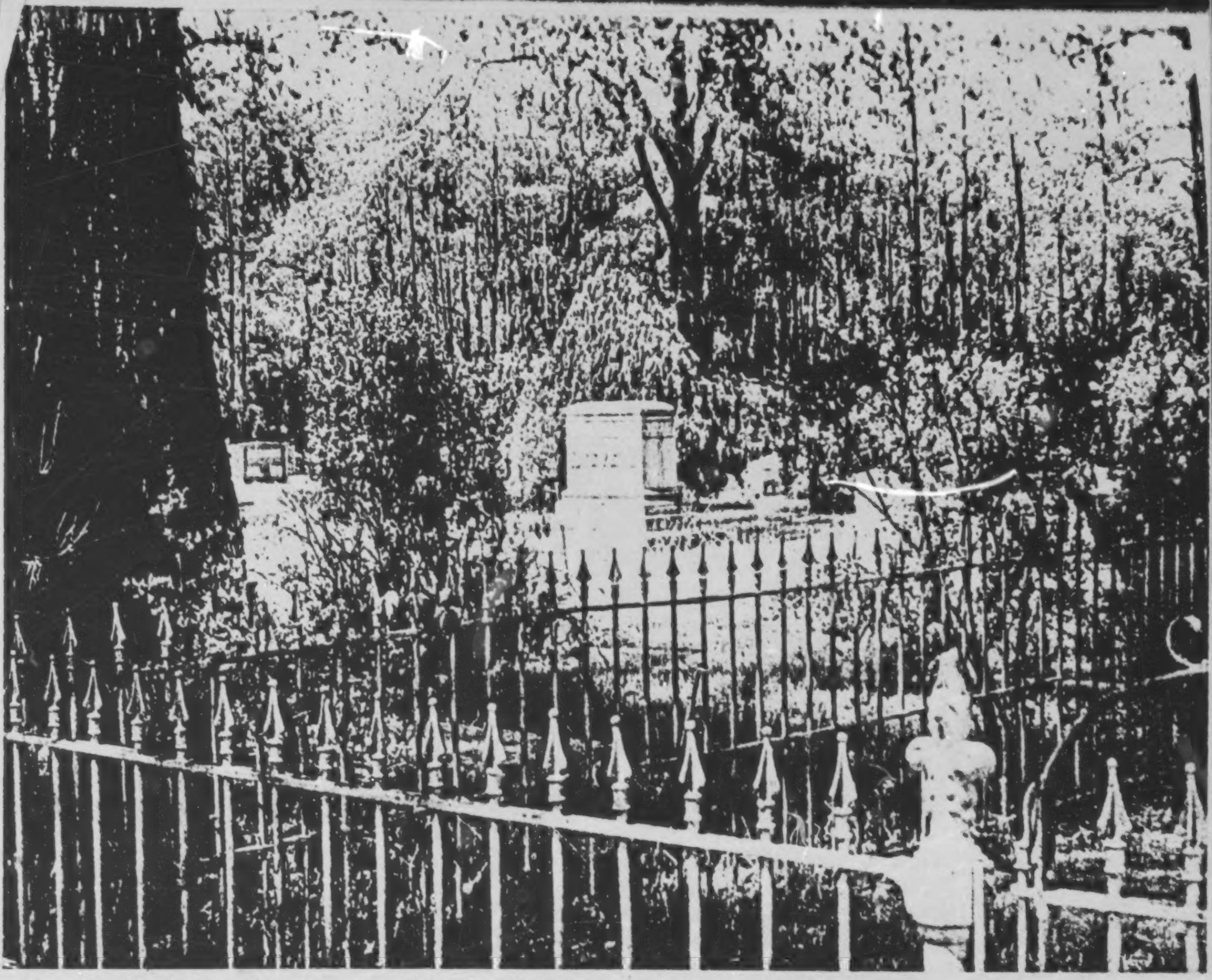

Fig.4. The Old Augusta Cemetery is located adjacent to the now abandoned site of Augusta, Perry County's first county seat.

development of the entire state of Mississippi: (1) spinning machines for cotton had been perfected in England by the close of the eighteenth century; (2) in 1794 Eli Whitney of Yale had patented the cotton gin, a device that made easier the arduous process of separating cotton lint from the seed; (3) the variety of cotton had been improved through selection and standardization beginning first in 1806 with the introduction of Mexican cotton (Federal Writers' Project, 1949, p. 95). This combination of events touched off a "cotton boom" in the southern United States and especially in Mississippi, where land was cheap and where growing conditions in many areas of the state were conducive to high yields. There consequently occurred the "Great Migration" from the older South, especially North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. This migration was heightened in the 1830s with the opening of roads and railroads between those areas and Mississippi and continued until the beginning of the War Between the States (ibid., pp. 70-71, 96-99). The county population figures cited in Table 2 indicate that these events did have an effect on Perry County.

Table 2

PERRY COUNTY POPULATION, 1830-1860

Year	Total	White	Slave	Freedman
1830	2,300	1,465	820	15
1840	1,889	1,425	454	10
1850	2,438	1,679	749	10
1860	2,606	1,858	738	10

Source: Mississippi Power and Light Co., 1962, p. 5.

The desire for land brought people to the county during the teens, twenties, and early thirties. The beginning of the cotton boom in the 1830s, however, along with the improved transportation routes and the fact that the pine covered land was neither so conducive to the establishment of large plantations nor so fertile as that in other parts of the state, apparently encouraged Perry Countians to join the migration west to the rich soil along the Mississippi River. This may in part account for the drop in population which the table shows occurred between 1840 and 1850. By 1850 most, if not all, of that land had been claimed. Thus the increase in population of Perry County indicated for 1850 and 1860 was due to small farmers or slave-holders who followed King Cotton west from the eastern seaboard, but who couldn't find land along the Mississippi, or who had been squeezed out of the richer lands.

At any rate, land and cotton undoubtedly affected the settlement rate of Perry County during the ante-bellum period, with cotton becoming the basis of the local economy. Because of the land's inhospitality to the development of plantations, however, no family in the county amassed anything like the fabulous wealth which persons in the western and northern portions of the state did.

Besides cotton, other components of the economy at this time were subsistence farming, commerce (seed, food, dry goods), and local government.

Though the population of the county grew and its residents are reported to have prospered, Perry County was much more recently settled than was land along the Gulf Coast and the Mississippi River. The way of life was very much that associated with a newly opened frontier--which in fact the area was--and not like that of the Biloxi and Natchez districts. As the county developed, however, efforts were made to establish those institutions found in more settled areas. The first school in the county was built at Augusta during those times. The building and the educational process that took place there have been described as follows:

> ...the school, too, was made of split logs. The seats and desks were also made of split logs. Maps, charts, blackboards, pencils, tablets, and chalk were unheard of. Slates were used for writing, and the important book was the Blue Book Speller. Reading, English, and a book of numbers and figures were a day's task, and after a pupil's turn of reading, etc., he was given a copy to write as many times as he could until it was time to be dismissed. School was opened just as soon as the pupils could get there and it was often dark before they reached home (U.S. Work Projects Administration, 1970D, p. 6).

Sources do not indicate whether the school was public or private. There was a strong tradition of private education in Mississippi during these years. Some tentative steps toward a system of public education had also been made as early as 1844. These and subsequent efforts during the ante-bellum years, however, were marked by confusion as a bewildering array of educational legislation was passed. This situation has prompted one historian to observe that, during the period, Mississippi had plenty of school laws but few public schools (Bettersworth, 1959, pp. 255-257).

Outlaw Days

The ante-bellum years, however, are best remembered by local residents for the exploits of the notorious outlaw, James Copeland. Copeland headed a gang that plundered areas of the Deep South from 1839 until 1857. For a time he was headquartered at a friend's homestead on Red Creek in Perry County. During that period, in addition to stealing, he killed a man in a dispute over a debt. Though he continued his outlawry for some years after the incident, he was eventually captured and brought to trial in Augusta for the murder. There, during the September 1857 term of the circuit court, he was convicted, with Judge W. M. Handcock rendering the following sentence of the court:

> To the Sheriff of Perry County---Greetings:
>
> Whereas, at the September term, A.D. 1857, of the Circuit Court of said county, on the fourth day of said term, James Copeland was duly convicted of the murder of James A. Harvey, by a verdict of a jury chosen and sworn between the parties...these are therefore to command you in the name, and by the authority of the State of Mississippi, to take...the said James Copeland, and him commit to the jail of said county, and him there to safely keep, until the said thirtieth day of October, and that on the said thirtieth day of October, between the hours of ten o'clock A.M. and four o'clock P.M. of the said day, at the place appointed by law, you hang him by the neck until he be dead, dead, dead... (U.S. Work Projects Administration, 1970F, pp. 8-9).

On a rise one-quarter of a mile from Augusta and before hundreds of spectators, the death warrant was read to James Copeland at 2 o'clock October 30. Copeland then

> ...proceeded to address the awe-struck and silent multitude. He especially urged the young men present to take warning from his career and fate, and to avoid bad company. His misfortune he attributed principally to having been misled while young...

> The sheriff then asked him in the hearing of many onlookers, if the details of his confession, previously made to the officer, were true. He replied that they were.
>
> His hands were then tied and the cap pulled over his face, and he was told that he had but a few moments to live. He exclaimed, "Lord, have mercy on me!" and he was praying when the drop fell... (ibid., pp. 12-13).

The War Between the States

The War Between the States and its aftermath affected Perry County, though not as severely as it did the more heavily populated, more prosperous and established counties of the state.

There were no battles or skirmishes in the county itself. The only direct contact with the war occurred when Brigadier General John Davidson of the U.S. Army led an expedition from Baton Rouge, Louisiana, to destroy the Mobile and Ohio Railroad. One wing of his 5,000-man army marched through the northern end of the county, while the main force under the general himself crossed the Leaf River at Augusta. Mrs. Betty Myers and Mrs. Emma Garraway, daughters of Captain Ben Stevens, were small children at the time. In an interview in the 1930s they recalled the events as follows:

> All the fighting men were away from home. Only old men, boys, and slaves were left with the women and children; they hid in the swamps as they were unable to cope with the armed troops. When the Union Army arrived at Leaf River they could not cross, as the ferry had been sunk as soon as news came of their approach. They fired into the town, not to kill, but as a warning, then called out "If any woman is brave enough to come out with a white flag, we will cease firing." Mrs. Rebecca Lewis, wife of John Lewis, who was fighting in the Confederate Army, fastened a bed sheet to her well sweep and waved it: the firing ceased.
>
> General Davidson came to the home of Mrs. Ben Stevens, who met him on the path with her three little girls clinging to her skirts and the old folks and slaves clustered in the background. The general asked her, "Where is your husband?" She replied, "With the Confederate Army in Georgia, fighting for the cause he thinks is right." The general said, "Madam, I respect him more than the men who are hiding out in the swamps." (ibid., 1970L, pp. 31-32).

Another county resident in the 1930s, Margaret Denham, also told about the raid.

> The main army marched through the county and crossed the river at Moody's Ferry, at McLain, which required three days' time, but small parties went out in every direction... They took such horses as they could use, killed cows, pigs and chickens and fed their army, and left destruction of property in their wake (ibid., p. 32).

Reconstruction and After

Davidson's raid, coupled with the absence of most able-bodied men during the war, left farms and homes depleted by 1865. When the men returned after Appomattox, they found the farms neglected, fences dilapidated, and the supply of seed for crops almost exhausted. These conditions were mitigated somewhat, however, by the fact that Perry County was both recently and sparsely settled. Consequently, many of the practices devised to permit survival in a frontier setting were still in use or a part of recent memory.

The women made a variety of medicines from local plants. The bark of the dogwood tree yielded a medicine thought to be effective against malaria; calamis root, may-apple, butterfly weed and cherry bark provided other remedies. Poppy seeds were used for a narcotic, and sheep sorrel for salve.

Syrup was made from cane to get sugar. Soap was made from oak ash lye and meat scraps. Shoes were made from home-tanned leather with their "nails" being whittled from wood. Cotton was carded, spun into thread, woven into cloth, and made into clothes. Rutabagas and cabbages were grown and savored by many.

During the fall and winter the women would gather for quilting while the men would organize hunting parties to go after the plentiful fish and game. (On these trips, the game shot was pooled and then divided at the end of the hunt. Such communal arrangements were also worked out in regard to sickness. The neighbors worked the crops if the man or the family were ill, while the women took turns nursing (ibid., 1970G, pp. 1-3).

The newly freed slaves undoubtedly shared much of this folk wisdom that permitted survival. Their life after the war, however, is likely to have been severe. They had little property of their own and no capital. Probably as a direct consequence of this situation, many are reported to have stayed to work for their old masters as share croppers (ibid., p. 8).

Reconstruction also saw significant developments in education occur in Mississippi and consequently in Perry County. The Republican dominated state legislature in 1870 resolved the confusion that had plagued public education in Mississippi during the ante-bellum period and immediately after the War Between the States. The legislature did this by enacting public education legislation that would apply uniformly across the state, which much previous legislation had failed to do. Under the provisions of the new legislation, each municipality with a population of 3,000 or more and each county in the state were organized as a school district. Each young person between the ages of five and twenty-five was to be given free schooling for a period of not less than four months a year. An elected State Superintendent of Education was to administer the public school system. He was to be assisted by a State Board of Education which also was to appoint County Superintendents of Education. Both state and local funds were to be used for school support (Bettersworth, 1959, pp. 354-355).

Between 1870 and 1873 the above legislation was amended by statute and fleshed in by practice. Legislative acts in 1873 permitted school districts to be organized for geographical areas smaller than a county unit. Each such district was required to have a board of trustees. The apparent consequence of this legislation was to permit the attendance area of each school outside of the municipal districts to become an autonomous school district with its own board of trustees. Later legislation provided for county boards of education, but reserved to them jurisdiction over matters of little importance (Taylor & Ethridge, 1940, p. 545).

Also by 1873 the legislation of 1870 had been operationalized to mean segregated public education. Though the legislation apparently did not specify whether public schools were to be segregated, separate public schools for Negroes and whites were in fact established as local people set out to implement the laws.

A private school that became one of the first public white schools after the passage of the 1870 legislation was founded in 1868 at Augusta by Captain Benjamin Stevens.

> The building was two story with one long room down stairs that was used for the school room. The desk was long, with benches for seats. The teachers sat behind the platform at one end of the room that was also used by the preachers on Sunday... Spelling, Reading, Arithmetic, Grammar, Physiology, Physics, Geography, and Algebra were taught. They were also taught manners along with the other studies...(ibid., 1970I, pp. 16-17).

This school was ancestor of the present day New Augusta School.

Interviews indicate the St. John School was one of the earliest colored [2] public schools in the county. Located in the St. John Church three or four miles north of Janice, it was organized about 1881 by Jim West, John Samuel, and Wesley Alfred. The one 14' by 16' room of the church, with its one door and one window, served as the school room. Two years later, the school and church were moved 1-1/2 miles west of Janice on the Brooklyn Road. A separate school building was eventually built that served as the predecessor of the St. John School closed by consolidation of colored county schools in the early 1960s.

The Holliman Colored School (Old Augusta School) was established in 1886. The building

> ...was a one room log house, with window shutters, a dirt chimney, and plank seats. It was Jake Holliman's old dwelling house and he donated it for a school building...They taught several terms at this place. Then to be more centrally located they moved about one mile to Providence Baptist Church. This was also a log house with one room, three shutters on each side and one heater. They remained there until 1911, when Mr. Barrow put up a turpentine still near by. In order (to let) the workers' children have school advantages, they moved one mile north...to Bethlehem Baptist Church. This was a frame building with eight glass windows, one heater and one door. By this time they taught up to the eighth grade (ibid., p. 29).

These not atypical descriptions of colored and white schools in Perry County suggest that the county experienced a phenomenon common to Mississippi public schools, especially colored schools, in the latter third of the nineteenth century: lack of monetary support. A state economy ravaged by the War and Reconstruction made taxpayers unable to bear all expenses associated with maintaining school buildings and with providing adequate numbers of trained teachers. Many taxpayers were also unwilling to do so, some probably feeling the money was needed for their own subsistence, others believing in the ante-bellum tradition of private education. Also, since most taxpayers are reported to have been white and to have perceived Negroes as those who paid no taxes, these taxpayers were reluctant to provide funds for Negro public education (Bettersworth, 1959, p. 355; Federal Writers' Project, 1947, p. 121). At any rate, colored and white public education in Perry County in the late nineteenth century typically took place in small 1 or 2 room school buildings, churches, lodge halls, and similar establishments usually located in the many small settlements scattered about the county.

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[2] "Colored schools" or "Negro schools" were the terms used locally and across the state of Mississippi to describe schools for blacks during this and later periods.

The state constitution adopted in 1890 continued the system of public education established after the War Between the States. That constitution, however, mandated that separate schools for the races should be maintained. It also provided that the office of county superintendent of education could be made an elected position if the state legislature so desired. The legislature did. As a result, elections were held in Perry County the same year the state constitution was adopted, with Mr. R. Ferguson becoming the county's first elected superintendent of education (U.S. Work Projects Administration, 1970G, p. 2).

After the War and during Reconstruction, the economy of Perry County, once it emerged from a subsistence level, was again dominated by cotton. Within a few years, however, a combination of events made the lumber industry a vital force in that economy. During the late 1870s and 1880s the timber supplies in Michigan and Great Lakes region were rapidly being depleted. The burgeoning industrialization and urbanization of the eastern U.S., coupled with massive immigration from Europe, increased the demand for building materials while the supply of timber was decreasing. Lumber interests began looking toward the virgin pine forests of the South.

In 1881, the Southern Railroad pushed northeastward from New Orleans into Mississippi, across the Pearl River and through the pine woods, penetrating the heart of almost untouched forests. Mills sprang up all along the line as large timber interests gradually acquired extensive holdings. Hattiesburg, in what was then Perry County, was founded, as were many other towns, such as Laurel in Jones County (Federal Writers' Project, 1949, pp. 108-109).

The rise of the lumber industry and the advent of railroads had more than economic consequences for Perry County in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The Mobile, Jackson, and Kansas City Railroad laid two tracks through the county in the late 1890s or early 1900s. One track ran down from Laurel, the other from Hattiesburg. At their junction in the east central section of the county, a settlement was established. John McCoy is said to have named the settlement Beaumont because of the then-current publicity the oil boom was bringing to Beaumont, Texas (U.S. Work Projects Administration, 1970D, p. 16).

The village of Rich's Mill moved a mile and a quarter northeast to be on the proposed rail route out of Laurel. In 1902 its name was changed to Richton. The railroad was completed in 1903. A bank and other business establishments, including a lumber mill, were set up in that same year. Other mills followed (ibid., pp. 9-13).

Augusta, too, moved to be on the railroad. The town and all the county offices were moved from the north bank of the Leaf River two miles south about 1904. The cornerstone of the present Perry County courthouse was laid at that time.

Runnelstown, in the northwest part of the county, is built on land once owned by J. L. Runnels. He and his brother were in the timber business. The establishment of two large sawmills apparently attracted other settlers to this location (ibid., p. 17).

It seems probable, finally, that the railroads and the rise of the timber industry had another significant effect on Perry County. The western part of the county lay on the main line of the Southern Railroad. This, along with the proliferation of sawmills, may have brought great numbers of people into the area, as evidenced by the founding and rapid growth of Hattiesburg. These factors may well have been ones that prompted the state legislature in 1906 to divide Perry County nearly in two. The western half was to be called Forrest County, in honor of the Confederate general of that name, and the county seat located at Hattiesburg. The eastern half was to retain the name Perry. New Augusta was to remain the county seat (ibid., p. 4).

With the creation of Forrest County, Perry County then encompassed the area it would have when, almost 70 years later, its public school system would become a part of the National Institute of Education's Experimental Schools program. Events occurred in those years, too, that shaped the community context in which that program would come into being. These events are described in the next section of this paper.

THE LATER DEVELOPMENT OF PERRY COUNTY: 1906-1970

The creation of Forrest County did not change the organization of government in Perry County. The county offices provided for in the State Constitution of 1890 were continued. These included the following:

County Supervisors
Sheriff and Tax Collector
Clerk of the Circuit Court[3]
Clerk of the Chancery Court[3]
Tax Assessor
Superintendent of Education
Justices of the Peace

Apart from the creation in 1953 of an elected county board of education as a result of state legislation, this organization of Perry County government has persisted until the present time.

Though the governmental organization of Perry County remained relatively stable during the period 1906-1970, the county economy underwent extensive change. In 1906, county residents were employed primarily in agriculture (cotton and subsistence farming), local government, the lumber industry, and commercial enterprises servicing such operations.

The lumber industry continued its boom after 1906, and more people followed the sawmills into the county. Several of those mills located near Richton, with the result that the tiny settlement that moved from Beaver Dam Creek to the railroad right-of-way some three or four years before had a population in 1903 of 510--by far the largest in the county. The town was duly incorporated in 1905. Two years later the corporate limits were extended, an electric light plant and telephone office built, and a separate school district established. Commercial establishments to serve the surrounding agricultural areas of northern Perry County, southern Jones County, and western Greene County also were founded. By 1915, the town population is reported to have been over 2,000 (U.S. Work Projects Administration, 1970D, pp. 9-12).

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[3] These positions were combined and held by a single person.

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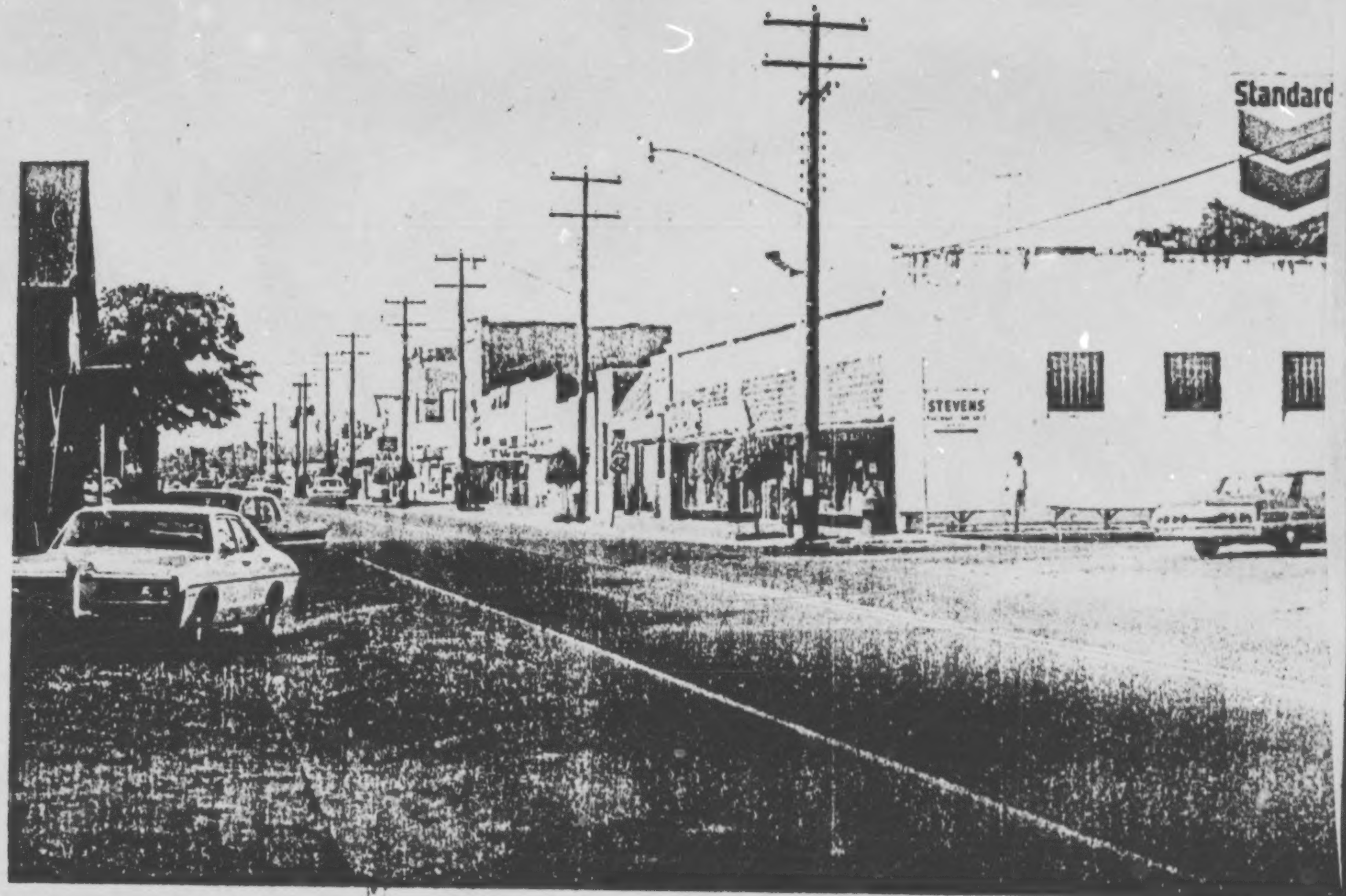
Standard
STEVENS

Fig.5. The Richton, Mississippi, business district in 1974.

Other portions of the county also experienced increases in population as the timber boom continued into the 1920s. By the mid- and late twenties, however, Perry County had been extensively overcut. Nearly all the large timber companies packed up their mills and followed the trees west, probably to the vast Douglas fir and Ponderosa pine forests of the Pacific Northwest. The population of Perry County dropped from 8,987 in 1920 to 8,197 in 1930 (Mississippi Power and Light Company, 1962, p. 57). Richton's population fell proportionately as many businesses and families left (U.S. Work Projects Administration, 1970D, p. 12). Unemployment in the county rose at this time among those who stayed, though many may have turned or returned to farming. Commercial trade also was down.

Changes in the agricultural sector of the county's economy also occurred in the early years of the twentieth century. The agricultural activities of county farmers became more diversified. Cotton was still raised but truck farming, especially in the northern end of the county, was coming into its own. In the thirties, too, some farmers were turning to poultry and cattle raising (ibid., 1970A, pp. 1, 16-17).

A number of factors may have contributed to this diversification. The boll weevil entered Mississippi in 1907 with devastating consequences for the state's cotton farmers. Some areas of the state, especially south central Mississippi--where soil conditions permitted it and where the relatively new railroads provided rapid access to markets--began extensive truck farming. This trend away from cotton to truck farming and other crops was encouraged and, in some instances, initiated by the network of county agents established by the Smith-Lever Act passed in 1914 by the U.S. Congress (Bettersworth, 1959, pp. 442-443).

Perry County lies on the eastern edge of this south central Mississippi area, close enough for its farmers to know of agricultural developments there. The county's extension agent, at least in the 1930s, was actively encouraging diversification: for example, truck farming and cattle, hog, and poultry raising (U.S. Work Projects Administration, 1970A, pp. 16-17). Hattiesburg and Laurel had both grown to be towns of substantial size, while other markets such as Jackson, New Orleans, Mobile, and beyond were readily accessible by railroad. It is likely, then, that the factors at work in the first third of the twentieth century in other parts of the state that promoted agricultural diversification also were at work in Perry County.

A number of other events in the 1930s and 1940s affected the development of the Perry County economy, though their impact was felt at a later date. These included Governor Hugh White's Balance Agriculture with Industry (BAWI) program initiated in 1936, the establishment of an extensive state system of paved roads, the creation of Camp Shelby in Forrest County during World War II, the growth of Hattiesburg, and, finally, the reforestation of Perry County.

Natural reforestation of the county's pine forests had, of course, been underway since the sawmills left in the 1920s. This natural process was complemented during the Depression by the work of the Civilian Conservation Corps. These efforts of nature and government, along with a

Table 3

NEW TIMBER COMPANIES ESTABLISHED IN PERRY COUNTY DURING THE 1960s

Date	Company and Location	Products	No. of Employees
1963	Perry Timber Company, Richton	Poles, pilings, flooring, and cross arms	50
1966	Delta Pine Plywood Co., Beaumont	Pine Plywood	225[a]
1966	Conway Pole and Piling Co., New Augusta	Poles	20
1966	St. Regis Chip Mill, Richton	Wood chips	20

Source: Perry County Rural Areas Development Committee, 1967, p. 65.

[a] This figure includes only those who work at the plant, and not the numerous independent contractors who cut and haul the pine logs.

recognition in 1940 of the commercial value of the hardwood forests still standing in the bottom lands, signaled the beginning of the re-emergence of the timber industry in Perry County.

In about 1940, a hardwood plywood mill was built in Beaumont. Logging associated with that mill's needs and with the pulp industry occurred in the 1940s and 1950s. The decade of the 1960s saw the timber industry expand rapidly; operations established in the county during this decade are shown in Table 3. The construction of the massive Delta Pine plant was financed by the county through bonds issued under the provisions of the state's Balance Agriculture with Industry legislation. In the election required for approval of the bonds, 84% of the eligible voters went to the polls, with 98% of those voting yes (ibid.). Delta Pine was also provided a 10-year tax exempt status (ibid.).

By the close of the 1960s, numerous other wood products companies also were buying timber in the county, but transporting it to their facilities in other locations (ibid., p. 23).

As is shown in Table 4, the rebirth of the timber industry didn't produce as great an influx of people as the timber boom of the early part of the century did.

Table 4

PERRY COUNTY POPULATION: 1940-1965

Period	Percent Change
1940-50	-2.0%
1950-60	-4.0%
1960-70	3.7%

Sources: Perry County Rural Areas Development Committee, 1967, p. 15; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1973, p. 258.

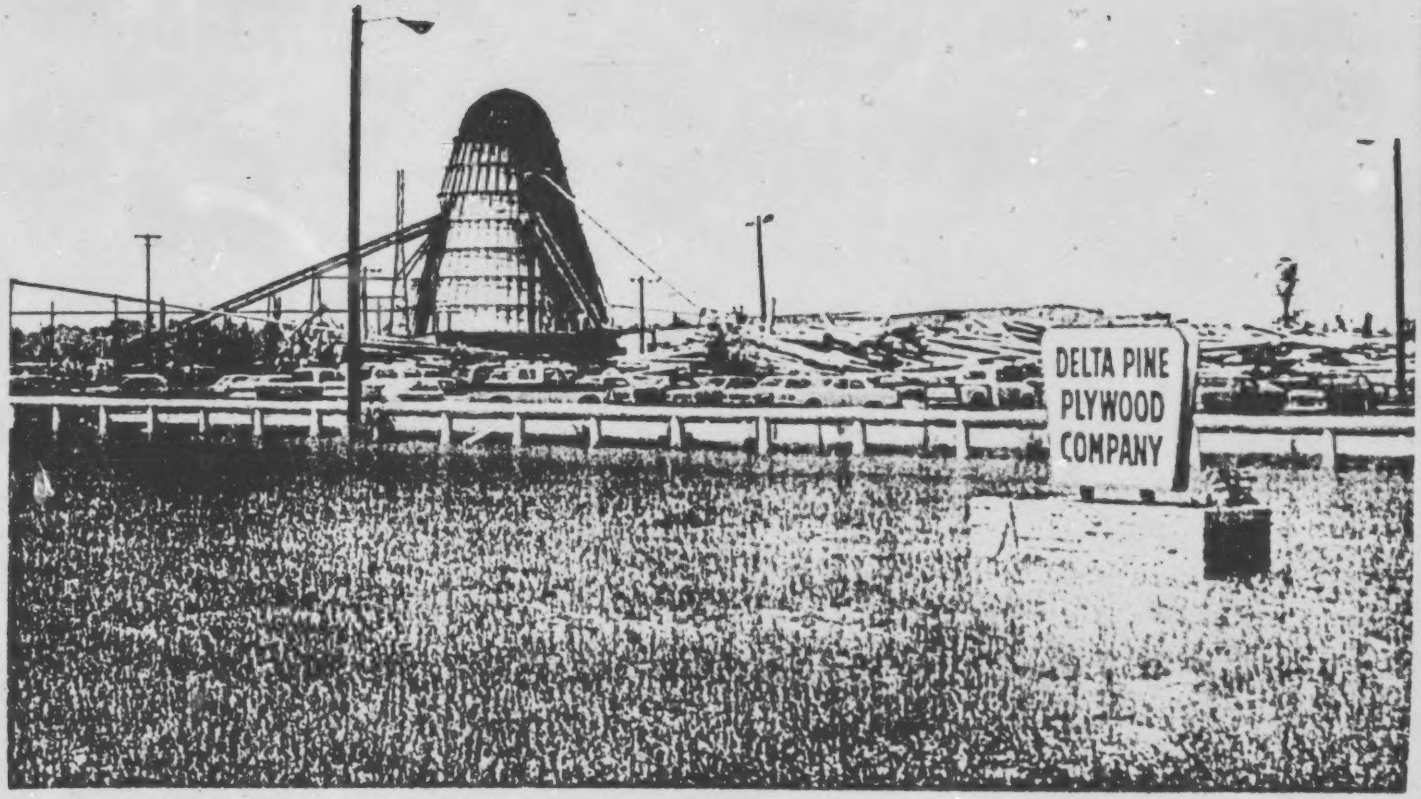
DELTA PINE
PLYWOOD
COMPANY

Fig.6. The Delta Pine Plywood Company completed its Perry County plant in 1966 and became the county's largest single employer.

What it did do, apparently, was draw upon the ranks of the unemployed in the county, convert persons from other occupations (especially agriculture), and help reverse an out-migration of county residents, as Tables 5 and 6 suggest.

Table 5
PERRY COUNTY UNEMPLOYMENT: 1962-1966

Period	Work Force	Unemployed	
		Number	Ratio
January 1962	2,352	251	10.7
January 1963	2,303	257	11.2
January 1964	2,336	221	9.5
January 1965	2,380	205	8.6
January 1966	2,211	90	4.1

Source: Perry County Rural Areas Development Committee, 1967, pp. 18-19.

Table 6
AGRICULTURAL AND NON-AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYMENT IN PERRY COUNTY: 1961-1966

Period	Employment	
	Agricultural	Non-Agricultural
January 1961	865	1,320
December 1966	400	1,887

Source: Perry County Rural Areas Development Committee, 1967, pp. 18-19.

Those persons who remained in agriculture continued the trend toward diversification. The County Extension Agent in 1936 reported a cotton acreage allotment of 7,700 acres (U.S. Work Projects Administration, 1970A, p. 17). In 1966, the allotment was 1,575 acres, with only 862 acres actually planted (Perry County Rural Areas Development Committee, 1967, p. 83). Truck farming continued to be an important part of the agricultural sector, along with cattle and chicken raising (ibid., pp. 83-90).

Finally, the trend of leaving agriculture and going into other work was probably facilitated by other events. Camp Shelby's post-war conversion to one of the nation's largest National Guard training centers provided jobs for some of the county's veterans. The growth of Hattiesburg, too, meant that a broader range of jobs became available to county residents. An improved system of county and state roads greatly facilitated access to Shelby and Hattiesburg, thereby increasing for Perry Countians the feasibility of employment there.

Significant changes also were occurring in the Perry County public schools during the period 1906-1970. In 1906, governance of education in the county was carried on much as it had been in the last years of the nineteenth century. The attendance area of each school in the county constituted a school district. Each school had a Board of Trustees elected from that district. These trustees had the responsibility of selecting the superintendent-principal and teachers for the school. They also had custodial care of the school property. Finally, "they are charged with the responsibility of helping maintain a wholesome educational program for the children of their communities and they are responsible for the adoption of sound administrative school policies" (Ladner, 1952, p. 118). In short, each local board exercised the authority over its school that the present-day County Board of Education has over all schools in the Perry County School District.

All the local boards of trustees met en masse at legislatively prescribed intervals to select the three members of the County Board of Education. There also was a County Superintendent of Education who was elected by a county-wide vote of the people.

In 1906 there were numerous schools in the county with nearly every "community" having one. These schools, as was the case in the 1880s and

1890s, largely consisted of one- and two-room structures. Multiple grades were taught in each, usually up to grade six. And, as previously noted, each school had its own board of trustees--the white schools having a set of white trustees, the colored schools a set of colored trustees (U.S. Work Projects Administration, 1970H,I).

In 1910, however, the state legislature enacted a law which provided for the consolidation of rural schools and for the transportation of school children within consolidated districts at public expense. Public records and interviews indicate that such consolidation did occur in Perry County, having begun by at least 1912 (ibid., 1970H, p. 3). Schools in the Progress community were consolidated by 1916, in the Runnelstown-Corinth area by 1924, in Hintonville in early 1925. More school consolidation than ever before is reported to have occurred during the 1928-1932 term of J. M. Stevens as county superintendent. "Much high school equipment" was also provided during his administration. Also during his term in office the County Board of Supervisors approved a tax that permitted an eight-month school year for all white schools in the county. The previous school year apparently had been five months long (ibid., pp. 3-4).

Reflecting the improved and expanded county system of roads and other developments in transportation, all but two of the remaining small white schools were consolidated into larger ones by 1936. These larger schools formally offered instruction in grades 1-12 for the first time in county areas outside of Richton.[4] There were nine such 1-12 white schools and two white "common" schools (probably grades 1-6) operating during the 1936-7 school year (ibid., pp. 4-5).

One of these consolidated schools was at New Augusta. The building and some aspects of its educational program were described in 1937 as follows:

> The present building was erected at the cost of approximately $75,000, counting the value of the old building. WPA made it possible by

---

[4] The addition of grades 9-12 to the program of rural schools was a trend begun in 1910 as a result of the consolidation legislation of that year. In 1910 there had been only 27 four-year high schools in the state, these found only in the cities and larger towns. There were only 170 other schools in the state with courses of study covering as much as 10 grades. By 1930 there were 456 four-year high schools in the state (Taylor & Ethridge, 1940, pp. 553).

> furnishing $45,000, 55% of which will be paid back by the school district. It is a modern one-story brick building with 15 classrooms and a large auditorium with a seating capacity of about 500, Home Economics Department which consists of a combination living-dining room, food and clothing room, bedroom, bathroom...
>
> They have allotted $8,000 for new equipment for the school and hope to have it by the fall session.
>
> There are 404 books in the library and one set of new encyclopedias. These books were obtained by having "book week," everyone was supposed to bring a book. The school has asked the county to get more books.
>
> The transportation consists of six International trucks. Two of these trucks belong to the school, the others being privately owned (ibid., p. 7).

Consolidation did not proceed as rapidly among colored schools during this period. During the 1936-37 school year, there were 14 "racial schools," as they were called, although the Negro population of the county was less than 30%. All 14 of these schools were common schools (ibid., p. 5). No written descriptions of these schools are available.

By the early fifties, however, there were only three colored schools in the county, not counting two in the Richton Separate District. These were Beaumont, St. John, and Sand Hill.

> The plant of the Beaumont colored school consists of two frame buildings, one erected in 1935, on a site of 3.7 acres. Grades 1 - 12 are taught in this school. The main building has seven classrooms and an auditorium which has been divided into three classrooms...partially completed classrooms have been added... The other building has two classrooms and a cafeteria which seats 75. The water supply is taken from a pump and there are outdoor toilets (Department of Educational Administration, 1955, p. 65).

St. John School near Janice was a frame building erected in 1935 on a site of 10 acres. Grades 1-10 were taught here. There were five classrooms and a small lunchroom that sat 75. A "teacherage" was also provided (ibid., p. 67).

Grades 1-6 were taught at Sand Hill School, located at New Augusta. A composition roof covered a frame building built in the 1940s on a site of 1.4 acres. There were two classrooms and an auditorium. Three teachers taught here.

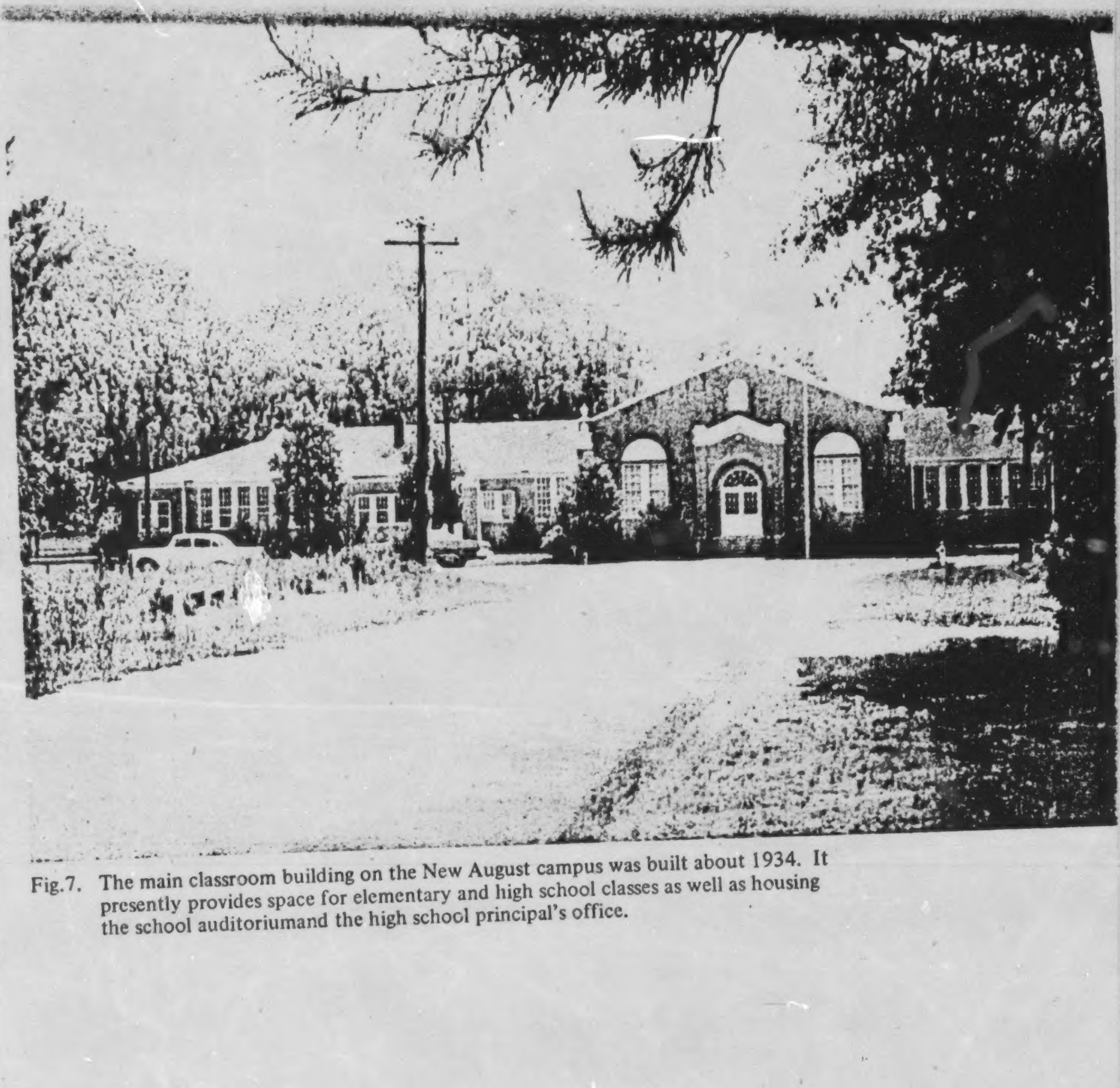

Fig.7. The main classroom building on the New August campus was built about 1934. It presently provides space for elementary and high school classes as well as housing the school auditoriumand the high school principal's office.

In contrast to the reduction in the number of colored schools, the number of white schools remained almost constant, with only the school at Hintonville being closed between 1937 and 1955. Selected characteristics of these schools are shown in Table 7.

Table 7

SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF WHITE SCHOOLS IN PERRY COUNTY

School	Size (in acres)	Grades Taught	Date Built
Beaumont	11.8	1-12	1935
Brewer	5.5	1-8	1937
Deep Creek	40.0	1-8	1925
Good Hope	20.0	1-8	1928
Janice	40.0	1-12	1934
New Augusta	30.0	1-12	1934
Runnelstown	9.5	1-12	1928

Source: Department of Educational Administration, 1955, p. 52.

Beaumont, Janice, New Augusta, and Runnelstown had nearly equivalent school facilities, though there was some variation. In the description that follows, New Augusta will be taken to be typical of the other sites:

> The New Augusta School consists of a main building, gymnasium, and cafeteria. The main building is brick, while the other two are frame. In addition, there are three teachers' homes...The main building was erected in 1934 and the teachers' homes were erected in 1936, 1942, and 1949 respectively... They have an auditorium seating 500, a separate cafeteria seating 250 and a library that seats 100. The commercial department consists of two rooms with a glass partition. The home-making department has three rooms. The agriculture shop is a part of the back of the gymnasium...The building is heated by steam...there are only two lighting fixtures in each room. The toilet facilities are in good condition...(ibid., pp. 60-62).

Of the schools offering grades 1-8 (indeed, of all the white schools in the county) Brewer had the worst physical plant. It was

> ... a brick building with asphalt shingle roof, located on a site of 5 1/2 acres. This building has four classrooms... The toilets are concrete pits. In addition to the main building, there is a cafeteria which is a frame building with asphalt shingle roof. It is an old teacher's home which was made over into a cafeteria. It has a celetex ceiling and a wood floor. This building seats 75. In addition there is a home for the principal. It is of frame construction and has three bedrooms.
>
> The main building needs painting... (There was) just a drop light to a room. The furniture is old type desks which are fastened to the floor... There are some cracks in the end of the building (ibid., p. 56).

Turning from the physical characteristics of the schools to their curriculum, all the schools, both colored and white, apparently offered a fairly "conventional" elementary curriculum. There were, however, some variations in the secondary (grades 7-12) curriculum, as shown in Table 8.

Total enrollment in these Negro and white schools at the beginning of the 1953-54 school year was 2,014. The average daily attendance (ADA) for the year was 1,820. These children were taught by 74 teachers. Administrators were included in this figure and did teach classes in addition to their other duties. The teacher-pupil ratio for number of pupils in average daily attendance was slightly over 1:24.5, while the expenditure per pupil in average daily attendance was $108.75. A total of 1,549 students rode school buses, with the average length of the white bus routes being 30.3 miles, and the Negro bus routes 37.3 miles (ibid., pp. 11, 19, 24, 30, 75, 76, 93, 99, 119, 121).

The organization and governance of these Perry County schools remained in the early 1950s the same as it was in 1937. Each school's attendance area constituted a school district. Each district--and thus each school--had a board of trustees with authority in regard to budget, personnel, and program similar to that of the present day county board of education. The district's chief administrative officer, who was appointed by the board of trustees, had the title of superintendent though he also performed at the local school all the duties currently associated with the position of principal. There were, in addition, a county superintendent of education and a three-member county board of education.

Table 8

SECONDARY CURRICULUM IN PERRY COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI, 1953-54

	Beaumont School (colored)	St. John School (colored)	New Augusta School (white)	Brewer (white)
Grade 7	Language Writing General Science Geography Mississippi History Citizenship	English Spelling Mathematics Geography Mississippi History Physical Education	English Mathematics General Science Mississippi History Physical Education	English Spelling Mathematics General Science Mississippi History Physical Education
Grade 8	English Spelling Arithmetic General Science U.S. History Health	English Mathematics Geography U.S. History Physical Education Health	English Mathematics U.S. History Physical Education	English Spelling Mathematics General Science U.S. History
Grade 9	English Algebra General Science	English Algebra I General Science World History Government Physical Education	English Mathematics Civics Agriculture I Home Economics I Typing Physical Education	
Grade 10	English Algebra II Biology Citizenship	English Algebra II Biology World History Intern. Government Physical Education	English Algebra I World History Agriculture II Home Economics II Typing Shorthand	
Grade 11	English Mathematics General Science American History		English Algebra II American Government Typing Shorthand Physical Education	
Grade 12	English Geometry General Science American History		English Chemistry American Government Typing Shorthand Physical Education	

Source: Department of Educational Administration, pp. 95, 9[illegible], 100, 101.

[a] Curricula at Beaumont, Runnelstown, and Janice (all white) were similar to those taught at New Augusta, although Runnelstown and Beaumont offered more courses at each level, while Janice offered slightly fewer.

The year 1953, however, saw the culmination of some events at the state level that significantly changed the organization and method of governance of the Perry County schools and speeded consolidation of these schools. The post-World War II era (Bettersworth, 1959, pp. 481-482)

> ...saw a rapid expansion in the area of Negro education. Spurred on partly by the threat of federal intervention to abolish segregated school facilities, the state exerted vigorous efforts to provide equal but separate facilities for the two races...
>
> In the fifties, the urgency of the state's obligation under its program of equalizing school facilities for the two races led to a wholesale reorganization of the public-school structure in the interest of improved administration and greater efficiency of operation. A state-wide Citizens Council on Education...made an exhaustive study of the problem in 1951; and a legislative recess committee set up in 1952 undertook to determine ways and means for carrying out the proposals of the council. A lengthy plan of action was submitted to a special session of the legislature in November, 1953. As finally adopted, the new "code" brought about a complete revamping of the school system of the state.
>
> Under the new code, all existing school districts were to be reorganized not later than July 1, 1957. Before that time each county was required to work out a new plan of operation after a careful survey of the entire county educational situation. The Educational Finance Commission, a six-member body set up under the reorganization program, had to approve the new plan for each county. This group also had control of funds for school construction. In most cases, the entire county was to be consolidated into one or two large districts...(Bettersworth, 1959, pp. 481-482).

Each of the newly consolidated schools was to have a Board of Trustees, but this local board was stripped of all authority by the legislature except in regard to certain "custodial" matters. Members of these boards were to be no longer elected by the citizens, but rather appointed by the new County Board of Education created under the terms of the 1953 legislation.

This new five-member county board was to be an elected one, with one board member from each beat (county supervisory district) to be selected only by the voters of that beat. The board replaced the old three-man county board that formerly had been appointed by the various local school trustees in a county. It was to assume nearly all the duties of the old local school boards of trustees and the old county board.

The legislation of 1953 also established a "Minimum Foundation Plan" that updated previous state efforts to equalize distribution of educational funds. Additional changes in the financing of education were made. Finally, the 1953 plan undertook to provide an eight-month school year throughout the state (ibid., pp. 482-483).

The new Perry County Board of Education was elected in 1954 and performed its duly authorized functions. Local boards of trustees, however, were still elected for each school in the Perry County District up into the 1960s, after which time local trustees were appointed by the County Board of Education. Also, these local trustees continued to exercise considerable authority concerning the local school program and personnel matters, as well as their custodial authority, until 1974.

By the early 1960s, the three colored schools in the county had been closed and their pupils transferred to the new Perry County Attendance Center for Negroes that had been built in Beaumont. The Janice School, the three white 1-8 grade schools, and the New Augusta School (for one year only) had been closed preparatory to the consolidation of all white county schools outside of Richton into a single attendance center. Indeed, arrangements for land for such a school were well along at that time.

Opposition to such consolidation emerged, however. Presently available evidence tentatively suggests this opposition was rooted at least in part in the unwillingness of persons in New Augusta, Beaumont, and Runnelstown to give up their schools. Many of these persons may have been in agreement on the value of consolidation but wanted the consolidated school in their community. At any rate, plans for consolidation of Perry County schools had to be dropped by the late 1960s.

As that decade came to a close, two other events of importance occurred in the educational affairs of Perry County. The first had to do with the procedure by which school board members were elected. Candidates from a given beat no longer were voted on solely by the electors of that beat. While the candidates still must reside in the beat from which they ran, they were to be voted on by voters from the entire school district.

The second event had to do with school integration. The State of Mississippi's long fight against the 1954 Brown vs. Board of Education

U.S. Supreme Court ruling was coming to a close. Many school districts in the state were under court orders to desegregate their schools and facilities. Many more were faced with similar action. In January of 1970, the Perry County District schools were desegregated under an agreement negotiated with the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The Perry County Attendance Center for Negroes became the Beaumont High School. The white Beaumont School with grades 1-12 became the Beaumont Elementary School. Runnelstown and New Augusta Schools continued offering grades 1-12, but now with an integrated student body.

THE PEOPLE OF PERRY COUNTY AND THEIR WAY OF LIFE IN THE RECENT PAST

In previous sections, descriptions of the way of life of Perry County residents over the years have been intertwined with those of governmental, economic, and educational institutions. The present section concentrates exclusively on characteristics of Perry Countians and aspects of their way of life in the recent past, especially during the years immediately preceding the advent of the Experimental Schools project. The statistical information presented in this section is taken from U.S. Census documents, unless otherwise indicated. All such information is available to the public in major libraries or through other sources.

On January 1, 1970, there were 9,065 persons living in Perry County. Of these, 48.8% were men, and 51.2% were women. The population was 73.6% white and 26.4% black. The median age of county residents at that time was 25.7, marking a steady increase from the 23.1 years of 1950 and 24.3 years of 1960. The broad age groupings are shown in Table 9. There were 2,240 families in Perry County in early 1970 as contrasted to 1,983 in 1960 and 1,985 in 1950.

The above figures present some of the general population characteristics for Perry County. That population, of course, is comprised of individual women and men who work and worship, play and vote--in short, of people who live their lives in a Deep South county.

How do these people make their living? In what industries are they employed?

According to 1970 census estimates, the predominant industry in which Perry Countians were employed was manufacturing, with 1,101 employees. Of those persons, 542 were in the lumber and wood products area, and 227 were engaged in various aspects of the production of textiles.

The next largest industry in which local people worked was construction. A total of 279 persons were so employed. Public education followed with 209, and agriculture and forestry with 204.

Tables 10 and 11 provide a more detailed breakdown of the industries and occupations in which the people of Perry County worked in 1970.

p. 468 blank

Table 9

BROAD AGE GROUPINGS: 1970

Age Groupings	All Races			White		Negro	
	Total	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
All ages	9,065	4,421	4,644	3,274	3,400	1,144	1,242
Under 1 year	197	94	103	63	65	31	38
1 year	182	102	80	67	55	35	25
2 years	168	80	88	52	59	28	29
3 years	163	84	79	46	48	38	31
4 years	172	82	90	57	54	25	36
5 years	203	106	97	67	58	39	39
6 years	190	83	107	60	70	23	37
7 years	195	103	92	71	66	32	26
8 years	209	98	111	73	79	25	32
9 years	202	107	95	77	68	30	27
10 years	191	98	93	71	66	27	27
11 years	207	94	113	62	80	32	33
12 years	212	110	102	78	68	32	34
13 years	198	106	92	73	62	33	30
14 years	237	106	131	76	96	30	35
15 years	187	100	87	71	55	29	32
16 years	216	123	93	92	64	31	29
17 years	211	103	108	80	77	23	31
18 years	190	85	105	60	82	25	23
19 years	125	71	54	48	35	23	19
20 years	157	64	88	46	67	18	21
21 years and over	5,058	2,422	2,636	1,884	2,026	535	[illegible]
Under 5 years	882	442	440	285	281	157	159
5 to 9 years	999	497	502	348	341	149	161
10 to 14 years	1,045	514	531	360	372	154	159
15 to 19 years	929	482	447	351	313	131	134
20 to 24 years	631	303	328	221	242	82	86
25 to 29 years	492	231	261	174	206	57	55
30 to 34 years	480	230	250	192	202	38	47
35 to 39 years	425	193	232	161	191	32	41
40 to 44 years	486	227	259	191	199	34	59
45 to 49 years	472	223	249	172	197	51	52
50 to 54 years	418	206	212	158	154	48	58
55 to 59 years	445	216	229	176	184	40	45
60 to 64 years	439	229	210	182	163	46	47
65 to 69 years	349	174	175	134	127	40	48
70 to 74 years	240	102	138	63	104	39	34
75 to 79 years	167	73	94	54	72	19	22
80 to 84 years	99	50	49	32	30	18	19
85 years and over	67	29	38	20	22	9	16
Under 18 years	3,540	1,779	1,761	1,236	1,190	543	571
62 years and over	1,177	553	624	403	451	150	173
65 years and over	922	428	494	303	355	125	139
Median age	25.5	24.5	26.4	27.1	28.7	19.3	20.5

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970.

Table 10

INDUSTRY OF EMPLOYED PERSONS 16 YEARS OLD AND OLDER IN PERRY COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI: 1970 (ESTIMATED)

Industry	Number Employed
Total employed 16 years old and over	2,846
Agriculture, forestry, and fisheries	204
Mining	72
Construction	279
Manufacturing	1,101
Furniture and lumber and wood products	542
Metal industries	4
Machinery, except electrical	-
Electrical machinery; equipment and supplies	-
Transportation equipment	107
Other durable goods	33
Food and kindred products	91
Textiles and fabricated textile products	227
Printing, publishing, and allied industries	-
Chemicals and allied products	5
Other nondurable goods (incl. not specified mfg. indus.)	92
Railroads and railway express service	28
Trucking service and warehousing	31
Other transportation	15
Communications	-
Utilities and sanitary services	31
Wholesale trade	70
Food, bakery, and dairy stores	43
Eating and drinking places	41
General merchandise retailing	51
Motor vehicle retailing and service stations	59
Other retail trade	126
Banking and credit agencies	31
Insurance, real estate, and other finance	8
Business and repair services	28
Private households	59
Other personal services	30
Entertainment and recreation services	-
Hospitals	97
Health services, except hospitals	19
Elementary, secondary schools, and colleges-government	209
Elementary, secondary schools, and colleges-private	44
Other education and kindred services	2
Welfare, religious, and nonprofit membership organizations	25
Legal, engineering, and miscellaneous professional services	32
Public administration	111

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970.

Table 11

OCCUPATIONS OF EMPLOYED PERSONS 16 YEARS OLD AND OLDER IN PERRY COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI: 1970 (ESTIMATED)

Occupation		Number Employed
Total employed, 16 years old and over		2,846
Professional, technical, and kindred workers		295
Engineers		-
Physicians, dentists, and related practitioners		9
Health workers, except practitioners		37
Teachers, elementary and secondary schools		148
Technicians, except health		-
Other professional workers		101
Managers and administrators, except farm		152
Salaried:	Manufacturing	15
	Retail trade	12
	Other industries	55
Self-employed:	Retail trade	39
	Other industries	31
Sales workers		161
Retail trade		138
Other than retail trade		23
Clerical and kindred workers		230
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers		490
Automobile mechanics, including body repairmen		19
Mechanics and repairmen, except automobile		56
Metal craftsmen, except mechanics		26
Construction craftsmen		208
Other craftsmen		181
Operatives, except transport		697
Durable goods manufacturing		249
Nondurable goods manufacturing		338
Nonmanufacturing industries		110
Transport equipment operatives		130
Laborers, except farm		238
Construction laborers		22
Freight, stock, and material handlers		25
Other laborers, except farm		191
Farmers and farm managers		86
Farm laborers and farm foremen		67
Service workers, except private households		242
Cleaning service workers		54
Food service workers		66
Health service workers		43
Personal service workers		17
Protective service workers		42
Private household workers		58

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970.

Of the estimated 2,846 persons employed in the industries shown in Table 10 and engaged in the occupations shown in Table 11, a total of 1,793 were men, and 1,053 were women. These figures indicate a continuation of a trend of more and more women entering the labor force, as is indicated in Table 12.

Table 12

PERCENT OF WOMEN 16 YEARS AND OLDER IN THE LABOR FORCE: 1950-1970

Year	Percent
1950	15.4%
1960	31.2%
1970	36.4%

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1950-1970.

Also, fewer and fewer Perry Countians are farming these days, as, for a variety of reasons suggested earlier, they switch to work in forestry, the wood products industry, textiles, and industries in the greater Hattiesburg area. In regard to the latter point, 24% of the employed labor force worked outside the county in January of 1960, as compared to 34.8% in January of 1970.

Table 13

FARM AND NON-FARM POPULATION IN PERRY COUNTY: 1950-1970

Year	Farm	Non-Farm	Total
1950	4,764	4,344	9,108
1960	2,046	6,699	8,745
1970	1,120	7,945	9,065

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1950-1970.

The economic standing of Perry Countians employed in those industries and occupations identified previously has steadily risen over the years. The median family income in 1949 was $1,000, while that for 1959 was $2,484, and that for 1969 was $5,390. Census data also show that the range of family income has increased in the last 20 years, as is shown in Table 14.

Table 14

FAMILY INCOME IN PERRY COUNTY: 1949-1969

Year	Income Level	Percent of Families
1949	Less than $2,000	79.4%
	$2,000 - $4,999	19.8%
	$5,000 or more	0.8%
1959	Less than $3,000	58.7%
	$3,000 - $9,999	38.1%
	$10,000 or more	3.2%
1969	Less than $3,000	25.5%
	$3,000 - $4,999	20.7%
	$5,000 - $6,999	20.5%
	$7,000 - $9,999	18.7%
	$10,000 - $14,999	12.3%
	$15,000 or more	2.3%

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1950-1970.

Census reports state, too, that 30.8% of Perry County families were below the federally calculated low income level.

The increasing income level of Perry County residents is reflected in the homes in which they live, and the accompanying home furnishings. The total number of year-round dwelling units and the number of occupied dwelling units have increased over the last 30 years, as is shown in Table 15. Of the housing occupied during 1970, 30% had been built in 1960 or later, 18.4% was built between 1951 and 1959, while 51.6% had been constructed before 1951.

Table 15

YEAR-ROUND HOUSING UNITS

Year	Total	Occupied
1940	2,137	2,067
1950	2,368	2,218
1960	2,486	2,263
1970	2,852	2,603

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1950-1970.

In addition, 80% of the occupied housing units were lived in by their owners in 1970, as contrasted to 78.7% in 1960, 73.7% in 1950, and 59.1% in 1940.

The large jump in total year-round housing between 1960 and 1970 probably resulted from a number of factors. Farmers Home Administration loans became readily available, and more Perry Countians were able to meet the financial requirements of such loans. Also, the opening of Delta Pine Plywood at Beaumont and the Mid-South Manufacturing Company at Richton brought some new residents to the county.

The improved road system that permitted easy access to jobs in the booming greater Hattiesburg area as well as at Camp Shelby, along with the arrival of new industry in the county, likely facilitated the demise of tenant farming in the county as well as contributing to the increased economic standing of county residents. Both of these factors in turn may have prompted the trend away from rental housing to owner-occupied housing that occurred between 1940 and 1970.

As the economic level of Perry Countians increased, the nature of their home furnishings changed. It appears that more money, coupled with the arrival of electricity and butane tanks in more and more parts of the county,[5] permitted additional numbers of county residents to move from what might be described as a subsistence life at home to one incorporating more comfort and well-being. Certainly drawing water from the well, baths in corrugated tubs on the back porch, chamber pots, and walks to the outdoor toilet became a thing of the past for many county residents. In 1940, 8.4% of all the housing units in the county had a private bath or shower. By 1950, 16.3% had private baths, hot water, and toilets. Nearly 33% of county residences had all plumbing facilities by 1960, while this figure had increased to 72.8% in 1970.

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[5] In 1940, 15.5% of all dwelling units in Perry County were served by electricity.

Telephones in homes have become a common occurrence only since 1960. There were 54 residence telephones in Perry County as of January 1, 1945, though 22.1% of occupied housing units had telephone service by 1960. Telephones were available to the homes of 56.8% of county residents by 1970.

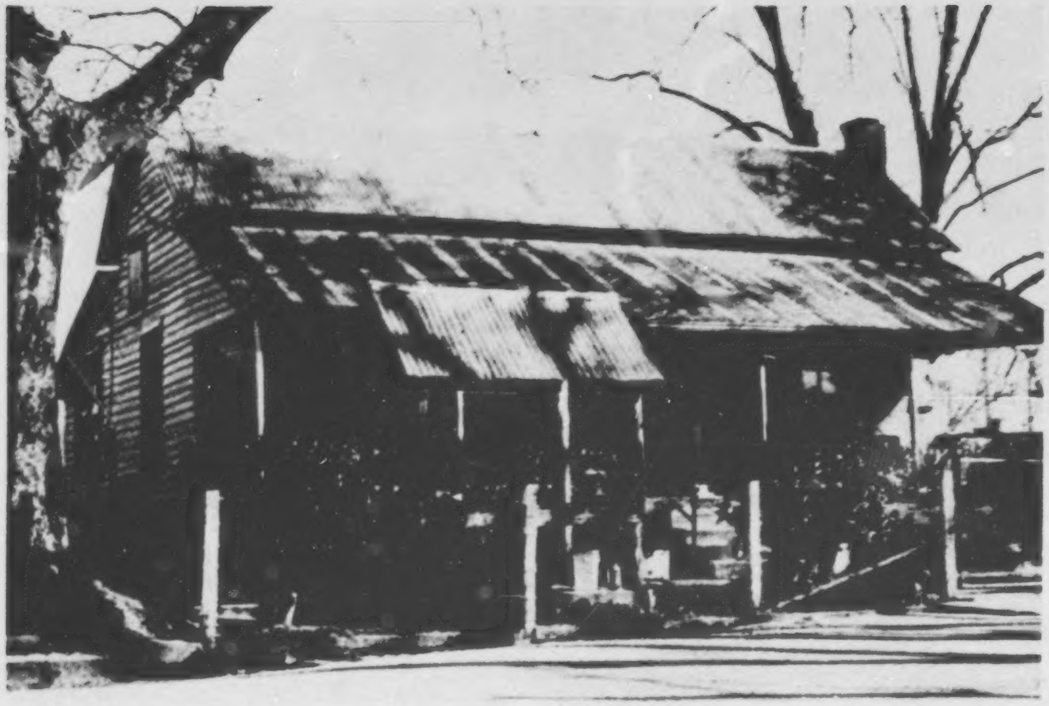
Refrigerators and food freezers, too, are currently found in many local homes, though this was not always the case. Census information indicates that 11% of all occupied dwellings had electric or gas refrigerators in 1940. This figure had risen to 47.4% in 1950. By 1960, refrigerators were apparently widely used in the county. People indeed began supplementing their refrigerators with food freezers. Such freezers were found in 36.3% of occupied dwellings in 1960 and 66.1% by 1970. They provide useful storage for the produce of the many home gardens found around the county.

In 1950, 86.3% of county homes had radios, a number being of the console battery type. Slightly more than 64% of the homes had television sets by 1960. Both radio and TV sets were commonly found in the county by 1970.

Air conditioning is a recent arrival in Perry County. While only 1.1% of occupied dwellings were air conditioned in 1960, 30.9% were cooled in that manner by 1970.

Automobiles are also more frequently found at county residences than in the past. In 1960, just over 60% of the residences had at least one automobile on the premises. Nearly 75% had automobiles in 1970.

The improved economic standing of county residents documented above, along with some other factors, may have resulted in better health care, and presumably better health, for Perry Countians. Increased income likely meant more taxable income and thus more taxes available for road construction. An improved road system in turn would facilitate access to health care, an important consideration, since most dental and medical services



Figs.8. & 9. Tin-roofed clapboard houses once commonly found in the countryside gradually gave way to FHA-financed brick homes and white-framed, Jim Walter-type houses. Dog trots and front porches are replaced by air conditioners.

available are in Hattiesburg in neighboring Forrest County and require a considerable drive from many portions of the county.

Table 16

DENTISTS AND PHYSICIANS, BY COUNTY, AS OF JANUARY 1, 1972

County	Dentists	Physicians
Perry	1	4
Forrest	22	83

Source: Division of Research, 1972, p. 132.

More taxable income also meant the wherewithal to support a bond issue for the Perry County General Hospital at Richton, and the ability to pay its maintenance costs. Finally, increased income probably permitted Perry Countians to feel that they more easily could afford medical services.

For all of these reasons and others, then, the health care available to and used by Perry Countians has improved in recent years, as the data in Table 17 suggest.

Table 17

PERCENTAGE OF LIVE BIRTHS BY RACE, IN HOSPITALS WITH A PHYSICIAN IN ATTENDANCE: 1945-1963

Year	White	Non-White
1945	37.2%	3.0%
1954	87.7%	53.1%
1963	99.3%	89.1%

Sources: Pedersen & Fanelli, 1955;
Stacey, Rogers, & Sollie, 1966, p. 44.

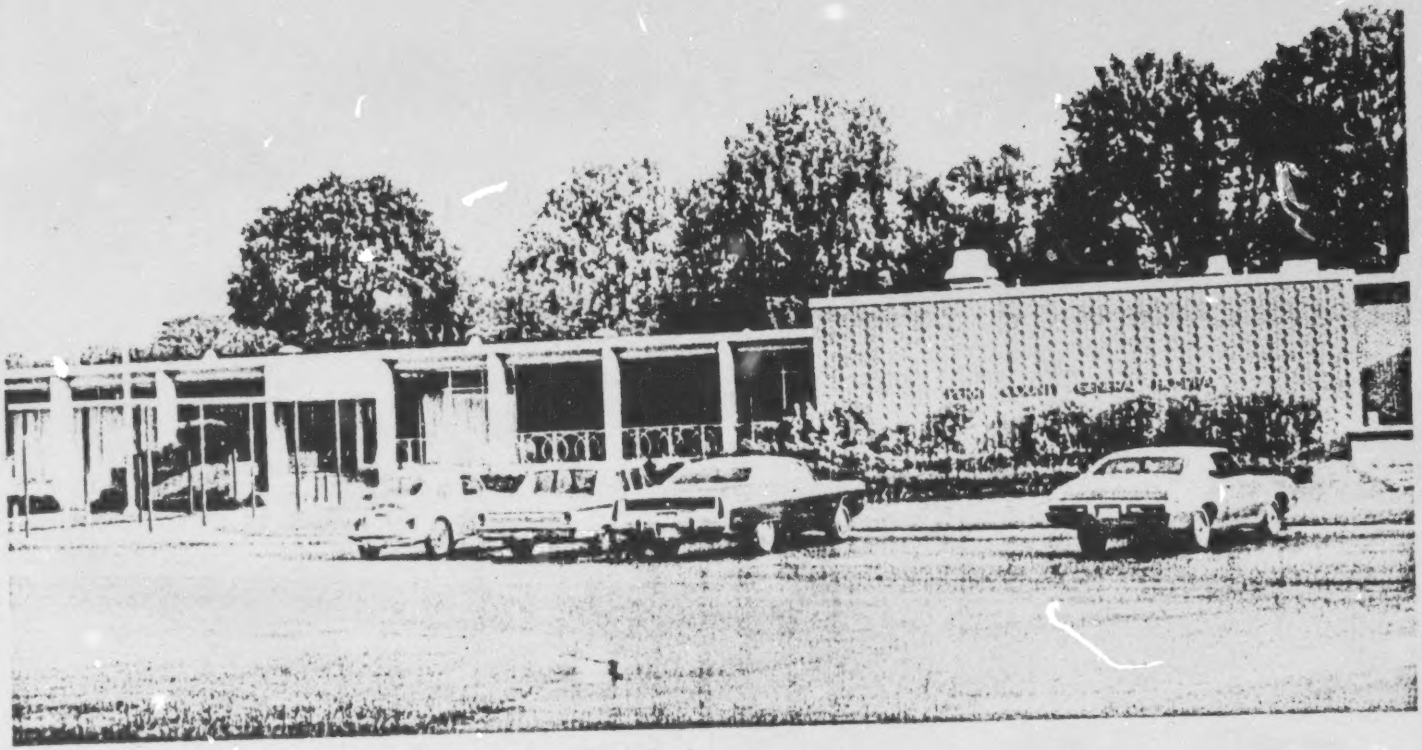


Fig. 10. Perry County General Hospital, Richton, Mississippi.

In addition to these medical services, the people of Perry County also have other health and social services which they can incorporate into their way of life. There is a County Health Department headquartered in the courthouse annex at New Augusta. The County Department of Public Welfare offices are also located in New Augusta. This department, under the control of the State Department of Public Welfare, administers a variety of public assistance programs, including Old Age Assistance, Aid to Dependent Children, and food stamps. As of February, 1972, a total of 430 county residents received Old Age Assistance, while 537 received Aid to Dependent Children. The total amount of payments per month in the county under these two programs was approximately $44,000, with 57.5% of that amount used for Old Age Assistance.

County residents also are served by the federal Social Security Administration. Approximately $125,000 in benefits were received by 1,606 persons in December, 1971.

In addition to these health services and social programs operated by local, state, and federal governments, residents avail themselves of the educational services of two public school districts, the Perry County District and the Richton Separate District. Only approximately 24 of the county's 2,569 K-12 students were enrolled in private schools in 1970. There were, however, no private elementary or high schools in the county at that time, and there is none at present.

The percentage of persons of school age in 1970 who were actually enrolled in school is shown in Table 18.

Table 18

PERSONS ENROLLED IN SCHOOL, BY AGE

Age Group	Percent Enrolled in School
5-6 years	60.5%
7-13 years	94.0%
14-15 years	99.1%
16-17 years	88.9%
18-19 years	57.9%

That county residents are more and more taking advantage of these educational services is reflected in the rise of the median number of school years completed for persons 25 years old and older. In 1960 the figure was 8.5, while in 1970 it was 10.4

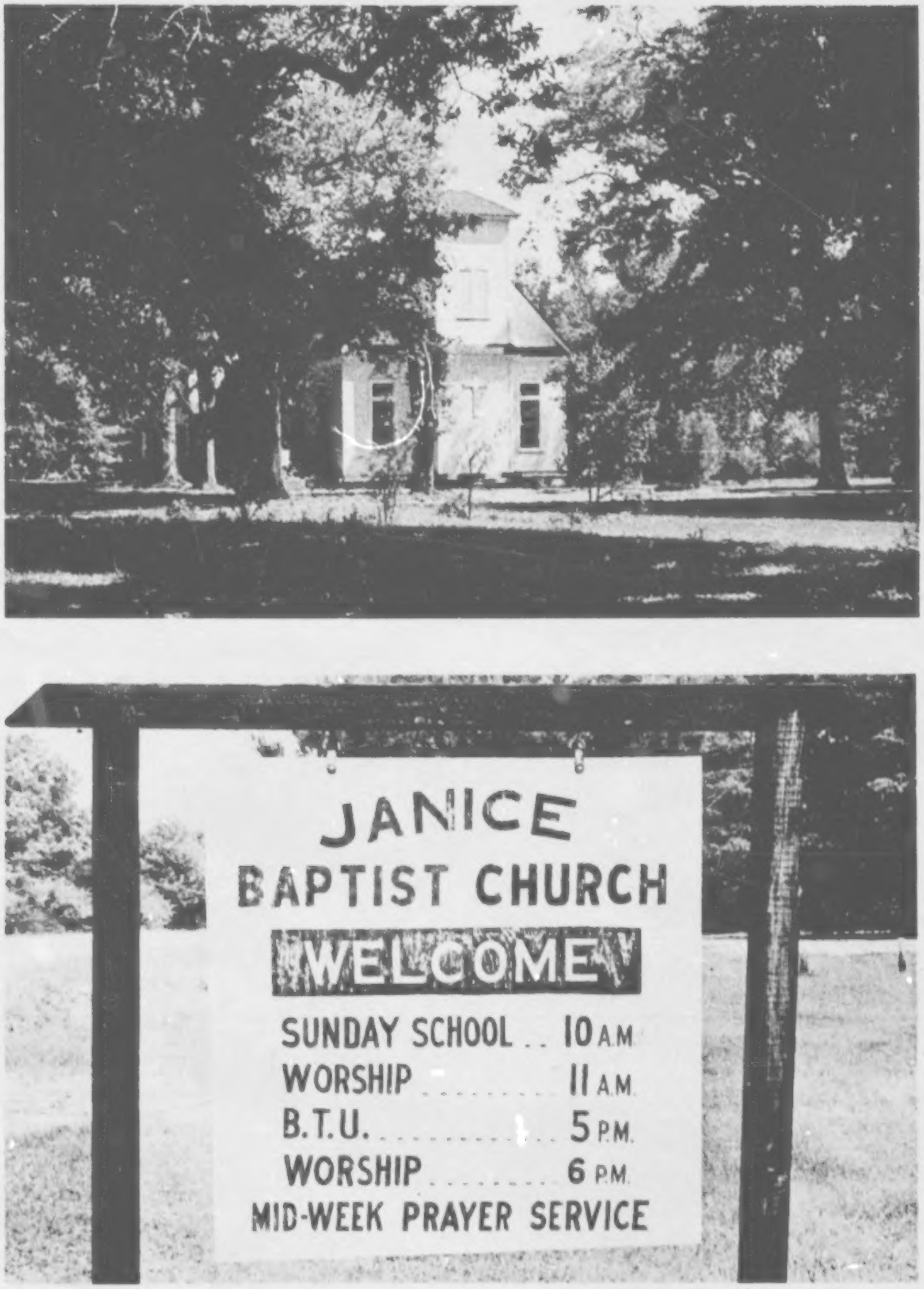
While these health, educational, and social services contribute to the physical, intellectual, and economic well-being of Perry Countians, a host of churches and preachers minister to their spiritual well-being. In addition to the regular Sunday services, many of the county's 63 churches (the predominant proportion of which are Baptist) also hold revivals, especially during the summer. Homecoming services, family nights, and "sings" are also common, as are Wednesday night prayer meetings. Youth groups are active in some churches.

Religious beliefs and practices make their influence felt outside the physical confines of the church. County teachers' meetings as well as other meetings of organizations and social occasions are frequently opened with prayers or devotionals.

In short, religious and social activities sponsored by the local churches are an important part of the way of life in Perry County, while religious beliefs and practices permeate the day-to-day activities of individuals and groups.

The recreational life of county residents appears to be centered around the family, school, church, and the out-of-doors. Local newspaper columns indicate family members visit each other frequently. School sporting events are generally well attended. Church services and other church sponsored activities are opportunities for visiting as well as worshipping. Hunting and fishing constitute major pastimes for many county men. In addition, there are a number of social and service clubs active in the county, with these primarily located in the towns. These include the Masons, Eastern Star, Rotarians, Lions, American Legion, V.F.W., Jaycees, and Homemakers Clubs served by the Cooperative Extension Service.

Finally, Perry Countians appear to be politically and fiscally conservative. In the 1968 presidential election, 79.2% of persons voting cast their ballots for the American Independent Party. This compares to a state percentage of 63.5% for that party. Their fiscal conservatism can be inferred from the following disclaimer published in the Richton Dispatch during this period.


JANICE
BAPTIST CHURCH
WELCOME
SUNDAY SCHOOL .. 10 A.M.
WORSHIP .... 11 A.M.
B.T.U. .... 5 P.M.
WORSHIP .... 6 P.M.
MID-WEEK PRAYER SERVICE

Figs. 11. & 12. The traditional, white-frame church architecture, of which the New Augusta Methodist Church (top) is an example, gradually is giving way to brick and masonry sanctuaries. The extensive program of religious services, however, continues in the county's 63 churches, with regular services being supplemented by revivals, sings, and summer Bible schools.

NOTICE TO THE TAX PAYERS OF PERRY COUNTY

The Dispatch has been advised by the Board of Supervisors that the increase in County Ad Valorem taxes for the year 1973 was the result of action taken by the State of Mississippi because of the increased valuation of Perry County. The Board of Supervisors did NOT increase the millage or the assessment for the year 1973.

Government of Perry County in the 1970s

Now that some characteristics of the people of Perry County and their way of life in the recent past have been described, it is time to turn to county government and education in the early 1970s--at the time of Perry County's entry into the national Experimental Schools program. County government consists of the following elective positions (Ladner, 1972, p. 198):

Board of Supervisors
Clerk of Chancery and Circuit Courts
Justices of the Peace
Sheriff
Constables
Tax Assessor
County Attorney
Surveyor
Election Commissioners
Board of Education
Superintendent of Education

The Board of Supervisors is the chief governing body of Perry County. It consists of five members, elected from districts called "beats." Each member must live in the beat he represents, own at least $1,500 worth of real estate there, and be voted upon by qualified electors of that beat.

The board has jurisdiction over roads, ferries, and bridges. Road work in each beat is handled by the supervisor from that beat, as there is no county highway department. The board also has jurisdiction and power over matters pertaining to county police, paupers, taxes for county purposes

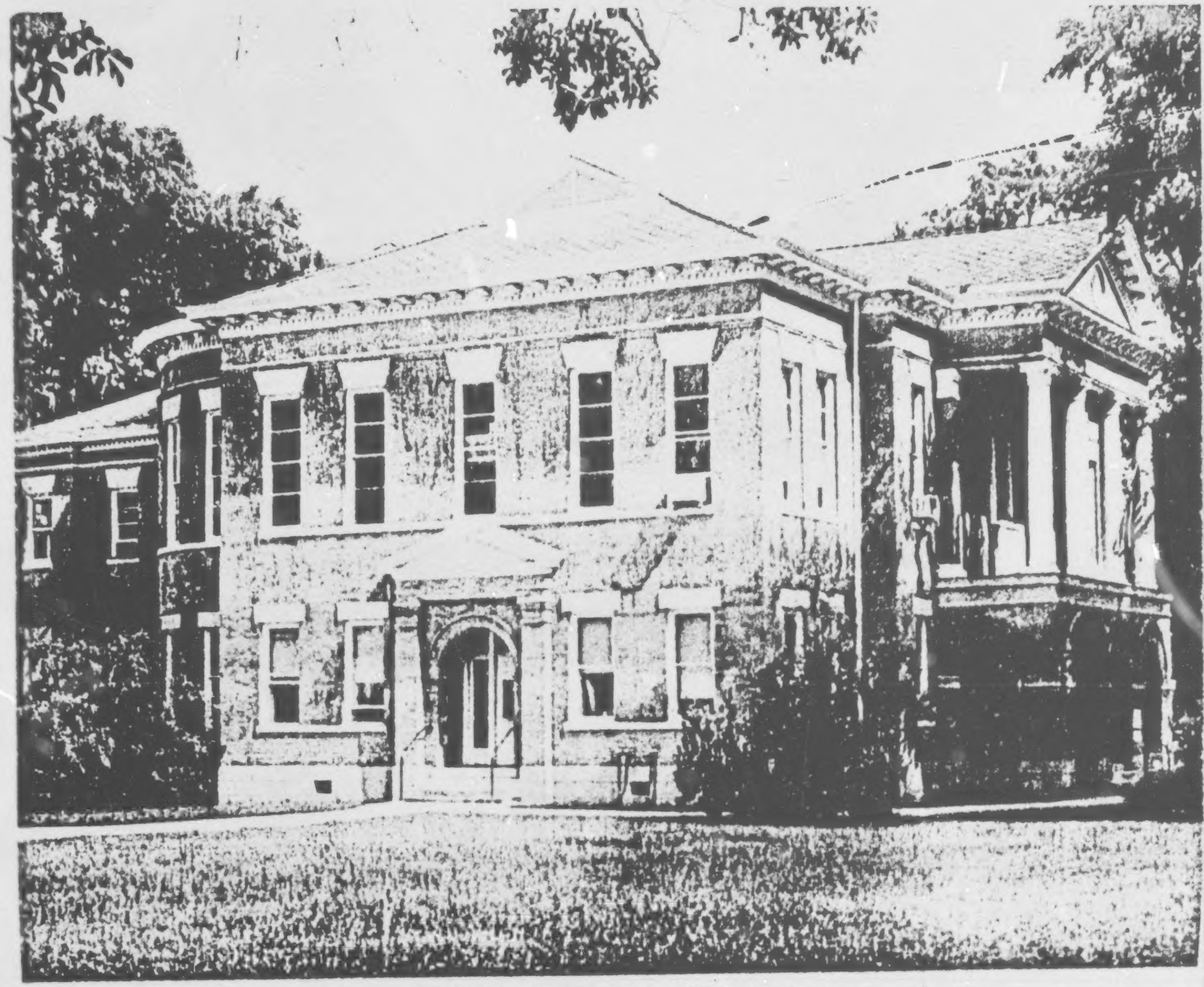


Fig.13. The Perry County Courthouse in New Augusta houses most of the county government's offices.

(including education), and over the borrowing of money. The board also looks after all land belonging to the county, including the 16th section land given to the schools by the U.S. government when the land was first opened to settlement.[6]

Of the other county officials, the clerk of the circuit and chancery courts has the most varied kinds of duties. One person serves as clerk of both courts and, in addition to his duties there, also attends to matters of probate, acts as clerk for the Board of Supervisors, and fills the role of County Auditor. Among his other duties are registering deeds, keeping the list of prospective jurors, and issuing marriage licenses.

While the judges of the chancery and circuit courts are state officers, justices of the peace are part of the county government They handle minor civil and criminal cases. One justice of the peace is elected from each beat, though his jurisdiction extends over the entire county.

The chief peace officer of the county is the sheriff. In addition, each beat is served by a constable, a peace officer who executes court processes and acts as the executive officer of the justice of the peace court.

The other county officials have duties that correspond to their names. The tax assessor, since 1972, has also been the tax collector, taking this duty over from the sheriff. The Board of Education will be discussed at length in the next section.

In addition to the county government, three town governments also operate in the county. These are at Richton, New Augusta, and Beaumont.

Richton, as previously reported, was incorporated in 1905, with the town government being organized around a mayor and board of aldermen. That form of government persists currently. Other positions presently included in the town government are city clerk and tax collector (a combined position), city attorney, chief of police, and fire chief.

Richton still maintains the Municipal Separate School District established in the early 1900s.

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[6] A reader who is interested in detailed descriptions of county offices and operations should consult Wilbur, 1973, from which this information is taken.

The mayor-board of aldermen form of government was established in New Augusta when the town was incorporated in 1953. Other offices included in the town government are those of city clerk, city attorney, chief of police, and fire chief.

Beaumont also is governed by a mayor and board of aldermen and has been since its incorporation in 1955. A city clerk also is included in the town government.[7]

The Perry County School District in the Early 1970s

The organizational structure of the Perry County Public School System during the 1971-72 school year included an elected Board of Education, an elected County Superintendent of Education, various appointed personnel attached to the county superintendent's office, an appointed Board of Trustees for each school, school principals, and various other school staff members.

The County Board of Education

The County Board of Education is the governing body of the school district. It has the legal authority to organize schools, erect buildings, and maintain them. It may make regulations as needed concerning the operation of the school district. It selects all school district personnel with the exception of the superintendent. It may suspend, expel, or exclude students as necessary. It prepares the annual district budget, fixes dates for the opening and closing of school, and determines the boundaries of school attendance areas. It also provides transportation for students living a mile or more from school. Finally, it acts upon all purchase orders submitted from each school or the county office--in short, it administers the budget (Wilbur, 1973, pp. 16-19).

The board consists of five members elected for 6-year overlapping terms. With the exception of Beat 3, each member of the board must reside in the beat he is elected to represent. Because Richton comprises most of Beat 3 and is a separate school district, Beat 3 is not represented on

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[7] The information concerning the town government of the localities was derived from Ladner, 1972, pp. 226, 241, 244. The data may not be complete.

Figs.14. & 15. The New Augusta business district lies south of the courthouse square, while Beaumont's encircles the Illinois Central Gulf railroad yard through which many of the county's wood products pass.

the county board. The people of Richton may not vote for county board members. The position on the board that would ordinarily have been filled by a representative from Beat 3 is filled instead by an at-large member who may live anywhere in the county.

Candidates for positions on the board of education must be qualified electors of the county. Though they must be residents of the beats from which they run (with the exception of the at-large candidates), candidates are passed upon by the voters of the entire county.

The County Superintendent of Education

The County Superintendent of Education is the executive secretary of the County Board of Education He has no vote in the board's deliberations, but may supply information and offer recommendations as requested by board members. He does much of the preparation work for the board in regard to its previously identified duties, such as developing the budget. He also sees to it that the various policies and decisions made by the board are implemented. In sum, he attends to the day-to-day operation of the school district.

The county superintendency is an elective office. To run for it, a candidate must be a qualified elector and have been a citizen of the state for four years and of the county for two years immediately preceding the election. He must also hold a bachelor's degree, be able to secure a state Class A Teacher's Certificate, and have not less than four years actual experience as a teacher or as an administrator (Ladner, 1972, p. 225).

The County Office Staff

The county superintendent is assisted in his duties by a variety of other county office personnel whom he appoints subject to county board approval. The positions paid for by local and state funds are those of assistant superintendent-bookkeeper, director of guidance,[8] and secretary. There is also a county curriculum director who receives a portion of her salary from federal programs, including Right to Read.

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[8] The person in this position serves as the guidance counselor for all county schools.

Other positions associated with federal projects are included on the county office staff. These include the Director of Federal Projects and the Title I Reading Supervisor.

The Schools

At the end of the first month of the 1971-72 school year, 1,546 students were enrolled in the six schools comprising the Perry County School System. The average daily attendance (ADA) for that month was 1,468. Eighty teachers provided instruction with the help of 15 teacher aides. Each of the six principals taught at least one class a day. This teaching staff, excluding aides and principals, received an average salary of $6,032. State Department of Education figures also reported a ratio of one teacher to every 18.35 students in average daily attendance, though this figure did not include the instructional time of administrators. This same source indicated an expenditure per pupil in ADA of $727.83, some $61.41 of which went toward the cost of busing a daily average of 1,282 students. The district's buses that provided this transportation covered routes that averaged 23.7 miles one way--a figure which meant that most students had bus rides of well over an hour to get to school.

The Perry County System's six schools were located on four campuses. Beaumont Elementary School and Beaumont High School had campuses of their own. The county seat campus housed both New Augusta Elementary School and New Augusta High School. Similarly, Runnelstown Elementary School and Runnelstown High School shared a campus in the northwest corner of the county.

The Beaumont Elementary School and campus were administered by a principal who also taught part time. He was subject to a local board of trustees who served, too, as the trustees for Beaumont High School, located on a separate campus about a mile to the southwest. A staff of 13 teachers and six teacher aides helped implement the school's 1-6 grade curriculum for 334 students.

Since 1954, five classrooms, four restrooms, a new library, school office, and lunchroom-kitchen have been added to the physical plant. The agriculture

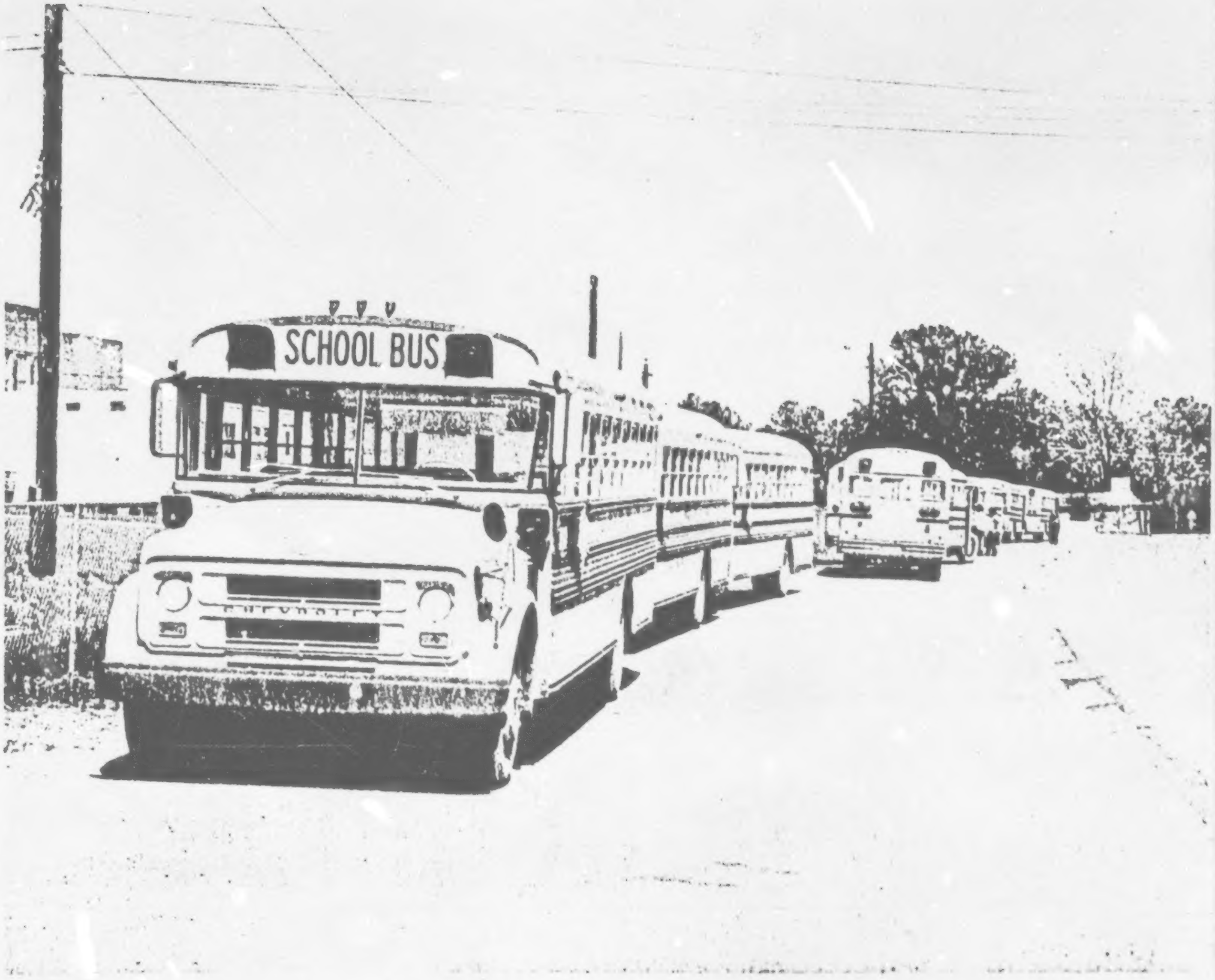

Fig.16. A district-owned fleet of buses transported a daily average of 1,282 students to school during the 1971-72 school year.

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shop was used by high school students. The teacher's houses located on campus were all occupied, with the high school principal living in the principal's home.

A principal and vice-principal administered Beaumont High School and campus. The principal served as a part-time guidance counselor. The vice-principal was a full-time teacher and coach. Nineteen teachers participated in the instructional program that served 317 students.

Beaumont High School, formerly named the Perry County Attendance Center, was built in 1962 and consists of a double-winged classroom building (including a gymnasium and cafeteria) and a building trades shop. One of the two teachers' homes on the campus served as the district's Title I office, while the other was occupied by the shop teacher.

New Augusta Elementary School and New Augusta High School shared buildings and grounds at the county seat campus. The high school principal administered the educational program for the 167 students in grades 7-12. An elementary principal oversaw 204 students in grades 1-6.

The high school principal is also the "building principal" and has ultimate responsibility for the buildings and grounds and such matters as the preparation and administration of the campus budget. This position probably is in part a holdover from the days when the schools on one campus constituted a school district, with the high school principal usually serving as district superintendent.

A board of trustees functioned at the New Augusta campus. Their custodial jurisdiction applied to the main classroom building, built in 1936, the old cafeteria building, and the 1947 gymnasium, as well as to the building constructed during the 1971-72 school year to house a drafting classroom and open-space elementary area. Also added to the site since 1954 were a cafeteria/kitchen complex (1967) and a "mobile classroom" erected in 1970 to help with the overcrowding that resulted from integration. The campus also included "teacherages."

The elementary school staff at New Augusta consisted of 11 teachers and three teacher aides, while the high school staff included 12 teachers.

Grades 1-12 were also taught on the campus at Runnelstown. The administrative arrangement there was nearly identical to the one operating

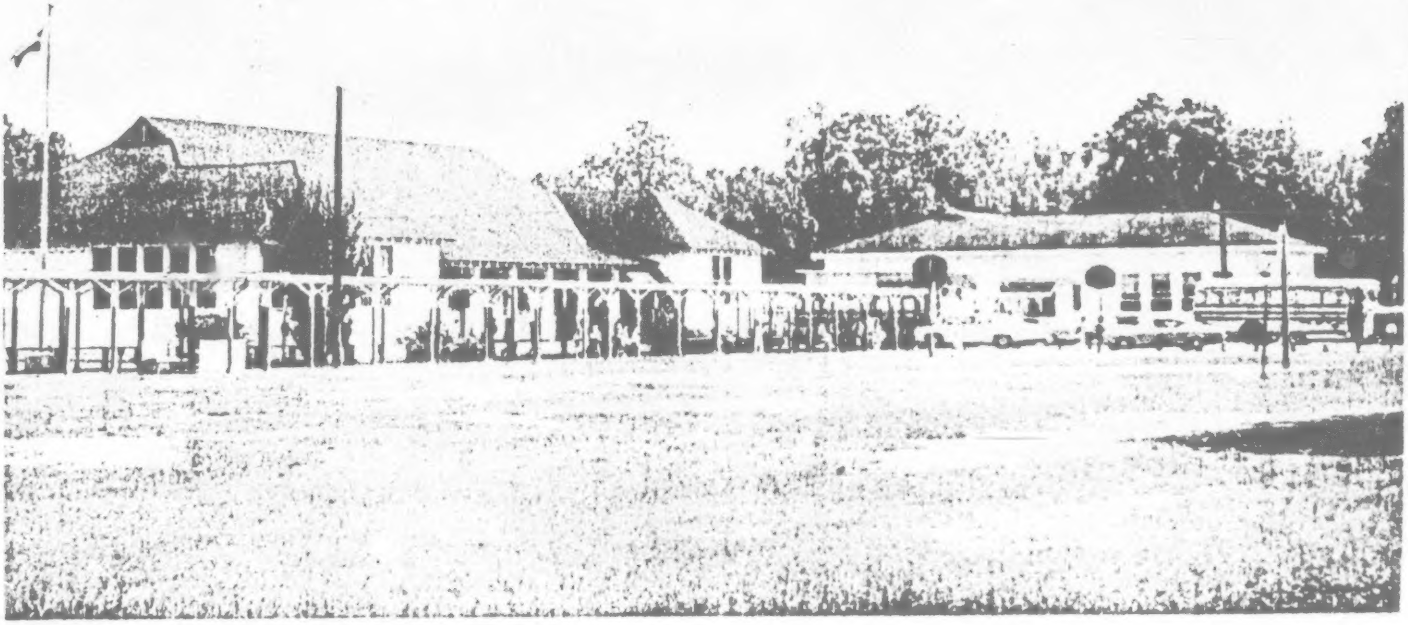


Fig.17. Beaumont Elementary School is situated on a 12-acre campus near the center of town.

at New Augusta. There was a high school vice-principal at Runnelstown, however. He taught full time. Twelve other teachers comprised the high school staff. The elementary staff included 12 teachers and six aides.

The 286 elementary students at Runnelstown were taught in the campus' original classroom building (1925), the gymnasium classrooms (1941), and the mobile classrooms erected in 1970. The 250 high school students attended classes in the classroom-library building completed in 1972, the 1949 shop building, the band hall, and the original classroom building. A cafeteria-kitchen complex built in 1964 also served these students.

The principal's home was located near the shop building, while the vice-principal was supplied a trailer to the left of the principal's home. A duplex for teachers was built across the highway from the main portion of the campus.

The curricula of Beaumont Elementary School and Runnelstown Elementary School were organized around language arts, math, science, and social studies. There was some physical education as well as public school music. The organization of instruction within each school, as well as between the two, varied. Some grades, primarily at the lower elementary level, utilized the "self-contained classroom" approach in which one teacher taught all subjects to one group of students. "Departmentalization" occurred frequently at the upper elementary levels with one teacher offering instruction in one subject to several groups and grade levels of children. Organization of instruction within the above range also occurred.

The New Augusta Elementary School curriculum also was organized around language arts, math, science, and social studies. Instruction was departmentalized but an attempt was made to offer it on a "non-graded" basis; that is, students were not to be grouped for instruction by the traditional 1-6 grade levels. They were to proceed through the instructional program at their own pace.

New Augusta High School attempted to operate on a non-graded basis during the 1971-72 school year. The attempt at both schools, however, was discontinued at the end of that year, partially as a result of intense community opposition.

Instruction at New Augusta High School as well as at the county's other two high schools also was "departmentalized." Teachers usually were assigned

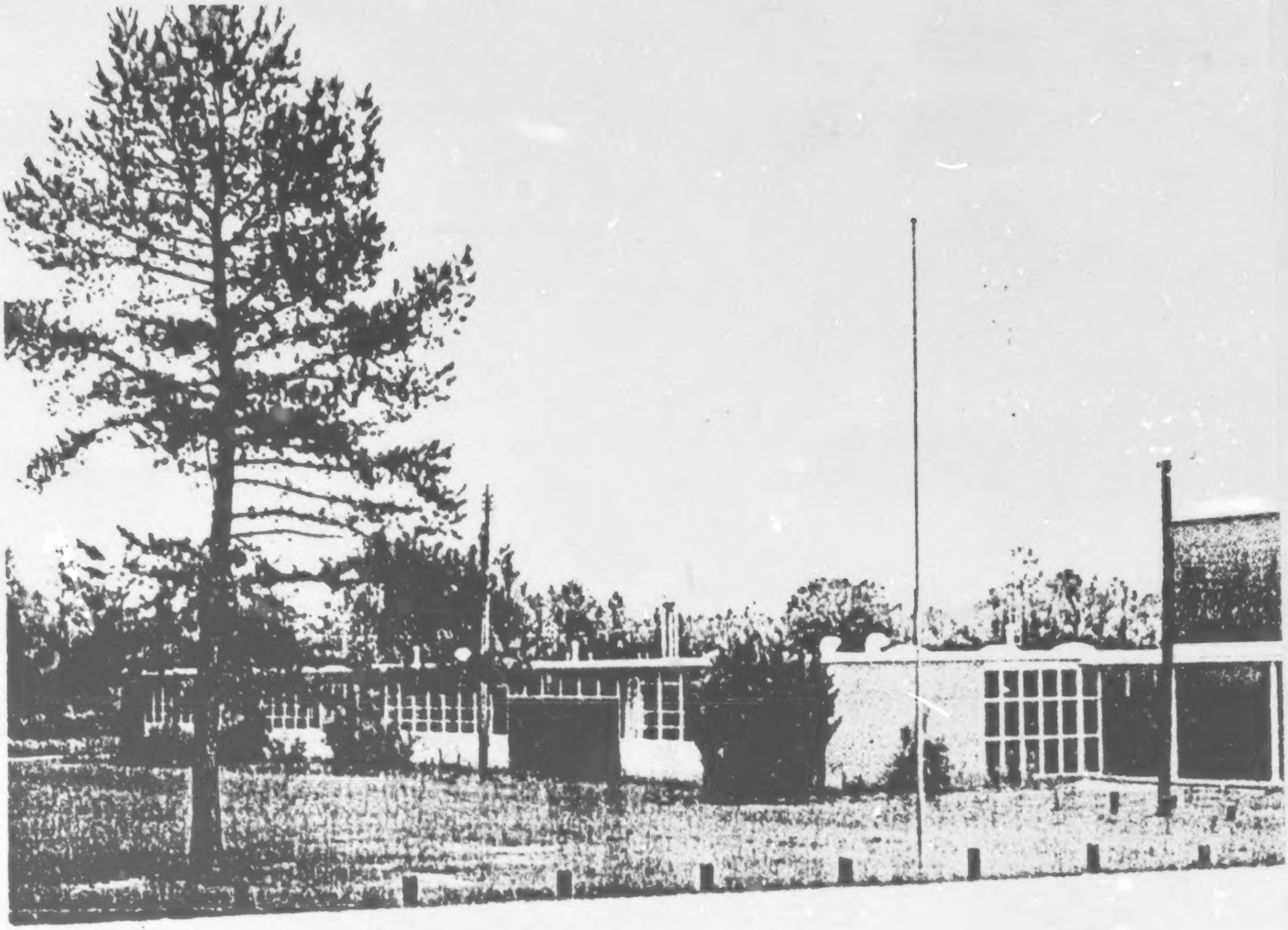


Fig.18. Beaumont High School, formerly the Perry County Attendance Center, was built in 1962 on a campus approximately a mile southwest of the town's business district.

classes in one subject area. Because of the relatively small number of students in each school, however, and of the resultant constraints on scheduling, a teacher taught subjects in her or his area at more than one grade level. Some teachers, too, were asked to teach in two or more subject areas, such as English and social studies. As a result, five preparations a day for a high school teacher, while not common, also were not unusual. Such loads in turn may account for the reports that teachers tended to rely heavily upon textbooks, not only as curriculum guides but also as sole sources of daily lesson plans.

Educational Finance

The Perry County School System financed its 1971-72 budget of $1,006,478 from three sources: state appropriations (54.43%), local taxes (20.79%), and funds from the federal government (24.78%).

In Mississippi, the state government underwrites a "minimum program of education." Under this program the state allocates money to Perry County and other school systems on the basis of the number of students in average daily attendance. This money is used to pay for instructional, administrative, and transportation costs.

The school district, however, is expected to contribute to this minimum program as well. Using a complicated formula, the State Department of Education determines what that contribution should be and notifies the County School Board who then notifies the County Board of Supervisors.

State law also provides that Perry County and other districts may offer more than a minimum program. That is, Perry County may hire more teachers and/or pay them more money than would be possible if the district relied solely on minimum program funds. To exceed the minimum program, however, the school board must ask the county board of supervisors to adjust the ad valorem tax rate accordingly (Wilbur, 1973, pp. 21-25).

In 1971-72, the Perry County School System did offer an educational program exceeding the state minimum program. In that year the County Board of Supervisors agreed to levy a tax of 25 mills on the district's $6,020,207 assessed valuation of taxable property in order to cover both these additional educational services as well as the required contribution to the state minimum program.

Table 19

SECONDARY SCHOOL CURICULUM, PERRY COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI, 1971-72

Beaumont High School	New Augusta High School (Non-graded)	Runnelstown High School
English	Language Arts	English
7th Grade English	Language Arts	7th Grade English
8th Grade English		8th Grade English
English I		English I
English II		English II
English III		English III
English IV		English IV
Mathematics	Mathematics	Mathematics
7th Grade Mathematics	Mathematics	7th Grade Mathematics
8th Grade Mathematics	Algebra I	8th Grade Mathematics
Algebra I	Algebra II	Algebra I
Algebra II	Business Arithmetic	Algebra II
General Mathematics	General Mathematics	General Mathematics
	Plane Geometry	Geometry
		Trigonometry
Science	Science	Science
7th Grade Science	Science	7th Grade Science
8th Grade Science	Biology	8th Grade Science
Biology	Chemistry	Biology
Chemistry		Chemistry
Social Studies	Social Studies	Social Studies
7th Grade Social Studies	Social Studies	7th Grade Social Studies
8th Grade Social Studies	American Government	8th Grade Social Studies
American Government	American History	American Government
American History	World History	American History
Mississippi History		Economics
World Geography		Mississippi History
World History		World History
Business	Business	Business
Bookkeeping	Bookkeeping	Business Education
Business Communication	Business Arithmetic	Shorthand
General Business	Business Law	Typing I
Shorthand	Shorthand	Typing II
Typing I	Typing I	
Typing II	Typing II	
Physical Education	Physical Education	Physical Education
Boys' Physical Education	Boys' Physical Education	Boys' Physical Education
Girls' Physical Education	Girls' Physical Education	Girls' Physical Education
Vocational and/or Occupational Education	Vocational and/or Occupational Education	Vocational and/or Occupational Education
Agriculture I	Drafting	Agriculture I
Agriculture II	Family Living	Agriculture II
Building Trades	Home Economics I	Agriculture III
Family Living	Home Economics II	Home Economics I
Home Economics I	Home Economics III	Home Economics II
Home Economics II	Senior Options	Home Economics III
Home Economics III		Occupational Orientation
Occupational Orientation		
Other	Other	Other
Driver Education	Driver Education	Driver Education
	Dramatic Arts	
	General Music	
	Instrumental Music	
	Piano	
	Spanish I	

[a] All terms on this table are those used on the master class schedules prepared at the various schools.

The federal government also contributes substantial amounts to the operation of the school district. During the 1971-72 school year, federal funds were made available from the following sources:

Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Title I
Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Title II
Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Title III
Federal Impacted Areas PL 874
National Forest, TVA lieuL

Educational Problems and Resources

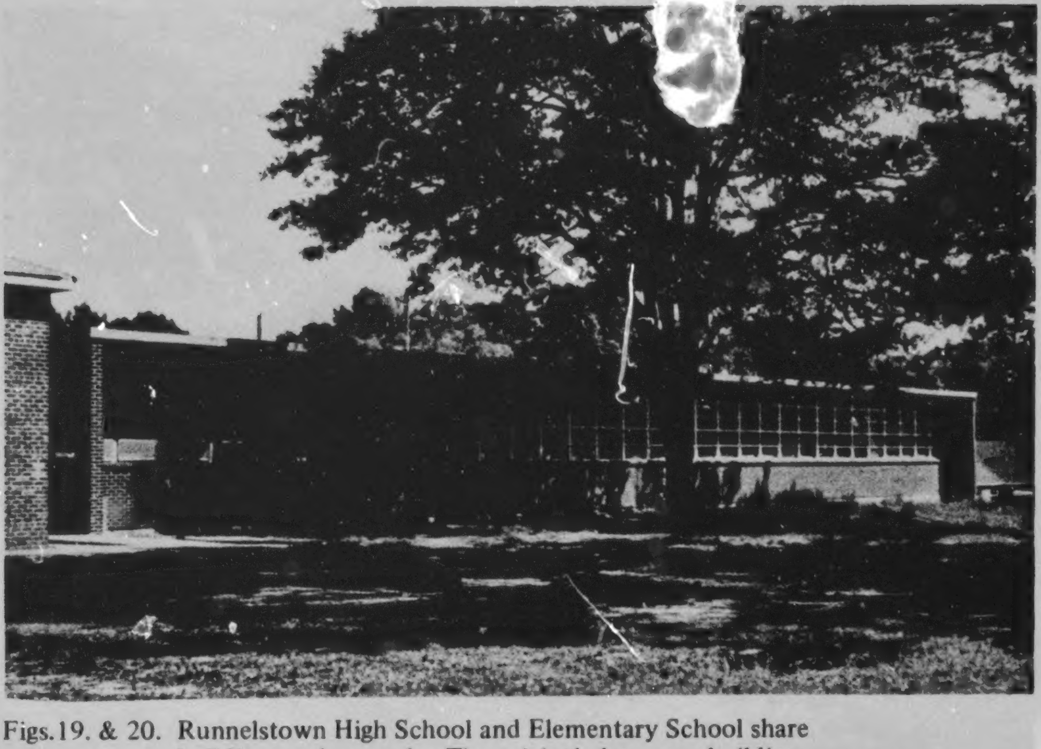
According to local educators, Perry County's educational system suffered from some basic weaknesses in the period prior to its selection as a site for the Experimental Schools program. The weaknesses were described as follows:

1. According to test results, many students are under-achievers (particularly in reading and in mathematics)
2. Inadequate finances
3. Limited curriculum offerings
4. Limited interest and understanding of citizens of educational needs
5. Limited parental support
6. The dropout rate is too high
7. The average daily attendance is low
8. The retention rate of under-achievers is high, without appropriate programs to accommodate their special needs.

(*Final Operational Plan*, Experimental
Schools Project, August 1, 1973, p. 11)

These educators also saw that "More than 60% of the graduating seniors do not go on to college and lack proper preparation and job skills to insure gainful employment" (*ibid*., p. 12).

In the eyes of these educators, however, Perry County also had considerable resources to bring to bear on its educational problems. Chief among these were some well-informed parents who pressed for a more relevant and productive educational program. Other important resources were the Mississippi State Department of Education and the two institutions of higher learning in nearby Hattiesburg, William Carey College and the University of Southern Mississippi.



Figs.19. & 20. Runnelstown High School and Elementary School share buildings and grounds. The original classroom building (top) was built in 1925 while the new high school classroom-library complex (bottom) was completed in 1972.

As things turned out, local educators also were able subsequently to draw on the resources of the National Institute of Education's Experimental Schools program.

THE PERRY COUNTY RURAL EXPERIMENTAL SCHOOLS PROJECT[9]

In March of 1972, Perry County's Superintendent of Education, Mr. William Powell, and the district's curriculum director, Mrs. Frances Vans Evers, were casting around for federal programs for which the school district might be eligible. As Mr. Powell recalls,

> We needed to expand educational services for our people. We were unable to pay for these services within the funding we were already receiving... We were hunting new money for financing a poor school district.

A phrase in the description of one program given in a publication of the federal government caught their eye: "select group of rural schools." A letter of inquiry was dispatched to Washington. A document dated March 10, 1972, and entitled "Experimental Schools Program: Announcement of a Competition for Small Rural Schools" was returned. Then began the formal application process.

This process involved first the preparation of a "Letter of Interest," to be no more than 15 pages long and to follow an outline provided on pages 5-8 of the "Announcement." The development of the "Letter of Interest" involved numerous telephone conversations between the superintendent, the director of federal projects, and Washington. Some such conversations lasted two or three hours and ended with the local people being given a work assignment relating to the "Letter of Interest." These assignments were then reviewed in subsequent conversations. By this process the "Letter of Interest" was prepared by April 10 and sent to Washington prior to the April 15 deadline. A letter acknowledging receipt of the document came by return mail and indicated that the selection process would be completed by the fifteenth of June.

On May 19 the superintendent received a Western Union Mailgram from the U.S.O.E. Experimental Schools Director that said

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[9] The following information was gained from various documents and from interviews with the Perry County Superintendent of Education and Experimental Schools project director, the project assistant, and school principals. Their cooperation is gratefully acknowledged.

p. 500 blank

> AS PART OF THE ONGOING SELECTION PROCESS FOR THE SMALL SCHOOLS COMPETITION THE EXPERIMENTAL SCHOOLS OFFICE REQUESTS THE OPPORTUNITY TO VISIT THE PERRY COUNTY SCHOOLS IN ORDER TO OBTAIN FURTHER INFORMATION AND DETAILS WITH RESPECT TO YOUR LETTER OF INTEREST...

The site visit was made May 25 by Experimental Schools Director Robert Binswanger and Project Officer Barbara Rose. They met with the county board of education, visited school campuses, and talked with some community citizens. They then returned to Washington.

Shortly after their visit, the Perry County School System was notified that it had been selected as one of the six initial rural Experimental Schools sites in the United States. A planning grant was awarded for the 1972-73 fiscal year and a series of planning activities subsequently initiated.

As a result of those activities, an "Operational Plan" for the local project was developed over the following year. It was entitled "A Comprehensive Plan for Educational Reform." In it, the following "major goals" of the project were identified:

> 1. The promotion of a realistic community involvement through the organization of a county-wide advisory committee and local school committees. The active participation of parents, staff, and representative students was to become a resource to the Board of Education and Administration for identifying unmet needs and assessing existing programs and outcomes.
> 2. To increase the efficiency of the management of school through an in-depth study of administration practices with the purpose of reconstruction in needed areas.
> 3. The development of a continuing in-service staff development program with the purpose of upgrading competencies of teachers, administrators, and para-professionals as new directions in curriculum, teaching methods, and school activities are projected.
> 4. The realization of improved pupil achievement and greater commitment and readiness for entry into the world of work or continuing formal education.
> 5. The strengthening of the entire school program through curriculum reform and improved teaching. These were to include an early childhood program, career education components grades 4 through 12 and the development of a comprehensive health and physical fitness program at all grade levels. (pp. 13, 14)

These goals and the specified procedures for achieving them subsequently were approved by the national Experimental Schools office.

With their operational plan approved and project contract signed, the educators of Perry County, Mississippi, were now ready to begin their attempt to implement comprehensive educational change in this Deep South, Piney Woods county.

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A. "Agriculture and Horticulture"
B. "Ante-bellum Days"
C. "Flora"
D. "Formation"
E. "Nomenclature"
F. "Outlaw Days"
G. "Reconstruction"
H. "Schools of Today"
I. "Schools of Yesterday"
J. "Soils and Minerals"
K. "Topography"
L. "Wars"
M. Miscellaneous Pages

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Chapter VII

A Social and Educational History of Supervisory Union 58, New Hampshire

by

Charles Stannard

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A Social and Educational History of
Supervisory Union 58, New Hampshire

Area: 179 square miles. Population (1970): 3,816. Elevation ranges from 850 feet to 3,710 feet. The supervisory union lies between 44°20' and 44°45' latitude and 71°40' and 71°20' longitude in Coos County in northern New Hampshire. Groveton, in the town of Northumberland, is 27 miles northwest of Berlin, New Hampshire, 29 miles northeast of Littleton, New Hampshire, 130 miles southeast of Montreal, Canada, and 180 miles northwest of Boston, Massachusetts. The union includes the towns of Northumberland (settled: 1767, incoporated: 1779), Stratford (settled: 1772, incorporated: 1779), and Stark (settled: 1783, incorporated: 1795).

BASIC GEOGRAPHY, GEOLOGY, AND ECOLOGY

Basic Facts

Supervisory Union 58 consists of the school districts of the towns of Northumberland, Stark, and Stratford. The union is located in Coos County in the northern part of New Hampshire. Stark lies to the east of the towns of Northumberland and Stratford, which border Vermont. The three towns lie between 44° 30' and 44° 45' latitude and 71° 40' and 71° 20' longitude. The elevation of the towns ranges from 850 feet in Northumberland near its border with Lancaster to 3,710 feet in a mountainous region of Stark (Table 1).

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Table 1

ELEVATION OF TOWNS IN SUPERVISORY UNION 58

Town	Populated Area	Elevation
Northumberland	Northumberland	863'
	Groveton	884'
Stark	Stark	957'
	Percy	985'
	Crystal	1,064'
Stratford	Stratford Hollow	949'
	North Stratford	911'

The towns vary considerably in size. Stratford is the largest, comprising 81.4 square miles; Stark is next in size with 60.6 square miles; and Northumberland is the smallest with 37.3 square miles. The 1970 population of Northumberland was 2,493, of Stark 343, and of Stratford 980. In Northumberland, most of the population (about 2,000) is concentrated in the Groveton area, while about 500 of Stratford's residents live in North Stratford. The result is that much of the land in all three towns is uninhabited.

The towns of Union 58 are far from any major urban areas. Using Groveton as a reference, the nearest New Hampshire cities are Berlin (27 miles) and Littleton (29 miles), both of which have fewer than 16,000 inhabitants. The nearest Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area is Concord-Manchester, which is about 112 miles from Groveton. The nearest major urban areas are Montreal, Canada (130 miles), and Boston (180 miles).

Basic Geography

The bulk of the countryside of Union 58 is mountainous and covered with forests (see Figures 1,2, and 3). The forests consist of about equal numbers of hardwood and softwood trees. The hardwoods include yellow birch, some white birch, beech, hard and soft maple, and poplar. Softwoods include spruce, balsam firs, hemlock and some white pine. The mountains in Union 58 are not as rugged and spectacular as those in the Presidential Range to the south. The sheer size of uninhabited and rugged forest lands in Union 58, however, is sometimes overwhelming.

The major mountains in Stratford are Goback (elevation 3,523'), Teapot (elevation 3,426'), Sugarloaf (elevation 3,701'), and the Percy Peaks (elevation 3,418' and 3,220'). The Percy Peaks--twin peaks conical in shape and treeless at their summits--are located in the southeast corner of Stratford and are visible in all three towns. They are quite striking to look at, especially in the winter when their barren tops are snow covered.

Northumberland is not as mountainous as either Stratford or Stark. The most interesting mountain in Northumberland is Cape Horn, which is located south of Groveton and west of Northumberland. Rising to slightly more than 2,000 feet, its narrow and steep profile juts up from the low, flat ground which surrounds it. Its isolation and disjunction from its immediate surroundings can be best appreciated when viewed from a distant vantage point such as Mt. Prospect in Lancaster. Morse Mountain, north of Groveton, is the only other mountain in Groveton. It rises to an elevation of slightly more than 1,900 feet.

Stark, like Stratford, is mostly mountainous. In the northern part of the district, Long Mountain rises above 3,000 feet, while in the southeast section, Hutchins Mountain in the Pliny Range reaches an elevation of 3,710 feet. Just north of the village of Stark is Devil's Slide, a sheer rock wall that rises 800 feet above the village of Stark.

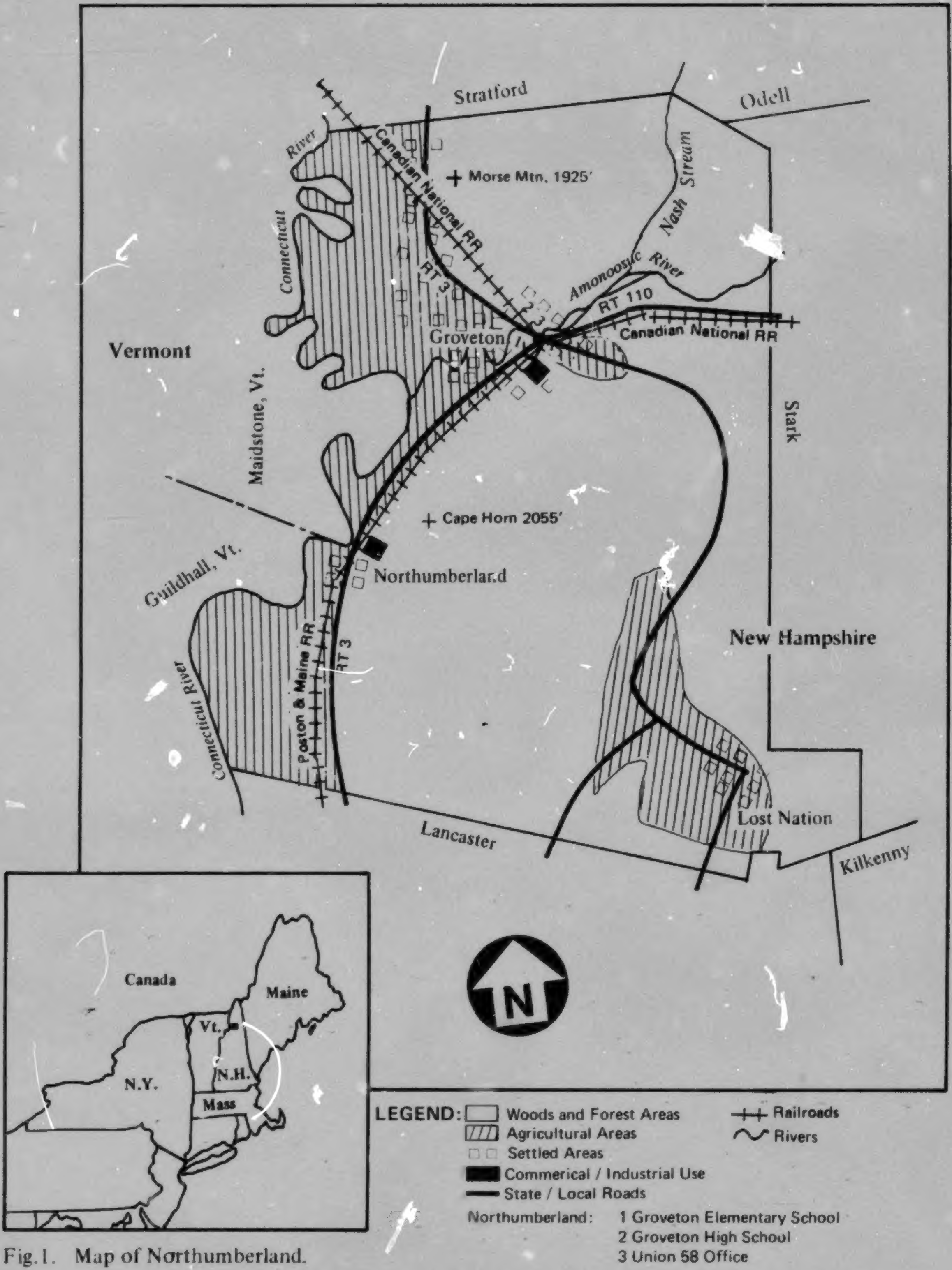
Stratford
Odell
River
Connecticut
Canadian National RR
Morse Mtn. 1925'
Nash Stream
Amonoosuc River
RT 3
RT 110
1 2 3
Canadian National RR
Groveton
Vermont
Maidstone, Vt.
Stark
Cape Horn 2055'
Guildhall, Vt.
Northumberland
New Hampshire
Connecticut River
Boston & Maine RR
RT 3
Lost Nation
Lancaster
Kilkenny
N
Canada
Maine
Vt.
N.H.
N.Y.
Mass
LEGEND:
Woods and Forest Areas
Agricultural Areas
Settled Areas
Commerical / Industrial Use
State / Local Roads
Railroads
Rivers
Northumberland:
1 Groveton Elementary School
2 Groveton High School
3 Union 58 Office

Fig. 1. Map of Northumberland.

The two major rivers of the area are the Connecticut River ("Long River" to the Indians), which flows through the towns of Stratford and Northumberland, and the Upper Ammonoosuc ("Pine-Tree fishing place" to the Indians), which flows through the towns of Stark and Northumberland. These two rivers drain the other smaller streams of the area, and the Upper Ammonoosuc is itself drained by the Connecticut.

The Connecticut River--the largest in New England--begins its long journey to Long Island Sound in a mountainous area about 50 miles north of Stratford, near the Canadian border. By the time it reaches Stratford, the Connecticut has grown from a small stream to a sizeable river. It forms the western border of the towns of Stratford and Northumberland, as well as the border between Vermont and New Hampshire.

The Connecticut enters Stratford flowing in a southwest direction in a series of riffles and pools that are favored by fishermen. As the river reaches the settled area of North Stratford, it bends to a more southerly course and picks up water from the Nulhegan River which flows in from Vermont. It then slows its pace considerably and snakes its way through broad meadows towards Northumberland. About 9 miles south of North Stratford, Bog Brook joins the Connecticut. Bog Brook is a small stream which has its headwaters near Sugarloaf Mountain in the northeastern corner of the town. It flows into Stratford Bog Pond and then through the "Hollow," the area of first settlement in the town, before joining the Connecticut.

The Connecticut continues its slow pace, looping through the meadows, and is joined by the Ammonoosuc a mile below Groveton. Here the river ceases to support fish because of the pollution dumped into it by the Ammonoosuc. It flows placidly for about five miles before entering the town of Lancaster; the only break in its still waters is a small man-made dam near the settled area of Northumberland.

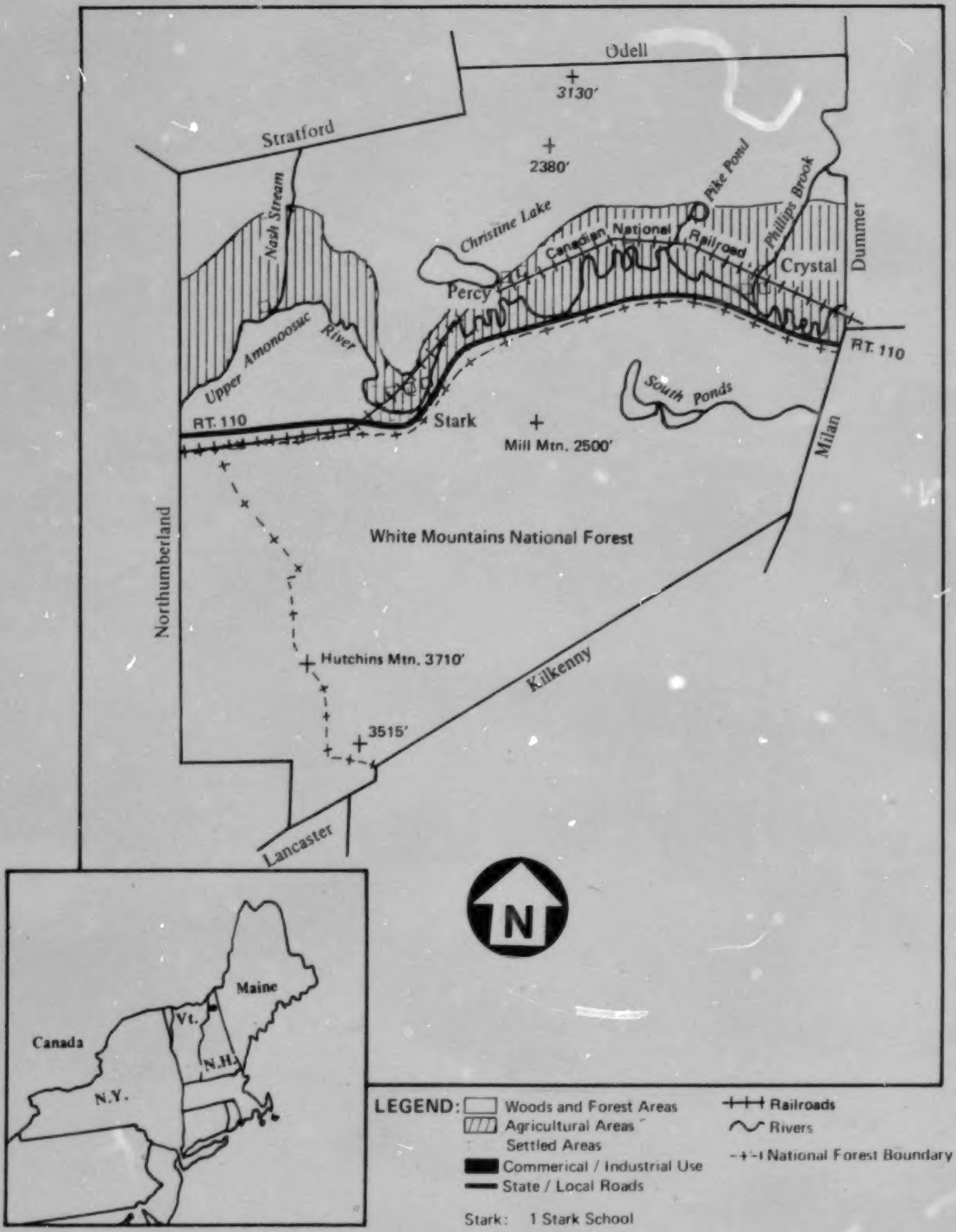
Odell
3130′
Stratford
2380′
Pike Pond
Phillips Brook
Dummer
Nash Stream
Christine Lake
Canadian National Railroad
Crystal
Percy
Upper Amonoosuc River
RT. 110
South Ponds
RT. 110
Stark
Mill Mtn. 2500′
Milan
Northumberland
White Mountains National Forest
Hutchins Mtn. 3710′
Kilkenny
3515′
Lancaster
N
Maine
Vt.
Canada
N.H.
N.Y.
LEGEND:
Woods and Forest Areas
Agricultural Areas
Settled Areas
Commerical / Industrial Use
State / Local Roads
Railroads
Rivers
National Forest Boundary
Stark: 1 Stark School

Fig.2. Map of Stark.

The other major river of the area, the Upper Ammonoosuc, has its headwaters in the Kilkenny Mountains in the White Mountains National Forest and tumbles from the hills through the towns of Berlin and Milan before it reaches Stark. By the time the river has entered the town of Stark, it has slowed its pace considerably and meanders in a westerly direction. Once in Stark, it is soon joined by Phillips Brook, a small stream that enters from the north. Located on Phillips Brook about a mile from its juncture with the Upper Ammonoosuc is a small cluster of houses called Crystal. Four miles to the west, at the juncture of another stream and the Upper Ammonoosuc, is another small settlement called Percy.

The Upper Ammonoosuc River twists and turns slowly on its westerly course for about another mile. Then the river--now filled with large rocks and boulders--straightens out and flows more swiftly. The valley narrows until the hills, the woods, the roads, the railroad and the river almost come together. The village of Stark lies at the point where the valley begins to widen again and the roads, the river, and the railroad are more widely separated. Here, where Devil's Slide rises 800 feet above the river, are located a church, a two-room school, a covered bridge, a town hall, a library, and a small cluster of houses. Beyond the village of Stark, the river--now filled with gravel and stones rather than boulders--hurries along through pastures and haylots until it enters Northumberland 8 miles to the west. Nash Stream flows in from the north several miles before the Upper Ammonoosuc reaches the Northumberland line.

In Northumberland, a series of dams which were once used to control the flow of the river for a paper mill in Groveton creates several ponds; one pond is about 47 acres, another is about 20 acres. After passing through the village of Groveton with its large paper mill, the Ammonoosuc--now sullied and heated by the village and paper mill--wanders in lazy loops through meadows for about a mile before joining the Connecticut River.

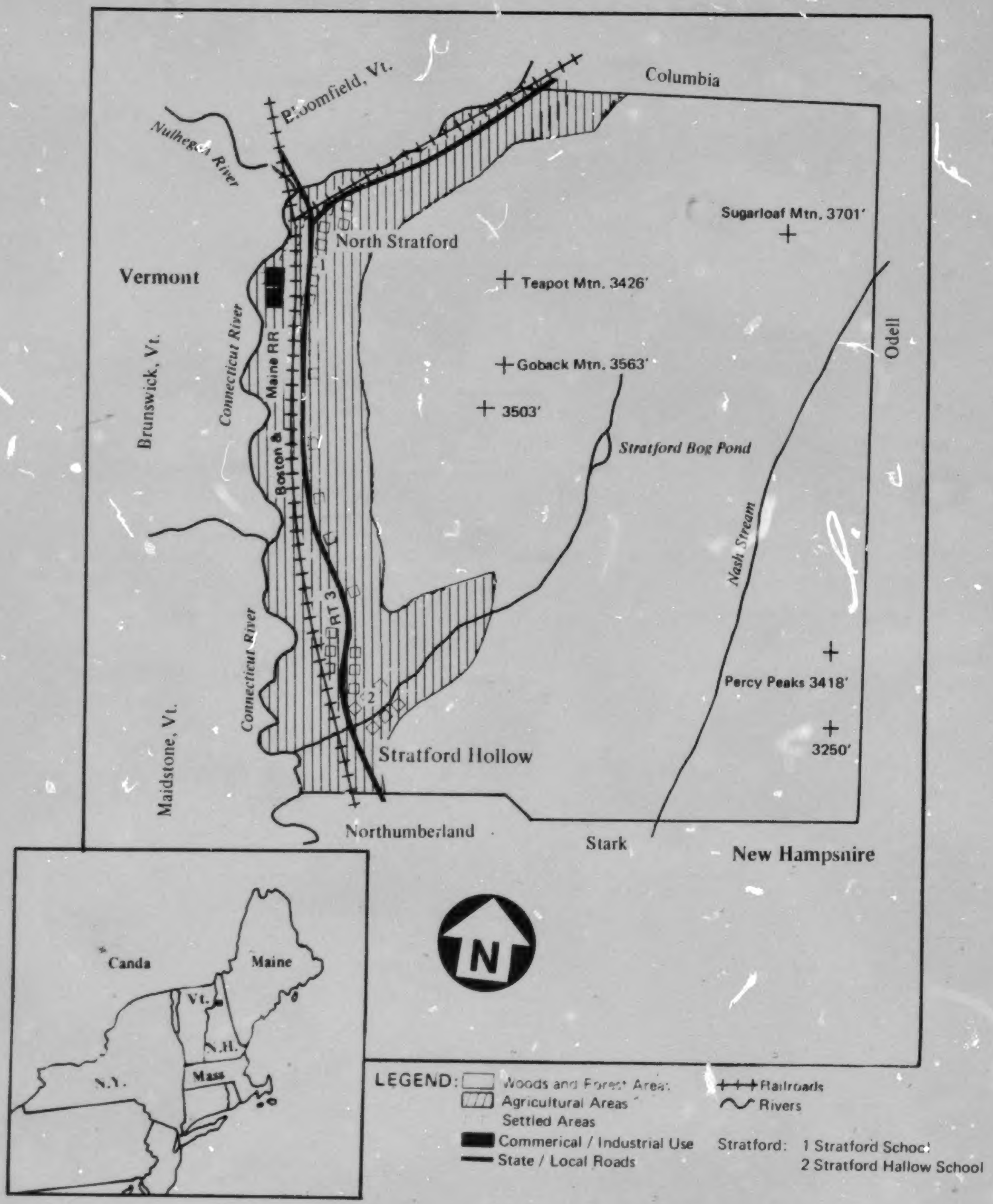
Columbia
Bloomfield, Vt.
Nulhegan River
North Stratford
Sugarloaf Mtn. 3701'
Vermont
Teapot Mtn. 3426'
Brunswick, Vt.
Connecticut River
Boston & Maine RR
Goback Mtn. 3563'
3503'
Odell
Stratford Bog Pond
Nash Stream
RT 3
Connecticut River
Percy Peaks 3418'
Maidstone, Vt.
Stratford Hollow
3250'
Northumberland
Stark
New Hampshire
Canda
Maine
Vt.
N.H.
N.Y.
Mass
N
LEGEND:
Woods and Forest Area
Agricultural Areas
Settled Areas
Commerical / Industrial Use
State / Local Roads
Railroads
Rivers
Stratford: 1 Stratford School
2 Stratford Hallow School
1
2

Fig.3. Map of Stratford.

Because of the hilly and mountainous terrain, there are not many sizeable ponds or lakes in the district; the several that do exist are man-made. The only sizeable body of water in Stratford is Stratford Bog Pond (about 31 acres), which is man-made. Until about 5 years ago, the only other sizeable pond in Stratford was Nash Bog Pond (about 223 acres), most of which was in the neighboring town of Odell. It too was man-made and was used to regulate the flow of Nash Stream and the Upper Ammonoosuc River for logging purposes. The dam burst in 1969 and has not been replaced, though there is some talk of doing so now.

Stark has several sizeable bodies of water. Christine Lake, the largest, comprises about 170 acres; it is located just north of the settlement of Percy. South Ponds, a series of four ponds in the White Mountains National Forest in the eastern part of the town, comprises about 124 acres. Pike Pond, 11.5 acres, is the smallest; it is located in the northeast section of the town.

Maidstone Lake, located in Maidstone, Vermont across from Stratford Hollow, is the only large lake in the immediate area. It is about 3 miles long and 3/4 of a mile wide. Many of the residents of the towns of Union 58, especially Groveton, have summer camps on its shores.

Climate

The area is characterized by long, cold winters and relatively short summers. On the average, the last killing frost occurs around the end of May and the first one occurs about the middle of September. The result is a short growing season--about 112 days. The average temperature for the year is about 40°F. The winters are cold, averaging between 16°F and 20°F with temperatures sometimes below -30°F. The spring is characterized by temperature extremes: The record high temperature in April is 87°F, while the record low temperature for the same month is 1°F. For May, the same records are 91°F and 21°F. In the summer, the average daily high temperatures are in the upper 70s, while the average daily low temperatures are around 50°F. In the fall, the high temperatures average in the low 60s, while the low temperatures average about 40°F.

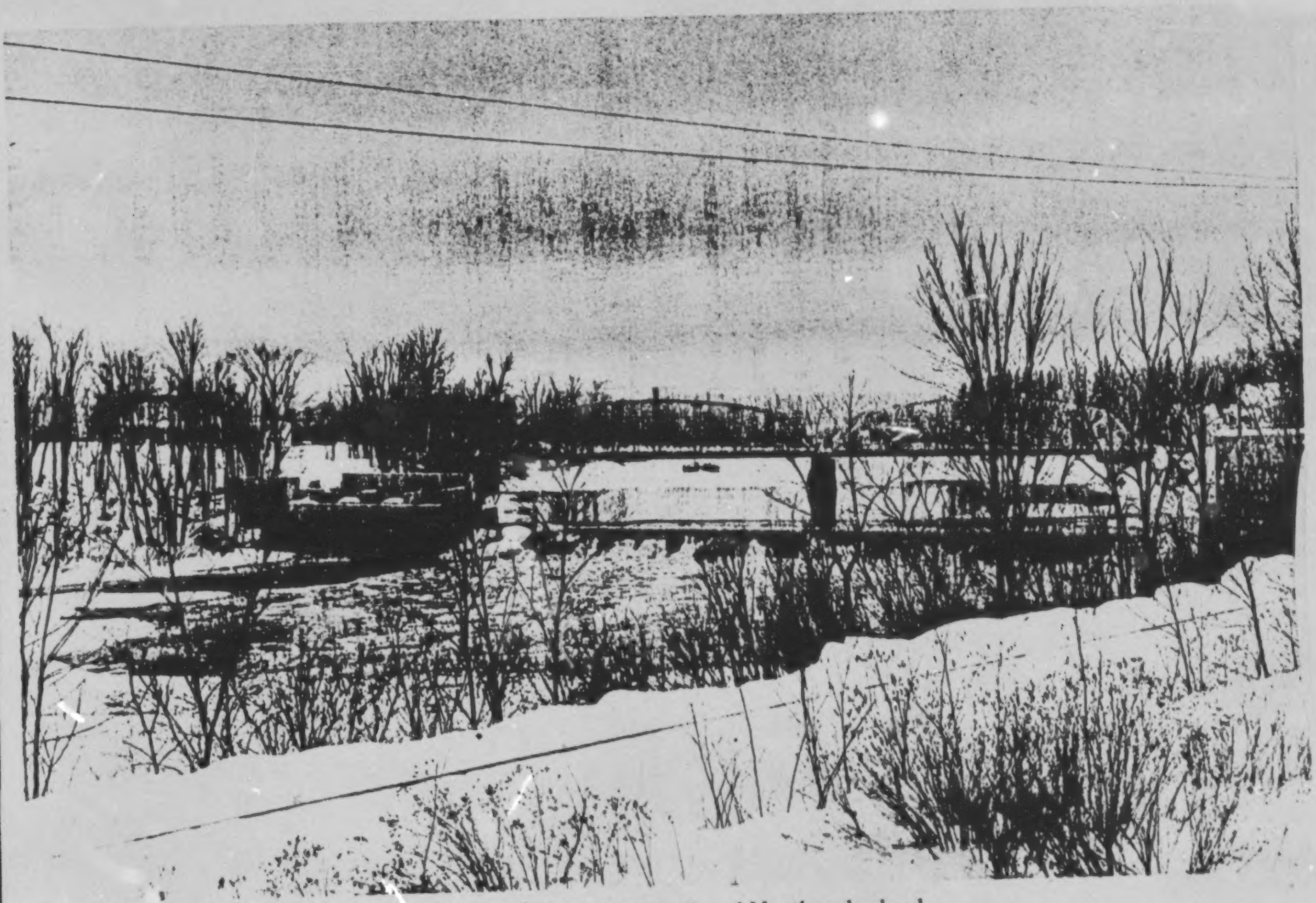

Fig.4. Northumberland Falls with the bridge between Guildhall and Northumberland in the background.

Precipitation occurs regularly throughout all seasons of the year and averages 38 inches. The record maximum precipitation is more than 50 inches per year and the record minimum precipitation is slightly more than 25 inches per year. Snowfall, though varying from year to year, averages about 100 inches for the mid- to lower eleveations.

Geology

There are no active mines or quarries in any of the towns. Although there is an overabundance of Conway granite (which makes a good building stone) in the area, very little has been done in the past to quarry it. At one time, there were several copper and silver mines in neighboring towns, but these were never very profitable and have long since been abandoned. A stone quarry was once located in Stark, but that too is now no longer used.

The soil in the Connecticut and Upper Ammonoosuc River valleys is fertile and is used for farming. Hay, fodder, and occasionally potatoes are grown in the Connecticut River valley. Hay and pasture land predominate in the Upper Ammonoosuc valley, though potatoes are grown there too. The Lost Nation area of Northumberland, east of Cape Horn and west of the Pliny Range in Stark, is also used for pasture land and for growing hay.

With the exception of the settled areas, virtually all the other land in the area is covered by forest, which provides wood for paper, saw, and veneer mills.

Impact of Geography and Geology on Community Life

Settlement patterns are closely related to general topographical and soil conditions in Union 58. The rugged, hilly terrain and rocky soil have made settlements feasible only in the lowlands and river valleys, as the town maps clearly show. Even the less rugged slopes which were once farmed have long been given over to forests;

occasional out-of-place and scraggly apple trees, the remnants of orchards, or the slight depressions of old cellar holes are all that show the presence of abandoned farms.

The bulk of the residents earn their living in wood related industries; most of them work in a paper mill in Groveton. Others work in the two sawmills in Groveton or in North Stratford, or they work in procuring lumber for these mills. The sawmills take advantage of the proximity of large forested tracts. For the paper company, the Upper Ammonoosuc supplies the additional requirement of a steady source of water.

Ecology

A variety of animals inhabit the forests of Union 58. White tailed deer are common to the area, though they are not as plentiful now as they were in the past because of several recent severe winters. Moose are occasionally seen and may be increasing in numbers after having been almost eliminated from the area during the nineteenth century. Bear, bobcat, varying hare, fox, beaver, mink, and muskrat are also found in Union 58. The coyote (or "coy dog" as it is known locally) is found in the area and may also be increasing in numbers. Rumors exist of wolves which either inhabit the area or occasionally come in from Canada.

The predominant fish in the ponds and streams of the area is the trout. As a result of state and federal stocking efforts, rainbow and brown trout are found in the larger streams. Brook trout--the favorite of local people--are indigenous to the smaller streams and beaver ponds of the area. The Connecticut River, where fish weighing 5 pounds are occasionally caught, is the best trout stream. Pickerel and panfish are found in the Connecticut River below the village of North Stratford. Maidstone Lake in Vermont is the only lake in the area that has landlocked salmon and lake trout.

The birds of the area include crows, ravens, bluejays, ruffed grouse (or partridges), owls and hawks (including ospreys), purple finches, and summer birds such as red wing blackbirds, wood and hermit thrushes, a variety of sparrows, goldfinches, robins, and starlings. Groveton has pigeons. Geese and ducks migrate through the area. Woodcocks also stay briefly in alder thickets and swamps in the fall.

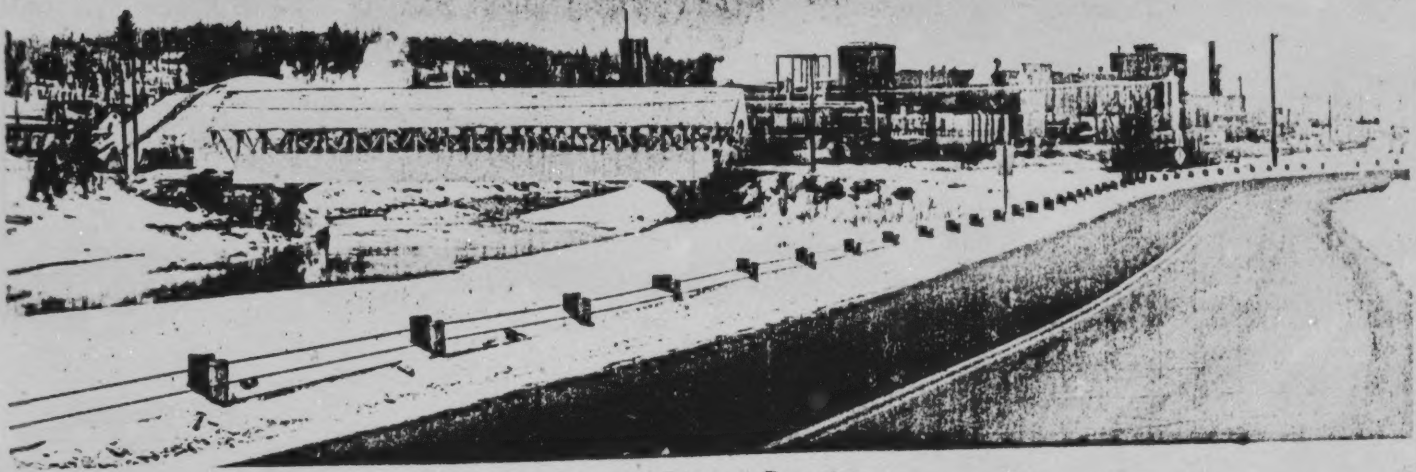

Fig.5. The covered bridge over the Upper Ammonoosuc River at Groveton. Groveton Papers Co. is in the background.

EARLY SETTLEMENT, 1760-1840: DISCOVERY AND SLOW GROWTH

The distance from the seacoast, the barriers created by the White Mountains, the absence of any rivers or series of rivers navigable to the New Hampshire coast, and the long winters and short summers have been constant impediments to the settlement and development of northern New Hampshire. The French and Indian War and the Revolutionary War were likewise impediments, albeit short ones, to settlement of northern New Hampshire.

Prior to the colonization and settlement of America, the northern part of New Hampshire was a hunting and fishing ground of the Abenaquis Indians, who lived in the St. Lawrence River valley and had a large encampment at what came to be St. Francis, Quebec. A series of lakes and rivers enabled the Abenaquis to travel from Canada to the Maine coast. Such voyages took the Indians through what were to become the towns of Stratford, Northumberland and Stark. The journey to the Atlantic began on Lake Memphremagog, which straddles the Canadian and Vermont borders. After crossing the lake, the Indians canoed down the Clyde River to Island Pond in Vermont. A short portage took them to the Nulhegan River, which flowed into the Connecticut River where the village of North Stratford is now located. They continued down to the Upper Ammonoosuc River, which enters the Connecticut just south of the village of Groveton. Then they took the Upper Ammonoosuc through the township of Stark and, after another short portage, reached the Androscogin River, which eventually took them to the Kennebec River and the ocean.

Other than some temporary camps, the Indians made no permanent settlements in the "Upper Cohas," as they called the region in northern New Hampshire. The nearest Indian village was in the "Lower Cohas," in the vicinity of Haverhill on the Connecticut River, about 50 miles south of the present village of Groveton.

The first recorded visit by white men to northern New Hampshire was unplanned and involuntary. In 1752 a small group of men was hunting on Baker's River near Rumney, New Hampshire, about 25 miles southeast of Haverhill, when they were captured by a party of Indians and taken north to St. Francis,

p. 530 blank

passing through Upper Cohas on the way. They were released later that year and upon returning "made glowing accounts of the Cohas" (Thompson, 1925, p. 26).

Although the beginning of the French and Indian War hindered the settlement of the Upper Cohas, it also had the ironical effect of stimulating British interest in the area because the British were concerned that the French would move in and fortify it. As a result of this concern, the British commissioned several expeditions to ascertain French intentions in the Upper Cohas. In 1754, the first small British military expedition headed north from Concord. It reached the Connecticut River near Piermont, about 10 miles south of Haverhill, and returned to Concord after encountering Indians in the area. The next year another expedition, under the direction of Captain Peter Powers, set out for the Upper Cohas. It was more successful than its predecessors and reached as far as Northumberland before encountering fresh Indian signs. Upon discovery of a large Indian camping area, the party retreated to Concord. During the same year--1755--another expedition, headed by Captain Robert Rogers, constructed a fort in Northumberland near the junction of the Upper Ammonoosuc and Connecticut Rivers.

All of these expeditions traveled the same route. They left Concord and traveled up the Merrimac River to the Pemigewasset to Baker's River. After a short portage, they reached the Connecticut River in the vicinity of Haverhill and then took the Connecticut into the Upper Cohas.

In 1759, during the French and Indian War, the British ordered the destruction of the Indian village at St. Francis; Robert Rogers (now a major) and 200 men destroyed the village and killed a large number of Indians. After the battle, Rogers and the remaining rangers made a desparate flight towards the Connecticut River and Fort Wentworth, where they expected to receive additional supplies from a relief party that was to meet them there. Reduced in numbers and in poor condition from the hardships of their escape, Rogers and his rangers reached Fort Wentworth, but they found no provisions or relief party and had to continue southward without aid of any sort.

The close of the French and Indian War opened the way for settlement of the Upper Cohas. In 1761, the Provincial Governor of New Hampshire granted a charter to a number of townships on the east and west sides of the Connecticut River. The first settlements in northern New Hampshire were in the Connecticut River valley, both because the river made that area more accessible and because its meadows were most suitable for farming. With the granting of the townships, Anglo-Saxon settlers from Massachusetts and Connecticut began moving north to settle in the valley.

The three towns in Union 58 were granted charters between 1761 and 1774. Northumberland was granted a charter by the Royal Governor on October 20, 1761. In 1767, Thomas Spaulding and David Burnside settled with their families by the falls on the Connecticut near the village of Northumberland. By 1775, Northumberland had 57 inhabitants (Lord, 1793, pp. 242-243). It was incorporated as a town in New Hampshire in November of 1779.

Stratford was originally granted a charter as Woodbury on June 30, 1762. By 1772, the first settlements or "pitches" were established. In May of 1773, Woodbury surrendered its charter, and the town was granted another charter as Stratford on May 26, 1773. The first woman settler arrived on June 1, 1773, and by 1775, Stratford had 41 inhabitants (Lord, 1793, pp. 242-243). Like Northumberland, Stratford was incorporated in Novermber of 1779.

Stark was originally granted a charter as Percy on August 3, 1774. Settlement was delayed by the beginning of the Revolutionary War, and the first settlers did not arrive in the town until 1783. On January 9, 1795, the town was incorporated as Percy. The town's name was changed to Stark on December 28, 1832 to honor John Stark, a Revolutionary War general.

During the Revolutionary War many people left the Upper Cohas, including those in the towns of Northumberland and Stratford. The towns north of Stratford were abandoned, making Stratford the northernmost American outpost in New Hampshire. A new fort was built in Northumberland and Fort Wentworth was used again. Forts were also built in Stratford and across the river in Maidstone, Vermont.

No major battles were fought in the Upper Cohas during the Revolutionary War. "Alarms," however, did occur in Northumberland and Stratford as bands of Indians, led by the British, periodically raided the settlements. On several occasions, buildings and furnishings were destroyed and prisoners were taken.

With the end of the Revolutionary War, former settlers returned to the Upper Cohas and new settlers arrived. Between 1775 and 1790, the population of Northumberland and Stratford more than doubled. Northumberland's population went from 57 in 1775 to 117 in 1790, while Stratford's population went from 41 to 156 during the same interval. In 1790, 7 years after Percy's first settlers came, its population was listed as 48.

Tasks which faced the early settlers included clearing the land for pasture and tillage and building homes. The first homes were log cabins. In Stratford, the cabins were built in the meadows of the Connecticut River, but spring freshets forced their removal to higher ground.

Roads and bridges also had to be constructed in the wilderness where there existed only occasional Indian paths. Because good roads that were passable with wagons were not constructed until after 1800, travel to cities and towns outside the area was an arduous and perilous task. The Connecticut River was a southern route, by canoes when the river was open and by ox carts when it was frozen. Accidents were not uncommon. The stretch of water below Dalton (called "15-mile falls") was especially treacherous. The other route was through the White Mountain Notch. Although it was discovered in 1771, it was a very difficult road to travel until it was improved and made a turnpike in 1803. Until then, however, difficult and infrequent travel to and from the outside world hindered the exchange of farm goods for cash or trade.

Another task facing the inhabitants was the construction of grist and sawmills which were needed to produce lumber for housing and to prepare locally-grown grains for consumption. In Stratford, it was some time before adequate grist mills were built; before their construction, grain had to be taken for processing to Dalton, some 20 miles south of the present location of Groveton. The towns appropriated money and land in order to facilitate the construction of the mills; construction involved damming small streams and rivers to create a head of water that was used to drive the saws or stones.

In addition to farming, the settlers supported themselves by hunting and fishing. Moose and beaver were abundant and were hunted both for their meat and their pelts; the nose of the moose and the tail of the beaver were considered delicacies. The slaughter of these animals--the moose was especially vulnerable in the spring when the snow crusted over--was so great that both animals were scarce by 1800. After the moose were almost extinct, the white tailed deer moved into the area; the first deer were seen around Lancaster in the early part of the nineteenth century.

Prior to the building of meeting houses in each of the towns, religion was practiced in the home. Presumably, the religion of the day was Congregational. Northumberland erected its meeting house in 1799, and Stark built its meeting house around 1810. Stratford began one in 1808 or 1809; it was never completed, though its wood was used in the construction of another one. Churches and denominations did not proliferate in the towns until the middle part of the nineteenth century.

Prior to political incorporation, the towns were run by "proprietors," many of whom never settled in them. After incorporation in the state of New Hampshire, the towns were organized in the selectman-town meeting form of government. Town officers were elected at the annual town meeting in which all qualified voters (i.e., male property holders), voted. Town officers were elected for one-year terms; officer positions included a moderator for the town meeting, three selectmen, a constable, and various minor officials such as hog reeves and fence viewers. Town budgets were also approved.

By 1800, the towns of Union 58 had been established and populated by "independent, healthy farmers" (History of Coos County, 1888, p. 8). Economic institutions were primitive, and trade was chiefly by means of barter. The towns were self-governing, and religious institutions had been established. Town records indicate that funds had been appropriated for schooling and that common schools had been established. Roads, poor but passable, were under construction, linking inhabitants with each other and the outside world. Some sense of the size of the tasks confronting the first settlers can be gleaned from the fact that in 1805, after more than 20 years of work, Stratford had only 46 acres of arable land, 123 acres for mowing, and 30 acres for pasture (Thompson, 1925, p. 122).

The next 40 years in the history of the towns of Stratford, Stark, and Northumberland were years of gradual growth (see Figure 7). In 1800, the total population of the three towns was 626. Stratford had the most inhabitants--281; Northumberland had 205 inhabitants; and Stark had 140 inhabitants. Forty years later, in 1840, the total population for the three towns had almost doubled to 1,188 people. Stratford was still the largest town with 441 inhabitants. Northumberland followed with 398 inhabitants, and Stark's population had increased to 349. Although during this period many of the original settlers and their descendents emigrated to Canada or the western United States in search of a climate and topography better suited to farming, the population continued to increase because of immigration from the neighboring states of Maine and Vermont.

The main occupation of the people remained farming; there was only limited manufacturing or commerce in the three towns. The census of 1840 indicates that only 12 people in Stratford and only 15 people in Northumberland were engaged in "manufacture and trades;" only two people in Northumberland were engaged in "commerce." No one in Stark was listed in either of these occupational categories.

During this period the only manufacturing was done in saw and grist mills. The sawmills were mainly adjuncts to farming because their small size, the difficulties of transporting materials out of the area, and the availability of lumber in the southern part of the state precluded the export of lumber.

The road through Crawford Notch to Portland (the Tenth New Hampshire Turnpike) was constructed in 1803 with funds raised by lottery. A year later, in 1804, another turnpike was chartered from Colebrook, north of Stratford, through Dixville Notch to Portland. Both of these roads increased travel and trade between northern New Hampshire and the outside world. It was along these roads that wagons and carts laden with the produce of the farms of northern New Hampshire traveled to the growing cities of Maine and southern New Hampshire and returned with goods and supplies that could not be made or grown locally.

The nearest trading center was Lancaster, south of Northumberland. It served as the trading center because it was located on the road through Crawford Notch to Portland. Petitions which complained about the long and difficult journey to Haverhill, the shiretown of Grafton County, were presented to the state legislature by the residents of northern New Hampshire and led to the creation of Coos County in 1803. The selection of Lancaster as the county seat also added to its importance as a trading center.

The flow of farm products and supplies to and from northern New Hampshire stimulated a need for taverns and hostelries to feed and shelter the travelers. Though the more famous of these were located in and beyond the "Notch" itself, taverns were to be found in each of the towns of Stratford, Northumberland and Stark. Again, these taverns appear to have been adjuncts to the main business of agriculture.

The great distance from urban markets prevented agricultural specialization from occuring, and the climate and topography of the region made farming a difficult venture. The farms were generally quite small. By 1827, arable land in Stratford had only increased to 148 acres and mowing land had only increased to 166 acres. The farm products included dairy products (primarily butter and cheese), grains including oats and buckwheat, wool, hemp, maple sugar, beef, and potatoes. Most of the products were consumed locally; the surplus was sent south to market. Wool was used in the clothing mills in Maine and New Hampshire, while hemp was exported to produce rope.

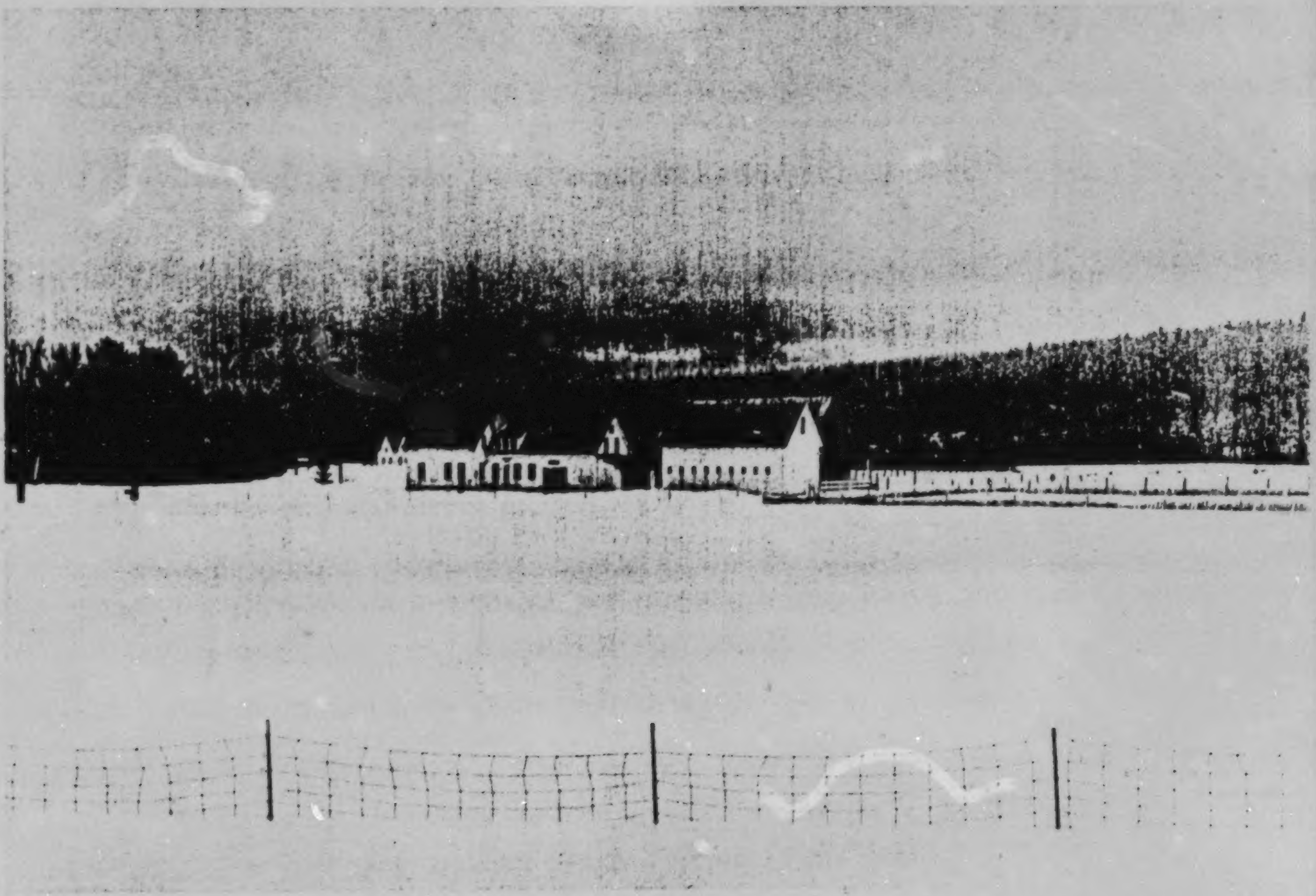

Fig.6. A farm in Stark.

1840-1970: GROWTH AND STASIS IN UNION 58

The towns of Northumberland, Stark, and Stratford developed slowly during the period from their founding until 1840. By 1840, all three towns were sparsely populated and varied in size from 350 to 440 people. They were all farming communities with limited commercial development. Then railroads came to northern New Hampshire and spurred the development of a vigorous lumbering and wood products economy, so that after 1840 all three towns grew substantially in size. This period of growth was so sharp that one could safely say that all three towns went through boom periods.

The period of greatest growth (see Figure 7) was between 18[illegible] and 1880. During this period, the population of all three towns increased 2.3 times and was increasing about 53% every 20 years. Between 1880 and 1940, the rate of growth declined substantially and averaged about 14% every 20 years. Since 1940, when the total population of the three towns (and county) peaked, the population has declined slightly. Between 1940 and 1960, the population of the three towns decreased 5%, and between 1960 and 1970 it decreased another 3%.

Stark and Stratford have had similar growth patterns. Both towns grew in size until 1900. After 1900, when the logging and lumber industry died in these towns, the population dropped precipitously. Between 1900 and 1920, Stark's population dropped 54% and Stratford's population dropped 30%. Stark's population has remained more or less constant since 1920, varying between 352 people in 1940 and 327 people in 1960.

Unlike Stark, Stratford has made up some of the population that it lost between 1900 and 1920. Between 1920 and 1940, Stratford's population increased 32% to 1,049 people. The increase occured between 1920 and 1925 and was due primarily to the location of a large stave and heading mill in North Stratford. The mill was built by a sugar company and made use of the abundant hardwood in the Nulhegan River valley. Houses for the employees were also constructed at the same time. The development of paper and cloth bags, however, made barrels obsolete, and the mill folded shortly after it opened. Stratford

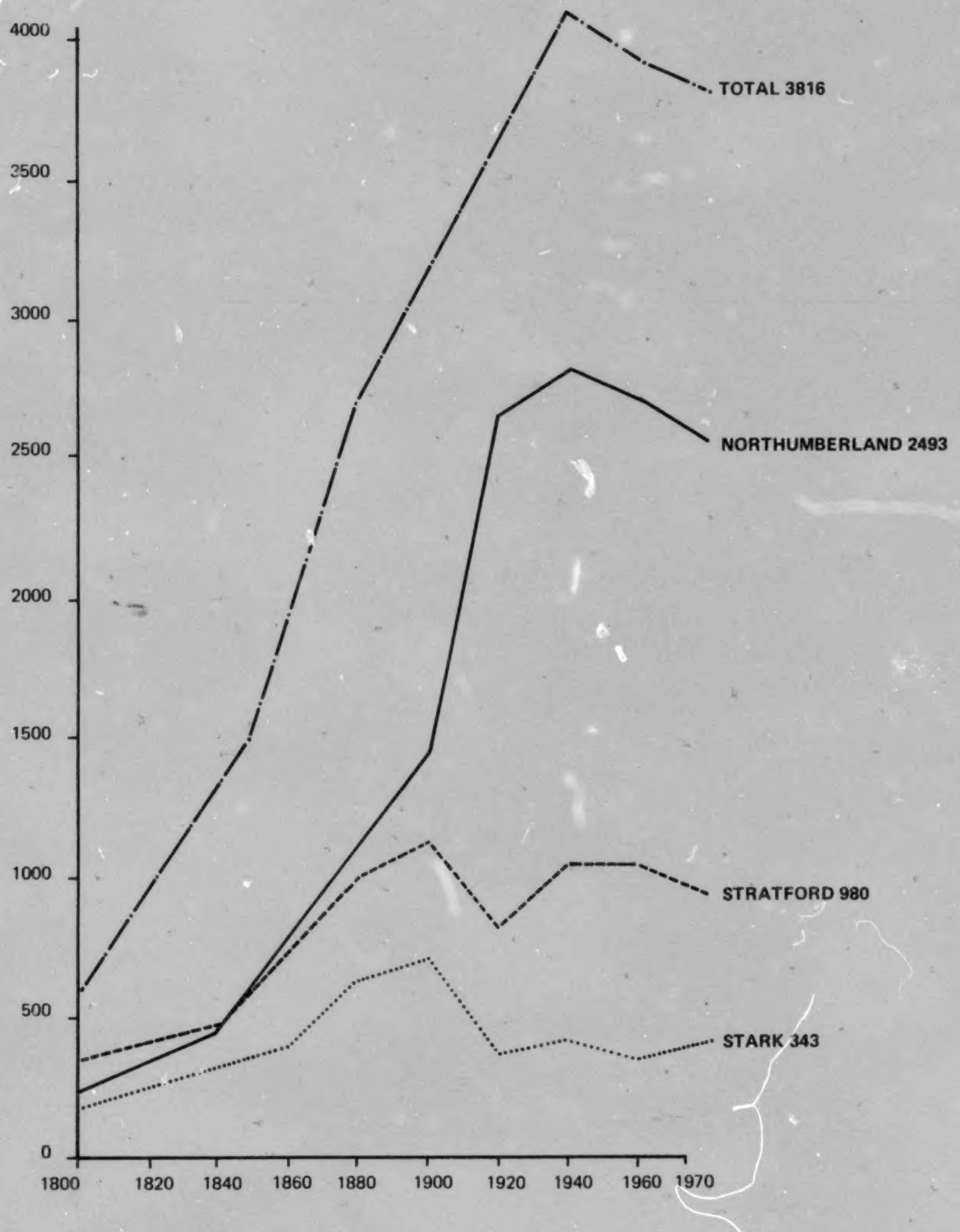

Fig.7. Population of Northumberland, Stark, Stratford: 1800-1970.

maintained its population, though, because the mill was bought by the Brown Co., which converted it to a plywood mill. Stratford's population has remained more or less constant since 1940.

In contrast to Stark and Stratford, Northumberland's growth was greatest between 1900 and 1920, when the population of the other two towns was declining. During this period, Northumberland's population increased about 89% because of the founding of paper mills in the villages of Groveton and Northumberland. Many of the people who had previously lived in Stratford and Stark came to Northumberland to live and work. Northumberland's growth continued until 1940. Since then, Northumberland's population has decreased about 10%.

Between 1840 and 1970, a number of different ethnic groups immigrated to northern New Hampshire. One group consisted of Anglo-Saxons from the neighboring states of Vermont and Maine and from Canada. These people were primarily Scotch-Irish Protestants who have moved in and out of the area since its beginning. A second group, the Irish Catholics, came after 1840 with the building of the railroads in northern New Hampshire. The third group, the French Canadians, came mostly between 1860 and 1900 with the beginning of lumbering and wood products industries.

The growth and development of the towns of Union 58 are directly attributable to the coming of the railroads to northern New Hampshire. In 1846, the Atlantic and St. Lawrence Railroad began construction of a rail line between Montreal, Canada and Portland, Maine. The purpose of this railroad was to provide Montreal with a winter port when the St. Lawrence River was impassable. This line was completed in 1853 and leased to the Grand Trunk Railroad for 999 years. It passed through the towns of Stark, Northumberland, and Stratford and was directly responsible for the emergence of the villages of Groveton and North Stratford, both of which are now the centers of their respective towns. The railroads also spurred the development of wood-related manufacturing and logging because they created a fast, reliable, and efficient means of transporting goods to and from the North Country.

North Stratford's location as the last and northernmost station in the Connecticut River valley made it the distributing center for the towns to the north in Vermont and New Hampshire. Produce,

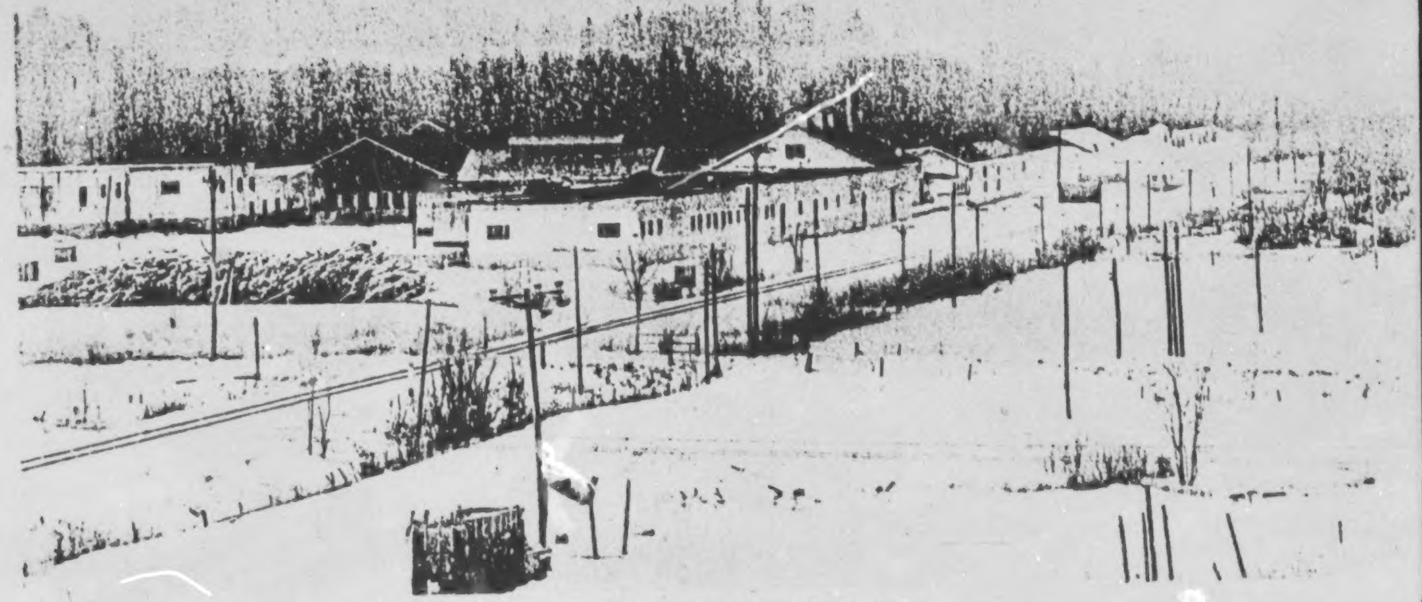

Fig.8. Campbell Division of Groveton Papers Co., North Stratford. Site of the former Stave and Heading mill and Brown Co. plywood factory.

products, and people traveled by horse and cart between these towns and the railroad in North Stratford.

Later, in 1872, the Boston and Maine Railroad constructed a line from Lancaster to Groveton. This line also connected the village of Northumberland to Groveton by direct rail service. Groveton now had two railroads entering it and was rapidly becoming the center of the town of Northumberland.

Like Groveton, North Stratford gained another rail line before the close of the nineteenth century. In 1891 the Maine Central Railroad began service between Canada and Portland, Maine. This line passed through North Stratford and continued north along the Connecticut River, providing direct rail service for the towns north of Stratford, and then passed through Crawford Notch and into Maine. Construction of the track through the Notch was a difficult and much admired feat.

With the coming of railroads, a number of wood products mills were built in the area. A large sawmill was built in Bloomfield, Vermont, on the Nulhegan River in 1849 and, after 1860, several sawmills were built in Groveton. These mills ushered in the logging era. They turned out millions of board feet of lumber, much of which was shipped by rail to the urban areas of New England. Large log drives began on the Connecticut River after 1860, and millions of board feet of spruce were floated to mills in Massachusetts. These drives, held in the spring when the river was high, were a time of excitement and occasional disruption and rowdiness.

The railroads not only transported lumber and other wood products such as bobbins, shingles, and shoe pegs, they also made the construction of logging railroads feasible. These railroads were used to haul logs out of the woods for processing and transportation southward. In the 1870s, one such railroad was built from Lancaster into the Kilkenny Mountains. Another logging railroad, built around 1920 out of North Stratford, helped to log the land surrounding the Nulhegan River in Vermont.

The villages of Stark, Crystal, and Percy all supported various saw and wood products mills during the lumbering years. Each of these small villages, located on the Grand Trunk rail line, boomed as the timber near them was cut and hauled to local mills or log yards. After 1900, when most of the accessible virgin timber had been cut, these villages declined; the town of Stark lost more than half of its population. Some of these people moved to Berlin or Groveton, both of which had growing economies based on the paper industry.

Like Stark, Stratford also lost population between 1900 and 1920 because of a decline in the lumber industry. The large lumber mill in Bloomfield had burned down before 1900 and was not rebuilt. The creation of the White Mountains National Forest in 1911 restricted lumbering operations in northern New Hampshire. By 1915, most of the spruce and white pine of saw log quality in the Nulhegan River and Paul Stream areas had been cut; the last Connecticut River log drive was held in that year. Technological developments also partly caused the end of some of the other wood products related industries. The development of the cardboard bobbin ended the wooden bobbin industry in the area. The development of cloth and paper bags brought about the close of a large stave and heading mill in North Stratford.

The railroads also changed the character of agriculture in the area. They provided the farmer with a means of quickly transporting his products to the urban markets in Maine and southern New England. Potatoes were grown in abundance in northern New Hampshire around 1890. In addition to being shipped out of the area, they were also used locally to make starch in mills which were located in Stratford and Northumberland. Wool was also produced extensively in the area and was shipped to the woolen mills for which New England was noted. Production peaked in 1880 and declined precipitously thereafter. A third agricultural commodity for which the area was known was milk and milk products, some of which were shipped to markets outside the area. At one time, North Stratford had a large creamery which processed local milk and, along with cream and butter, marketed it in places like Boston. Dairying in the area reached its peak about 1925.

The decline of agriculture in northern New Hampshire was not as sudden as the decline of the lumbering and small wood products industries. The number of farms peaked about 1880 and declined slowly until 1940. During this period of decline, many of the smaller and less productive farms were eliminated, and the average size of farms increased about 135 acres to about 167 acres.

One reason for the slow decline in the number of farms between 1880 and 1940 was the fact that the logging and paper industries offered seasonal work for farmers. Until fairly recently, most of the wood for both logging and paper purposes was cut during the winter and stored near a river or stream for driving to a mill or railroad in the spring, when the streams and rivers were high from the runoff created by the melting snow. Many farmers supplemented their income by working in the woods during the winter, when farming activities were at their low point. In addition, some of the farmers cut wood on their farms and sold it to the lumber and paper companies.

Since 1940, farming has declined sharply in northern New Hampshire, so that there are now less than a handful of full-time farmers in the towns of Union 58. The decline is a result of the increased efficiency of farming methods which have increased the productivity of the individual farmer at a greater rate than the demand created by population growth and increased per capita income.

Thus, between 1840 and 1920 a vigorous logging and wood products industry rose and declined in northern New Hampshire; during that same time agriculture also peaked and began a slow decline. The paper industry replaced the logging, wood products, and agriculture industries in the communities of Union 58 and in northern New Hampshire in general. Between 1880 and 1910, a number of paper mills were built in Berlin and Groveton. Both of these towns offered two ingredients necessary to make paper: water and wood. Paper technology had developed processes for making paper from hardwood as well as softwood, both of which were abundant in the area. Another reason for the rise of the paper industry in the area was the fact that for lumbering purposes a tract of land could be harvested about every 70 years, while for paper purposes the same land could be harvested every 25 years.

Because of the rise of paper manufacturing, Northumberland did not suffer the same reverses in population as Stark and Stratford. In 1891 the Odell Manufacturing Company constructed a paper mill in Groveton. The company also built a number of houses for their employees in the village. By 1910 another paper mill, the Wyoming Valley Paper

Company, had been built in the village of Northumberland. The existence of the two paper mills provided the impetus for Northumberland's continued growth until 1940, while the other towns in the union were declining in population.

The Odell Manufacturing Company encountered difficulties during the Depression and was bought out in 1940 by the Wyoming Paper Company. The Groveton plant was renamed Groveton Papers Company and has grown and prospered since 1940. It prides itself on the fact that it has run 24 hours a day every year except during strikes, which have been infrequent in its history. In 1968, the Groveton Papers Co. was bought from the Weemys family by Diamond International Co. In 1969, the Northumberland division was moved to Groveton when all branches of the company were consolidated.

Stratford, like Stark, has never really recovered its prosperity of the logging days. During the Depression, a federal conservation camp in Bloomfield, Vermont provided jobs for local people. Later, the stave and heading mill was purchased by the Brown Paper Co, and plywood manufacturing began in Stratford. This brought new life to the town and provided jobs for several hundred people. The managers and foremen of the mill created a middle class in the village of North Stratford. However, plywood manufacturing never paid as well as paper manufacturing, so Stratford never achieved the prosperity that Groveton enjoyed. The plywood mill in North Stratford closed several times between 1940 and 1970. With its final closing in 1970, Stratford lost its major source of employment, and the foremen and managers left the town.

During these years of economic change, changes also occurred in the social structure of the towns. Prior to the advent of large scale manufacturing (paper and plywood), prosperous farmers and merchants had formed the elite of the towns. They were elected to town offices and exercised key leadership roles. When large scale manufacturing came, a new group, mill managers and foremen, emerged. This group, often better educated than local merchants and farmers, has come to exert considerable influence in the towns, especially in Groveton and Stratford. Although its members have frequently been chosen to serve on school boards and various town commissions, they have not sought elected

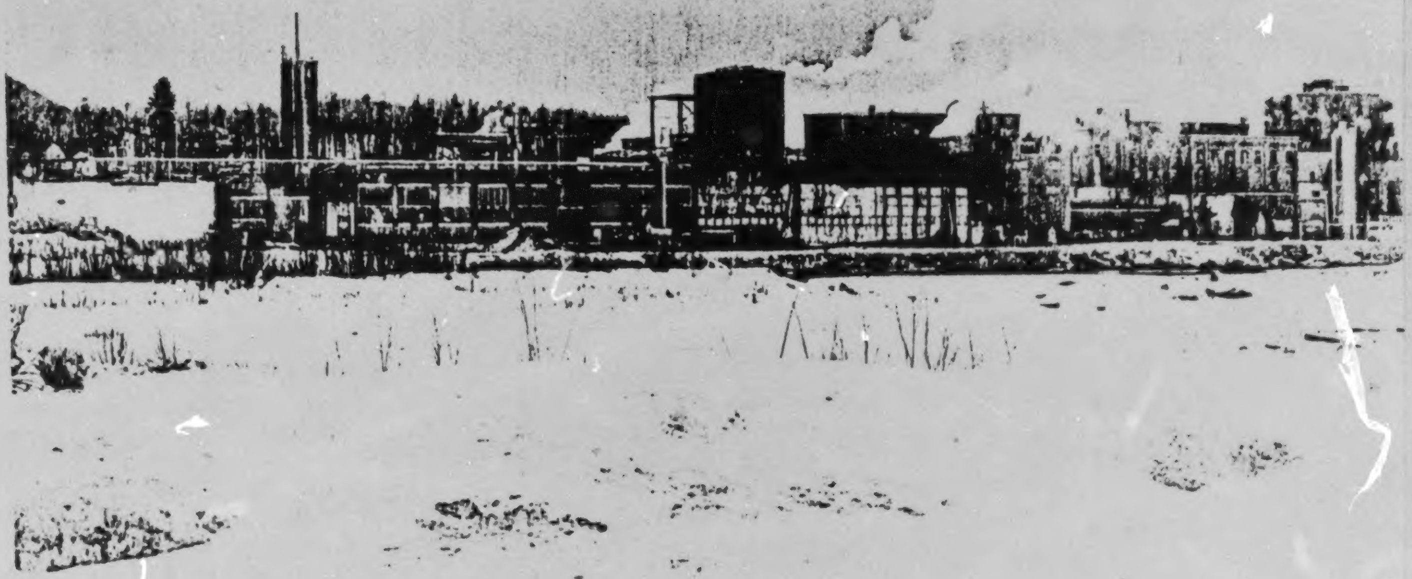

Fig.9. Groveton Papers Co.

political positions such as selectman. However, the opinion of mill management on town issues is often sought, and it weights heavily on town decisions.

Another change which occurred in the social structure was the assimilation of the immigrants into the area, which appears to have gone fairly smoothly. Irish and French Catholic influence can be seen mainly in religious institutions. Before 1860 Irish Catholics were served by itinerant priests who resided in Lancaster and maintained missions in the various towns in the Connecticut River valley. The arrival of the French Canadians, however, provided sufficient numbers to support Catholic churches in all three towns, and today local Catholic churches bear a French, rather than an Irish, stamp. A number of parochial schools, manned by French Canadian orders, were also started in the area. Colebrook had a parochial school staffed by nuns from Canada; Groveton had a parochial school, started in 1964, for grades K-1, which was also staffed by a Canadian religious order. Many non-Catholics, however, attended the kindergarten. The school closed in 1969. No Catholic schools were established in either Stark or Stratford.

Other than priests with French surnames and French names on mail boxes, there is little indication of French culture in Union 58. There are no restaurants that specialize or even offer food with a French twist; no religious or ethnic festivals mark the existence of a large number of people of French Canadian ancestry. Except for those associated with religion, there are no separate ethnic associations. Only in Berlin or in the border towns like Canaan, Vermont, does one become aware of French speaking people and the existence of Franco-American clubs and societies. Although assimilation has been nearly total for the French Canadians in the towns of Northumberland, Stark, and Stratford, it has been a long time coming. People of French Canadian ancestry began appearing as selected officials only in the 1950s.

The political systems of the towns have changed little since their inception. Stark and Stratford have elected selectmen and the town meeting form of government. Elections are nonpartisan. Northumberland altered its political system in the early 1950s when it changed from a selectman-town meeting form of government to a town manager-selectman-town meeting form of government. Under this form of government the town manager became the executive officer of the board of selectmen and was responsible to them. Another political change is that Groveton became a precinct of the town of Northumberland, allowing levy of additional assessments. Because of the location of Groveton Papers Co. and the high population density of the village, Groveton needed additional funds to pay for its expanded fire, police, and street maintenance services. Other than these minor differences, the political systems of the towns have not changed very much since they were incorporated.

The educational systems, on the other hand, have changed substantially since 1840. Common schools were built wherever enough people lived to support one, with the result that each town had a number of rural schools scattered about it. Generally, the teacher boarded with a family whose children attended the school in which the particular teacher taught. Students desiring to attend high school had to attend a private academy, but none was located in the towns of Union 58 until after 1900.

Prior to 1889, control of the schools resided with town selectmen. In 1889, an act of the state legislature made each town a single school district and made an elected school board responsible for the schools. A state law which was passed in 1903 authorized the creation of supervisory unions in New Hampshire. Initially, Stratford and Northumberland were placed in a union with Columbia, but in 1919 the union that comprised the towns of Union 58 was set up. In addition to the towns of Stark, Stratford, and Northumberland, it also included the towns of Errol and Wentworth's Location, two small and sparsely populated townships located northeast of Stark. Occasionally, Union 58 has had to provide for the education of children from the township of Millisfield.

All of the schools currently in use in Union 58 were built between 1890 and 1916. In addition, a number of small rural schools were phased out as population declined in the parts of the towns in which they were located. In Stark, the school in Crystal closed in 1964 when the seventh and eighth grades moved to Groveton High School. In Stratford, the Stratford Hollow School closed for grades 1-6 in 1970. Since then, a Head Start program has been housed there.

Since their construction, the only major changes in the schools have been a number of additions which were made in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Groveton Elementary School added four elementary classrooms in 1959. Groveton High School added a gymnasium and music room that same year. Stratford School added a gymnasium/cafeteria, woodshop, and science room in 1959, and in 1966 it added three classrooms.

The school programs have always been traditional. Not many students have continued their education after high school and many have not even completed high school. The fact that not many students attend college may have contributed to the continuing difficulties schools have had in attracting teachers, since the districts could not count on former graduates returning to their district to teach. The problem of recruiting teachers caused one superintendent to bring teachers to Stratford School in North Stratford by way of Vermont, which presented a more attractive and scenic approach than the approach from the New Hampshire side, which bypassed a large mill. Another superintendent prepared a color-printed brochure which painted an extremely rosy picture of Union 58 and its educational and recreational opportunities.

The schools in Union 58 changed little until the 1960s, when probably as a result of the crisis in American education resulting from the humiliation of Sputnik, the state of New Hampshire made a concerted effort to increase the size of supervisory unions and to create regional high schools. A plan for the creation of a regional high school was devised in which Groveton and several other towns south of it were to join Lancaster. Groveton balked at the idea, citing the unfavorable effect such a plan would have on Groveton and Northumberland's tax rate. In 1964, the state of New Hampshire suggested that Northumberland join Union 35 to the south and Stratford join with the union in Colebrook. All parties to this scheme rejected it. The state, however, removed Wentworth's Location from Union 58. Two years later, in 1966, it removed Errol from Union 58 and threatened to dissolve the union. The Union 58 school board indicated that it would fight such an action in court, and the state backed down, reputedly because it did not want its power to create and dissolve school unions argued in court. The Union was told that, in order to relieve state pressure, it must hire additional help for the superintendent in the union office. In 1970, the position of Elementary Consultant was created; it was funded completely by the local districts.

Demography

According to the 1970 United States Census, the population of Northumberland was 2,493, the population of Stark was 343, and the population of Stratford was 980. The population of the three towns was greatest in 1940 and has decreased since then (see Figure 7). This downward trend in population is not peculiar to the three towns of Union 58; the population of Coos County has also declined since 1940. In fact, Coos County was the only county in New Hampshire to register a decrease in population between 1960 and 1970.

The age and sex distributions of the communities in 1970 are presented in Table 2.[1] Several points stand out in this table. First, the communities are remarkably similar to each other in their demographic characteristics. The proportion of the population under age 20, between ages 20 and 40, and over age 40 is almost exactly the same in each of the towns.

Table 2

AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTIONS IN PERCENTAGES OF NORTHUMBERLAND-STARK AND STRATFORD IN 1970

Age Group	Northumberland-Stark		Stratford	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
5 or Under	8%	8%	10%	12%
6-14	23%	22%	19%	14%
15-19	8%	9%	12%	13%
20-29	9%	10%	17%	11%
30-39	10%	11%	3%	8%
40 or Older	42%	41%	39%	42%
	(N=1290)	(N=1496)	(N=496)	(N=441)

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[1] The 1970 Census combines the data from Stark and Northumberland. Therefore, these towns may be referred to in the text as Northumberland-Stark.

Second, examination of the proportion of young people, young adults, and older adults suggests that the decrease in population is due to young adults leaving the communities.[2] Approximately 40% of the population of the towns is under age 20, and 40% of the population is age 40 or older, but only about 20% of the population is between ages 20 and 40. This out-migration is, of course, a phenomenon that is common to small, rural areas.

Third, the fact that the group of young adults is smaller than either of the other two age groups in the population also suggests that large families may be common in the area. The proportion of the population that is in the so-called child-bearing years (ages 20-39) is only about 20%, while the proportion of young people and children is about double that--40%. Casual observation and an examination of high school year books also support this contention.

While there are great similarities between the communities, as indicated in Table 2, there are also several differences that are worth noting. One difference is that Stratford has fewer males in the 30-39 age group than do Northumberland and Stark, suggesting that more males of this age group have left Stratford than have left Northumberland-Stark. The economic situation in Stratford, which has been aggravated by the folding of the plywood mill in North Stratford, may be responsible for this. A second difference between the towns is that Northumberland-Stark have slightly more older people than Stratford (Table 3). A third difference between the towns is that Stratford has slightly more men (53%) than women, while Northumberland-Stark have slightly more women (54%) than men.

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[2] There are difficulties in making such an argument with cross-sectional rather than panel data. Thus, this conclusion is only tentative.

Table 3

PROPORTION OF MEN 65 AND OLDER AND WOMEN 62 AND OLDER
IN NORTHUMBERLAND-STARK AND STRATFORD IN 1970[a]

Age Group	Northumberland-Stark		Stratford	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
65 or Older	11% (N=1290)		5% (N=496)	
62 or Older		14% (N=1496)		10% (N=441)

[a] Data are presented for men 65 and older, and for women 62 and older; i.e., those people who are likely to be retired, on pensions, or on social security.

Most of the inhabitants of the three towns were born either in the towns themselves or in New Hampshire. Only 5% of the residents of Stratford were foreign born and only about 8% of the residents of Northumberland and Stark were foreign born. While almost all of the foreign born in all three towns come from Canada, 9% of the foreign born in Northumberland and Stark come from Finland.

Of those residents who were born in the United States, a sizeable proportion have foreign born parents. About 37% of the residents of Northumberland and Stark were born of foreign parents, while 25% of the residents of Stratford were born of foreign parents. The country of origin of the parents of these people is presented in Table 4. As can readily be seen, the great bulk of these people come from Canada. At least 78% of the foreign born parents in Northumberland and Stark are from Canada, and at least 82% of the foreign born parents in Stratford are from Canada. The others, at least in Northumberland and Stark, appear to have come from either Great Britain or Ireland. This is also the case in the county as a whole. Most of the inhabitants of Coos County whose parents were not native to the United States, came from Canada, Ireland, or England.

Table 4

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN OF FOREIGN BORN PARENTS OF NATIVE BORN RESIDENTS FOR THE TOWNS OF NORTHUMBERLAND-STARK AND STRATFORD IN 1970

Country of Origin	Northumberland-Stark	Stratford
Canada	78%	82%
United Kingdom	7%	---
Ireland	1%	---
Not Reported	14%	18%
	(N=814)	(N=176)

Most of the inhabitants of the towns of Union 58 were born in New Hampshire. In Northumberland and Stark, 77% of the inhabitants were born in New Hampshire; in Stratford, 73% of the inhabitants were born in New Hampshire. Most of the rest of the inhabitants were born somewhere in the northeastern part of the United States, most likely in Maine or Vermont; 21% of the people in Northumberland and Stark and 18% of the residents of Stratford were born in the Northeast. Only 8% of the people in Stratford and 2% of the people in Northumberland-Stark were born outside of New Hampshire or the Northeast.

There are three sizeable religious-ethnic groups in the three towns. These are the Scotch-Irish group, who are descendants of the original settlers and immigrants from neighboring states or Canada; the Irish Catholics (numerically not very large), who came when railroads were built in the area; and the French Canadians, also Catholic, who came to the area around the turn of the century to work in the mills and farms.

The French Canadians are the only sizeable immigrant group to enter the area who did not originally speak English. The breakdown according to mother tongue and nativity for the towns of Union 58 is presented in Table 5.

As can be seen, most of the native born have English for a mother tongue. However a sizeable minority, about 20%, of the native born of Northumberland and Stark have French for their mother tongue.

All of the foreign born in Stratford and about two-thirds of the foreign born in Northumberland and Stark have French as their native tongue.

Table 5

MOTHER TONGUE BY NATIVITY AND TOWN OF RESIDENCE FOR 1970

Mother Tongue	Northumberland-Stark		Stratford	
	Native Born	Foreign Born	Native Born	Foreign Born
English	70%	26%	96%	---
French	19%	66%	4%	100%
All Other	---	8%	---	---
Not Reported	11%	---	---	---
	(N=2553)	(N=207)	(N=881)	(N=49)

While there is a sizeable minority in the area that has French as a native tongue, it is seldom heard in public places, and the schools do not provide a bilingual education. Rather, French seems to be a language of the home.

Recent Significant Events

In recent years, two events have occurred that are of significance to the entire community. One is the gradual expansion northward of interstate highway routes I-93 and I-91. Neither one will pass through Union 58, but they may have the effect of increasing travel to and from the immediate area. When completed, I-93 will run north from Boston through Franconia Notch to Littleton, New Hampshire (about 35 miles south of Groveton) before veering westerly toward Vermont, where it will link with I-91. I-91 begins in New Haven, Connecticut and will run through St. Johnsbury, Vermont (about 36 miles from Groveton) to Montreal. As of the summer of 1972, I-93 ended just south of Franconia Notch, and I-91 had come as far as Fairlee, Vermont. Completion of I-93 through Franconia Notch is problematic because of its potential negative scenic and environmental impact. Its completion would help travel to northern New Hampshire because it connects just north of the Notch with Route 3, the main road north through Union 58.

Another event of significance has been Stratford's designation as an economically depressed area. For a number of years it has received Head Start funds and has had a Head Start program at the Stratford Hollow School. This program, after meeting the requirement to take a certain number of children from economically disadvantaged homes, has taken other children as well and has substituted as a kindergarten for the town. Stratford has also received some Emergency Employment Act funds. Stratford School used these funds in 1971-1972 to employ a janitor.

Community Services

Groveton is the only populated area in the three towns that has a resident doctor and dentist. Both Groveton and Stratford have town nurses, but Stark does not. Residents of all three towns use Weeks Memorial Hospital in Lancaster. Residents of the village of North Stratford also go to Colebrook to the Upper Connecticut Valley Hospital which opened in 1972. Because the doctors in these hospitals are usually general practitioners, care tends to be limited to childbirth and the less serious illnesses. Patients who are seriously ill are sent to Mary Hitchcock Hospital in Hanover.

There are no post-secondary schools located near the towns of Union 58. The University of New Hampshire School of Continuing Studies, however, does offer undergraduate and graduate courses to residents of the area. The location of the course is often determined by the location of the teacher. As a result, many of the courses are held in Berlin and Littleton, though some courses have been held in Groveton and Lancaster. Courses meet in the evenings, usually in a school building. Three types of courses are offered. One type of course is designed to interest the layman, for example, "Law for the Layman." Another type of course is a standard undergraduate course like "Introduction to Sociology." The third type of course is a graduate course for teachers.

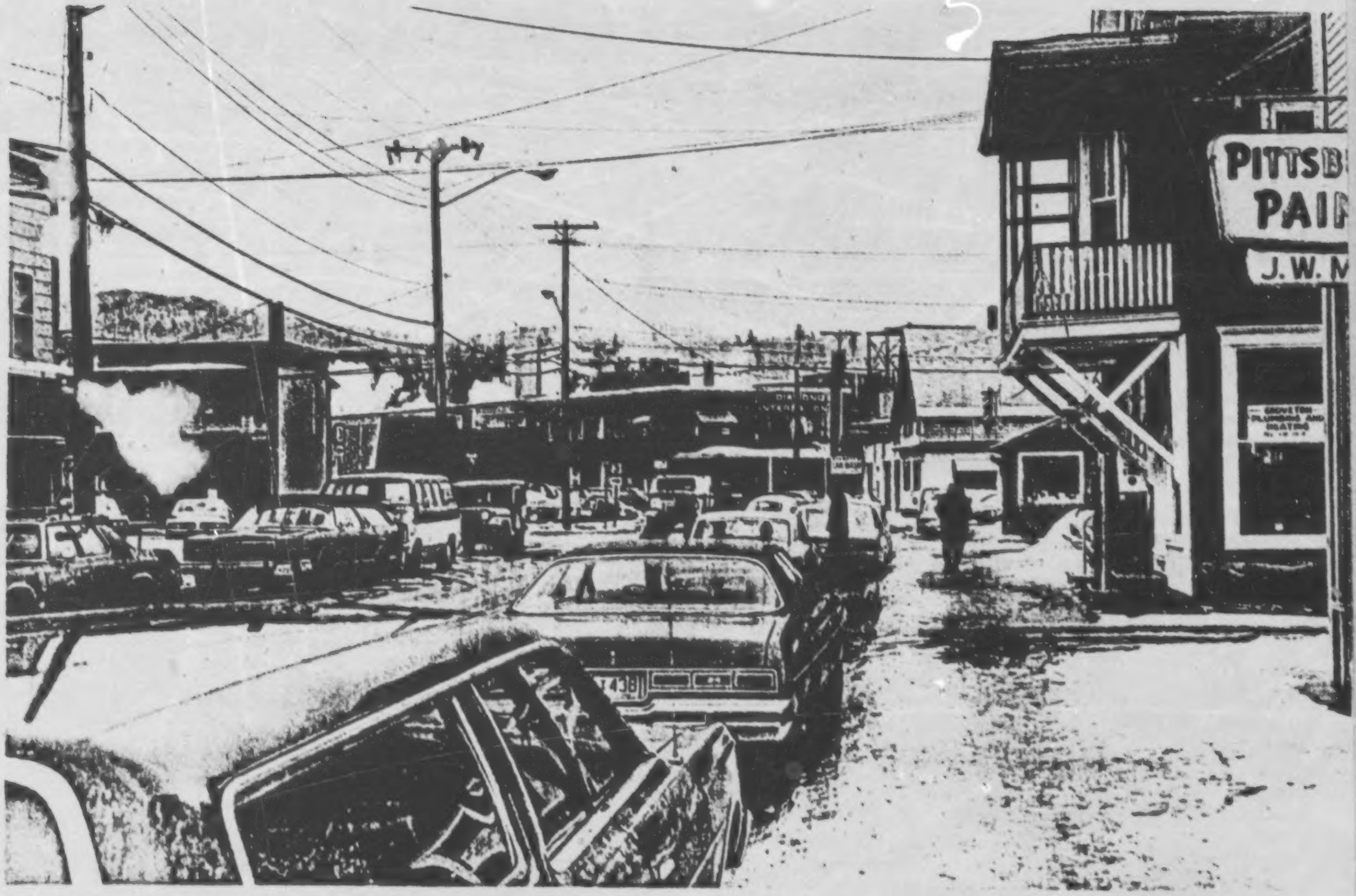
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Fig.10. State St., Groveton with Groveton Papers Co. in the background.

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There is no regular passenger transportation by air, rail, or water between the towns of Union 58 and the outside world. Buses only stop twice a day in Groveton, which is on the route from Boston to Montreal. Freight is transported on the Grand Trunk line or on the Boston and Maine-Maine Central line. The Grand Trunk's tracks enter Stratford at the village of North Stratford and pass south along the Connecticut River to the village of Groveton, where they turn eastward through Stark to Berlin. Grand Trunk has a station and a small yard in North Stratford. The Boston and Maine-Maine Central's tracks enter Northumberland from Lancaster and run to Groveton, where there is a small freight yard for the Groveton Papers Company. In addition to shipping freight by rail, Groveton Papers Company has a large fleet of tractor-trailers. The Boston and Maine-Maine Central share the Grand Trunk's tracks as far as North Stratford. Maine Central also has a track that runs north to Beecher's Falls, Vermont, where a furniture mill is located.

Power is supplied to Northumberland and Stratford by Public Service Company of New Hampshire, a private company that has an oil-fired generator located on a hill just outside of the village of Groveton. The generator is used to supply power at peak loads and does not run constantly. Groveton Papers Company also receives fuel oil from Portland, Maine. The schools in Union 58 also receive their fuel from an oil distributor located in Portland, Maine. Although home fuel is supplied by major oil company distributors in Groveton and Stratford, a number of homes in the three towns use wood for heating. Generally, a person either cuts his own wood or buys scrap lumber from saw mills and wood products manufacturers.

Both Stratford and Northumberland support several religious denominations. The two largest denominations in Northumberland are Methodist and Catholic, both of which have resident clergy and large physical plants. The Methodist Carter Hall is used by various town groups for meetings and suppers, and it also rents classrooms to the Northumberland School District. The Catholic St. Francis Hall is also used by local groups, although not as many groups use it as use Carter Hall. Like the Methodist Church, the Catholic Church rents space to Northumberland School District for classroom use. Although

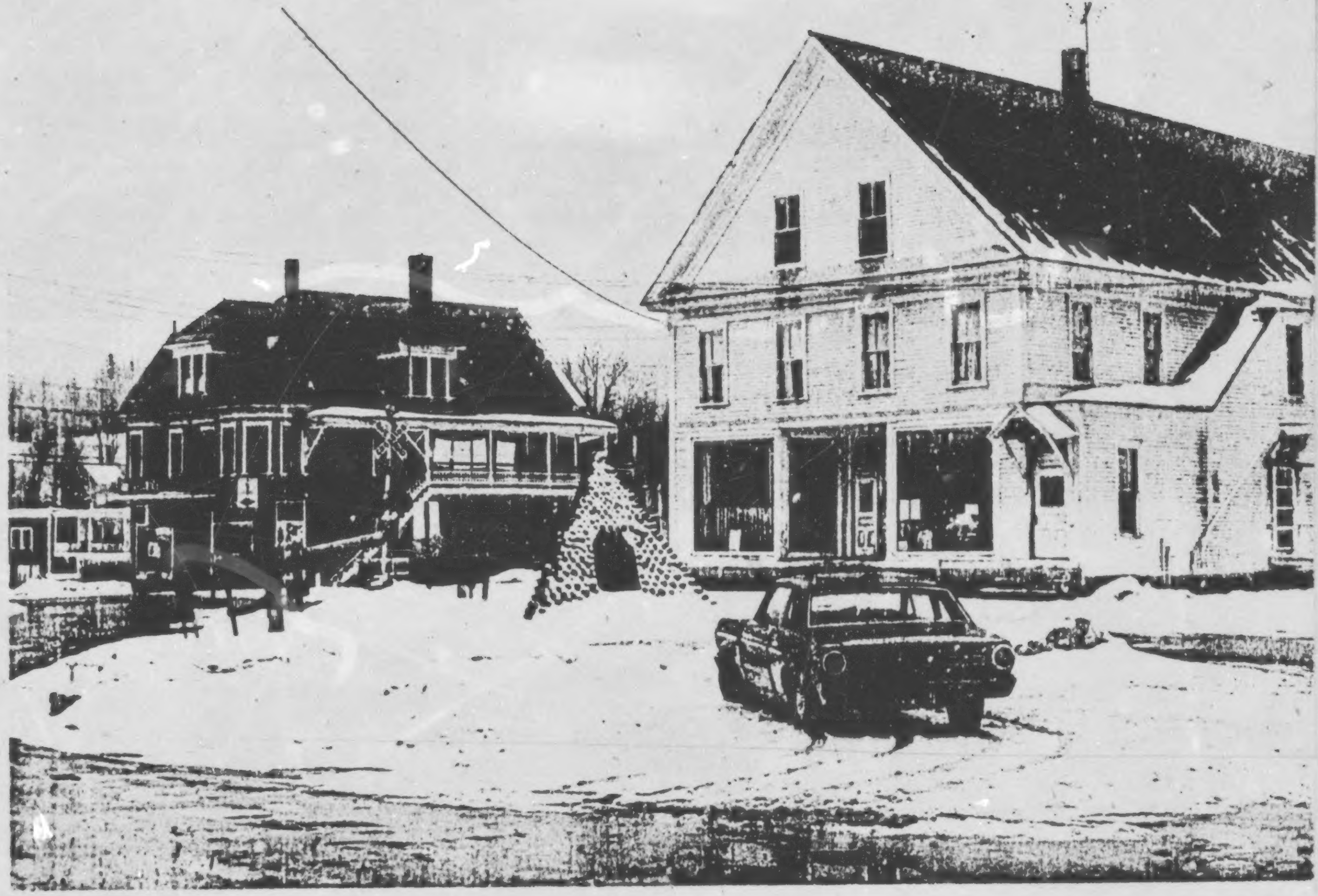

Fig.11. Monument Square, North Stratford.

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there is also an Episcopal Church in Groveton, it has no resident minister and is served by an Episcopal priest in Lancaster. The Methodists of Stratford do not have a resident minister, either. They are served by a Methodist minister from Groveton. Both Catholic and Baptist Churches in Stratford, however, have resident clergy. The minister of the Baptist Church is a woman. Priests in both Stratford and Groveton are of French ancestry, and the Sisters who used to teach at the Groveton Church were from a French Canadian order.

Although Stark has the Methodist Union Church, it has no clergy and is served by a minister from Groveton. Catholics in Stark used to be served by a "mission" located in Percy, but this was abandoned in 1969 and torn down in 1971. Now Catholics in Stark go to Groveton for religious services.

There are also a number of smaller Protestant groups in the area, but there are no Protestant churches in either Northumberland, Stratford, or Stark. Residents of Union 58 attend Protestant churches which are located outside the three towns.

All of the churches have men's, women's, and children's groups affiliated with them. In addition, the Grange, which is very active in Stark, is found in all three towns. The Moose Club, the Neeburban Club (a women's club), and the Snow Machine Club are all very active in Groveton. The Groveton Fish and Game Club is also quite large and attracts members from all the neighboring towns. Both Groveton and Stratford have active veterans' organizations.

New England Telephone Company provides phone service to all three towns of Union 58. Stratford and Groveton have post offices; the Groveton post office services Stark, though Percy has a small post office.

There are no local radio or TV stations in the towns of Union 58. The nearest radio station is in Berlin, and reception in the towns is not very good. Radio is not an effective vehicle for communication. The village of Groveton is on a cable TV system that brings in seven different stations, including several from Canada (including a French-Language station); two from Portland, Maine; one from Burlington, Vermont; and an educational station from New Hampshire.

Although no newspapers are printed in any of the towns in Union 58, the Caledonia Record is published daily in St. Johnsbury,

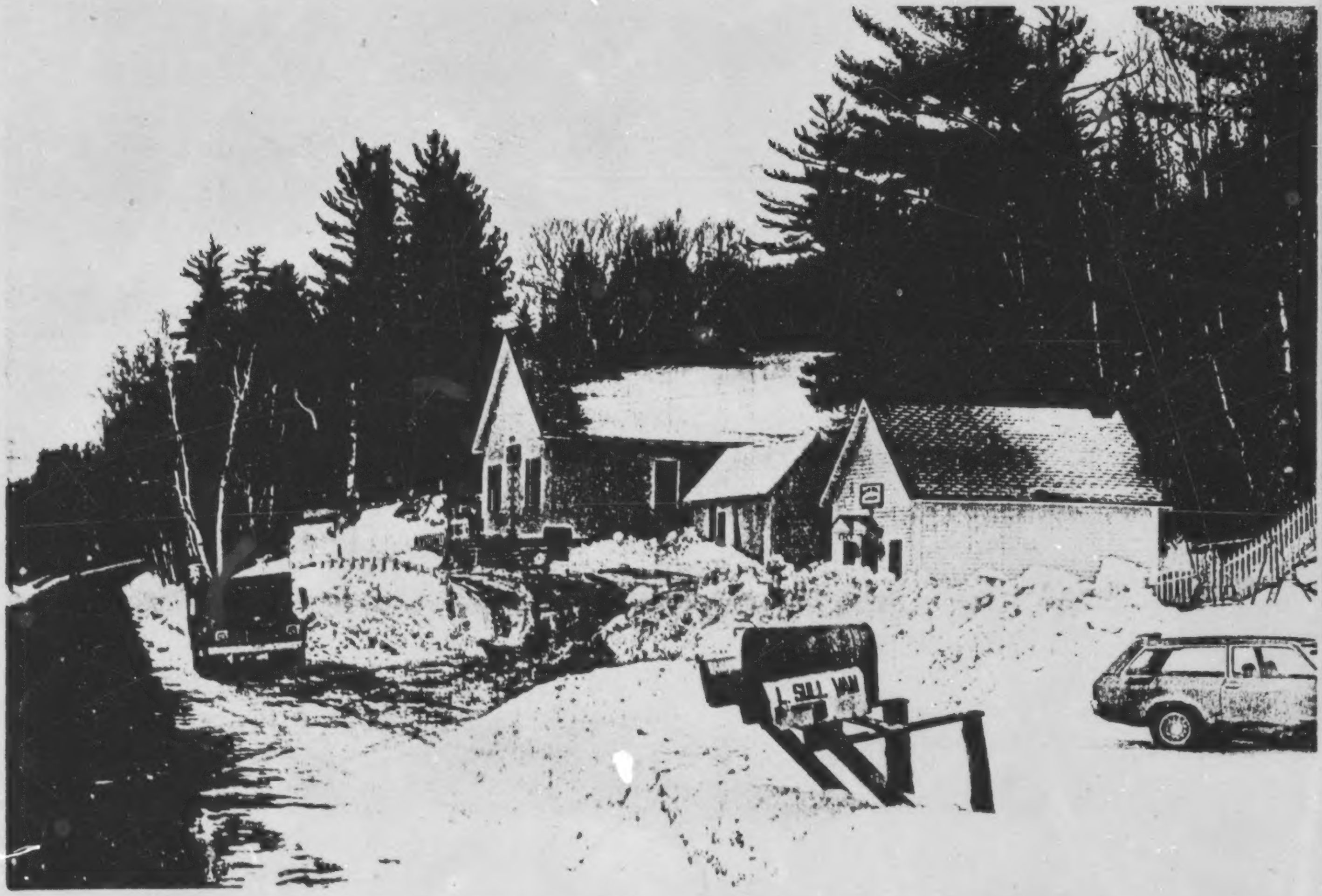

Fig.12. Stark Town Hall (larger building) and town library.

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Vermont. It covers national news as well as local events. Because the towns of Northumberland, Stark, and Stratford must compete with the other towns in the area, they do not receive extensive coverage in the paper.

A number of weekly papers also serve the towns. These include the Coos County Democrat, published in Lancaster; the Colebrook News and Sentinel, published in Colebrook; and the Groveton News, published in Berlin. The Coos County Democrat is the most widely read newspaper, and it provides the most thorough coverage of the three towns. The News and Sentinel is widely read in the village of North Stratford.

New Hampshire's only state paper, the Manchester Union Leader, is widely read by inhabitants of the area. The state edition provides coverage of national, state, and occasionally local news.

The Boston Globe and Boston Herald Traveler are also sold in the towns of Union 58. In the summer, it is possible to purchase the New York Times and New York Daily News in Styles Drug Store in Groveton. With the exception of the New York Times and Boston Globe, the editorial pages of the other newspapers run from conservative to consistently reactionary, as in the case of the Union Leader.

Although all of the towns of Union 58 have town libraries, those in Stark and Stratford are very small and are only open several hours a week. Groveton has a new, much larger library which is used frequently during the 20 hours a week it is open.

Most of the recreational activities in the towns of Union 58 take place out-of-doors. The heavy annual snowfall and miles of paper company land with logging roads make the area ideal for snow machine trips, and long trips, even extending into Canada, are not uncommon for members of Groveton's snow machine club. Snow machine races are held in Lancaster one weekend during the winter, too. Skiing is not very popular with residents of the three towns, even though there is a small slope and ski club in Lancaster and many of the popular ski areas are within an hour's drive of Groveton. Additional winter activities include hunting and ice fishing.

In the summer, fishing and canoeing are popular activities. Many people, especially from Groveton, live near Maidstone Lake or near the other more remote lakes and ponds of the area and commute to work.

Groups of people from Groveton often travel to Canada to fish. Sailboat races are also held once a week on Maidstone Lake.

There are several summer recreation programs in the area. Groveton has an active recreation program for youngsters which includes swimming at the town pool and age-graded baseball teams. Local businesses in Groveton sponsor men's softball teams which play in an area league. Stratford has a summer recreation program funded by Title I, and Stark supports a Little League team. A number of local people also compete in the stock car races which are held at Groveton speedway every week during the summer. The end of the summer brings the Lancaster Fair, the county fair for Coos and Essex counties, which is well attended by local people. Many farmers enter produce and animals in the various contests, and the Grange and 4-H clubs participate as well.

Fall brings hunting season. Small game (including various species of hare, partridge, woodcock, and waterfowl), and big game (including deer and bear) are both avidly hunted. The Groveton Fish and Game Club awards trophies for the largest and smallest deer shot during the season.

Although there are no movie theaters or bowling alleys in any of the towns of Union 58, there is a bowling alley in Lancaster which a number of people from Northumberland use. Bingo, held at the Legion Hall and St. Francis Hall in Groveton, is another form of recreation in which large numbers of people participate.

All of the houses in Union 58 are privately owned except one, which is owned by the Northumberland School District and rented to the high school principal or to the superintendent. At one time, about 45 houses in Groveton were owned by Groveton Papers Company, but most of them were sold about 20 years ago; the last company house was sold this year. There are a substantial number of multiple family dwellings in Groveton and North Stratford. Except in Stratford, the total number of housing units has decreased in the towns of Union 58 since 1960 (Table 6). Stratford's increase in the number of housing units is due to a small housing development in North Stratford and an increase in the number of trailers.

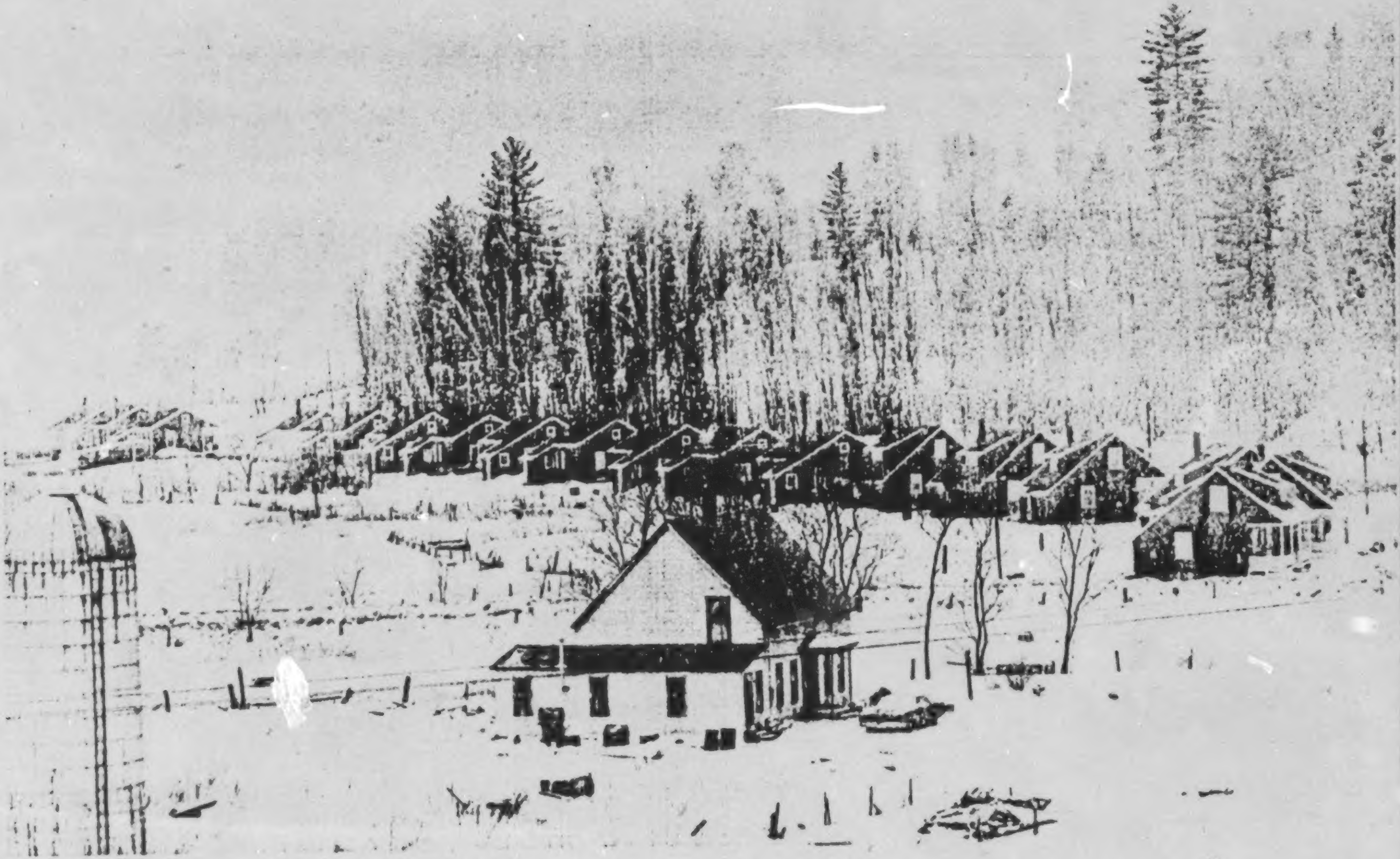

Fig.13. "Lower Mill" housing in North Stratford.

Table 6

HOUSING UNITS IN NORTHUMBERLAND, STARK AND STRATFORD IN 1960 AND 1970

Town	Number of Housing Units		Difference
	1960	1970	
Northumberland	897	866	-31
Stark	188	103	-85
Stratford	326	390	+64

Source: Bowring & Taylor, 1972, p. 47.

Much of the housing is not in very good condition (Table 7). In 1960, between 29% and 36% of the housing units in the three towns were deteriorated or dilapidated. Northumberland had the worst housing, but Stark and Stratford were only slightly better off. In 1970, only a small percentage of the housing in Northumberland and Stark lacked plumbing or toilet facilities, while 30% of the houses in Stratford lacked one or more of these facilities. In addition, many of the structures are quite old in Union 58. The fact that 54% of the people in Northumberland and 35% of the people in Stratford have lived in the same housing unit since 1959 or earlier supports this contention. The housing problem in Union 58 is being helped by Tri-County Homes, a federally funded program designed to build low income housing in northern New Hampshire and to teach construction skills to local people.

Table 7

PROPORTION OF HOUSING IN NORTHUMBERLAND, STARK AND STRATFORD IN DETERIORATING OR DILAPIDATED CONDITION IN 1960 OR LACKING IN SOME FACILITIES[a] IN 1970

Town	Percentage of Deteriorated or Dilapidated Houses in 1960	Percentage of Houses Lacking Some Facilities in 1970
Northumberland	36%	5%
Stark	32%	10%
Stratford	29%	30%

[a] Toilets, plumbing, or kitchen facilities

Source: Bowring & Taylor, 1972.

The only bank in the towns of Union 58, called the People's National Bank of Groveton, is the bank used by most people who live in Northumberland and Stark. Its interest rates are generally lower than those of the two banks in Lancaster. People in North Stratford use the two banks in Colchester.

Economic Situation

In 1970, of the 1,097 people 16 years and older in the labor force in Northumberland and Stark, 61% were men and 39% were women. Of the 358 people in the labor force in Stratford, 77% were men. The lower percentage of women in the labor force in Stratford may be due to the lack of employment opportunity there. The paper mill in Groveton, on the other hand, provides work for the women who live in Northumberland and Stark.

The majority of people in the three towns have not completed high school (Table 8). In Northumberland, 63% of the men and 59% of the women 25 years and older have not completed high school; in Stratford 60% of the men and 60% of the women have not done so. Further, most of the men have at best an elementary school education; 43% of the men in Northumberland and Stark and 40% of the men in Stratford have eight or fewer years of schooling. The women are slightly better educated than the men; 40% of the women in Northumberland and Stark and 32% of the women in Stratford have eight or fewer years of school. A sizeable minority--about one-third--of the people over age 25 have completed high school in each of the towns, while only a very small percentage, 10% or less, have had any college training.

Table 8

YEARS OF SCHOOL FOR MEN AND WOMEN 25 YEARS OR OLDER
IN NORTHUMBERLAND-STARK AND STRATFORD IN 1970

Years of School	Northumberland-Stark		Stratford	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
0-8	43%	28%	40%	32%
9-11	20%	31%	20%	28%
12	30%	33%	32%	32%
13 or More	6%	8%	8%	10%
	(N=742)	(N=871)	(N=256)	(N=235)

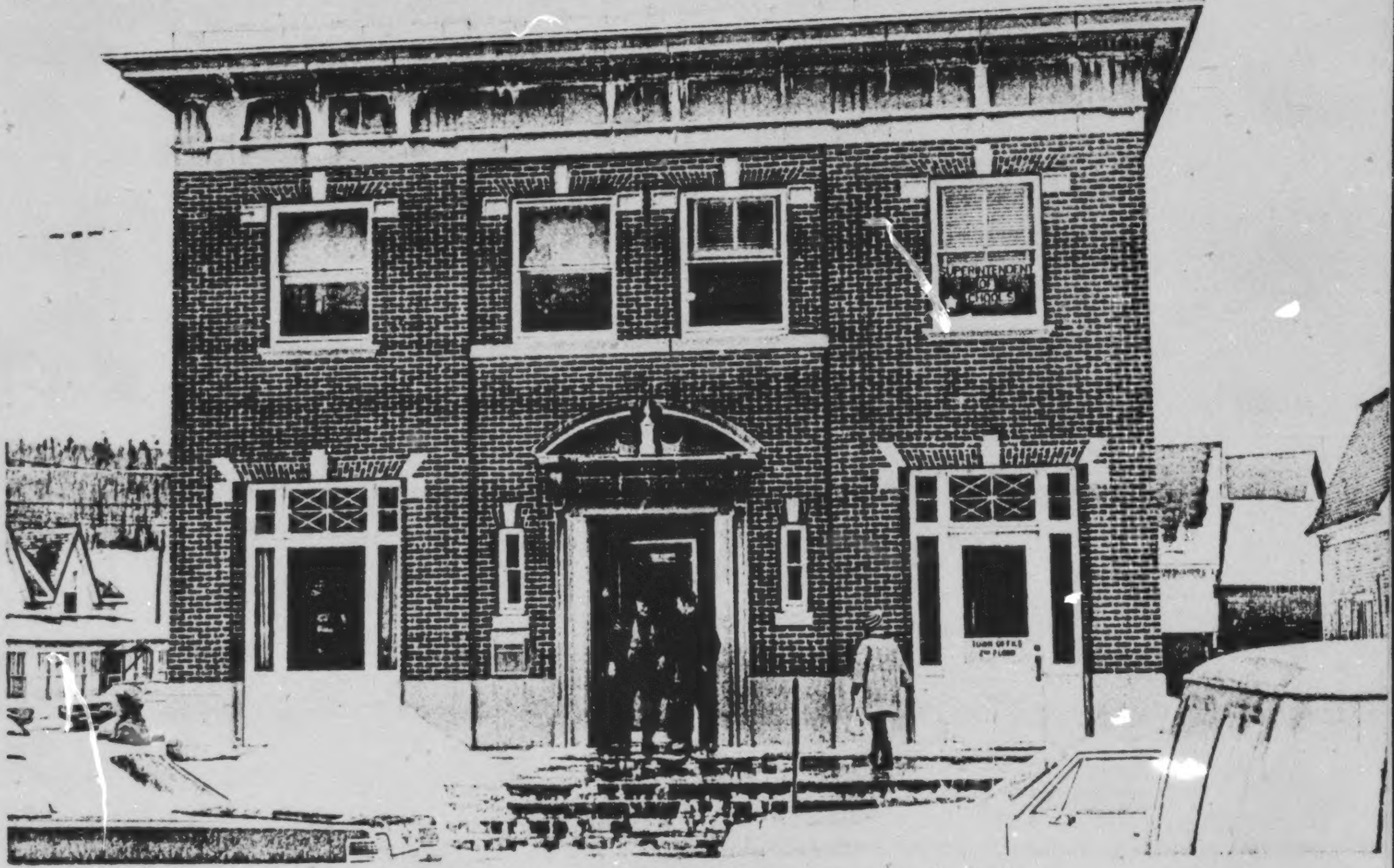
SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS
TOWN OFFICES 2ND FLOOR

Fig.14. Bank Building, Groveton, home of Union 58's only bank and Northumberland's town offices.

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Given the low levels of education, it is not surprising to find in Table 9 that virtually all of the men in Stratford (97%) and most of those in Northumberland-Stark (about 90%) are employed in blue collar jobs. Almost two-thirds of the women from Northumberland and Stark and half from Stratford also work in blue collar jobs. Of the small percentage of people holding white collar jobs, only six people in all three towns are employed as professionals, such as doctors or engineers, and these people are all from Northumberland and Stark.

Table 9

PERCENTAGE OF EMPLOYEES HAVING WHITE COLLAR OR BLUE COLLAR JOBS IN NORTHUMBERLAND-STARK AND STRATFORD IN 1970

Job Level	Northumberland-Stark		Stratford	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
White Collar[a]	11%	32%	3%	50%
Blue Collar[b]	89%	68%	97%	50%
	(N=666)	(N=402)	(N=268)	(N=73)

[a] Includes the following census categories: professional, technical, medical and other health workers, teachers, managers and administrators, salaried workers, self-employed, sales workers, clerical workers, secretaries.

[b] Includes such categories as craftsmen, foremen, mechanics, operatives, service workers, laborers, freight and stock handlers, farm laborers, etc.

In 1972 Northumberland had the most diversified and prosperous employment picture of the three communities. Groveton Papers Company, one of the major employers in the entire county, employed about 1,000 people, and was reputed to produce about 600 tons of paper a day. In addition to having the paper mill, Groveton had a Rexall Drug store, a bank, two restaurants, a hotel, a modern grocery store, a large hardware, lumber and sporting goods store, a furniture store, an insurance agency, five service stations, and a small birch mill. All of the enterprises in Groveton were essentially family businesses, though several--the hardware store, the drug store, and the paper mill--were affiliated with national chains or corporations. A new shopping center, backed by some local contractors, had just been built in the village of Northumberland. It included a large grocery store, a state liquor store, a discount drug store, and a large discount store. All (with the exception of the liquor store) were affiliated with national chains. Before the shopping center opened, people did 90% of their shopping outside the towns of Union 58; after it opened, people did most of their shopping there.

In contrast to Northumberland, Stark had no commercial establishments except a small "country store" and a commercial campground. Stratford had three small family grocery stores, two service stations, and a sawmill located in North Stratford which produced more than 5,000 board feet of lumber per day.

Unemployment is not a problem in Northumberland and Stark, especially for men. In 1970, there were no men in the 16-64 age group who were not handicapped or disabled who were unemployed. About half of the women in the same category from these towns were not employed in 1970, but this may be due as much to preference as to the inability to find work. The picture in Stratford in 1970 was not as bright, however; 20% of the men there were unemployed.

The three towns of Union 58 differ substantially in the economic well being of their inhabitants. As shown in Table 10, fewer families in Northumberland and Stark have incomes less than $5,000 per year than do those in Stratford; compared to Stratford, 13% more families have incomes of $10,000 or more per year in Northumberland and Stark. It is probable that Northumberland would look even more prosperous compared to Stark and Stratford if it were possible to separate data on Stark's residents from those on Northumberland's residents. Of course, the data do not indicate great wealth in any of the towns. Most of the families in Union 58 have incomes of less than $10,000, and only about 7% of the families in any of the towns have incomes of more than $15,000.

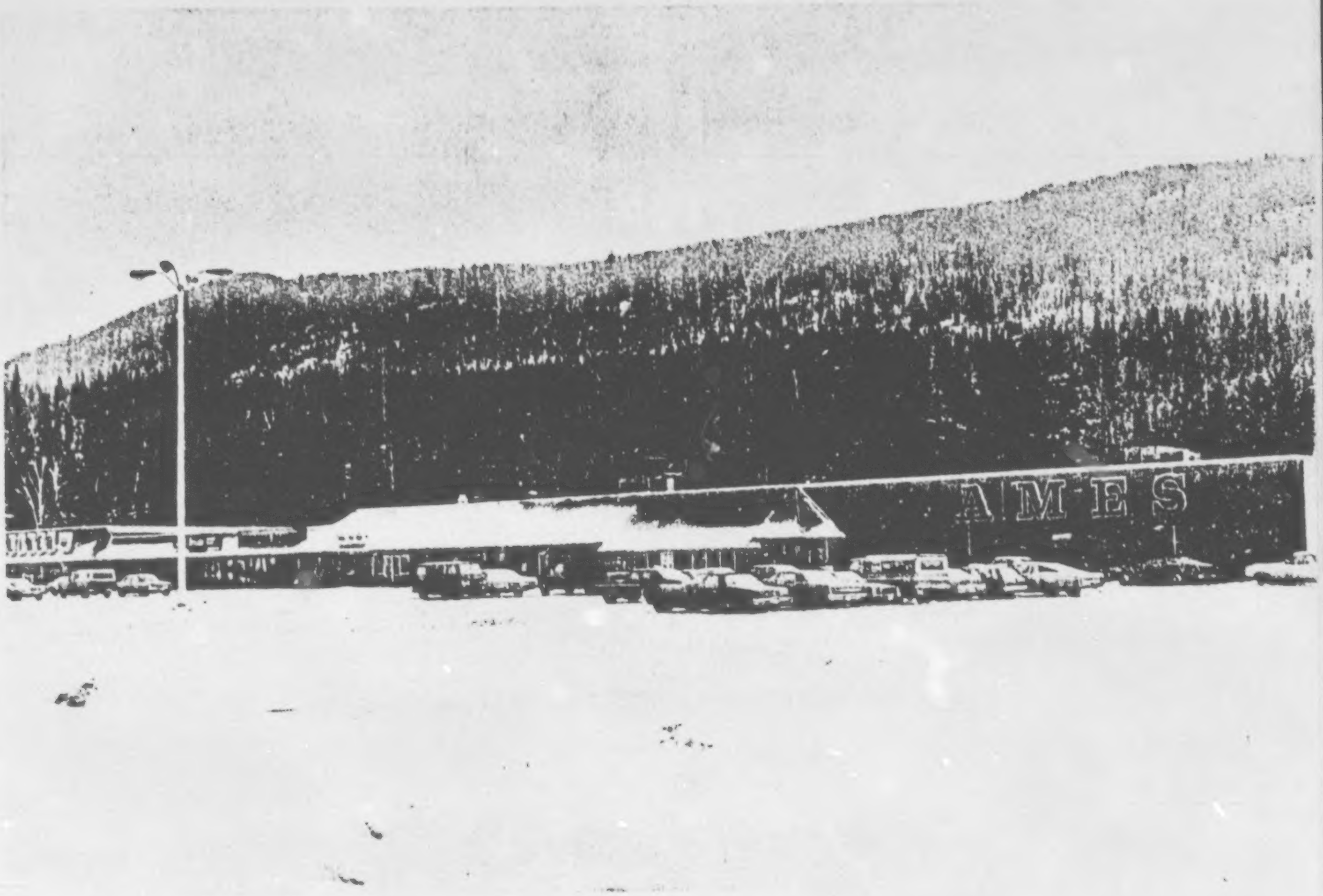

Fig.15. Northumberland shopping center with Cape Horn rising behind it.

Table 10

DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY INCOME FOR NORTHUMBERLAND, STARK, AND STRATFORD IN 1970

Income	Northumberland-Stark	Stratford
Less than $5,000	19%	29%
$5,000 to $9,999	41%	43%
$10,000 or More	40%	27%
	(N=666)	(N=244)

The differences between the towns become more apparent when data on welfare are presented. Only 7% of the families in Northumberland and Stark have incomes below the poverty level, while the corresponding figure is 21% in Stratford. The amount of welfare per capita for the three towns in 1970 shows the same relationship. The per capita direct aid for Northumberland is $20.48 and for Stark it is $16.31, while for Stratford it is $50.36. In fact, Stratford led the county in per capita welfare expended in 1970.

Some interesting differences in the way in which welfare is allocated in the three towns are shown in Table 11. In Stratford, 87% of the direct relief is aid to families with dependent children (ADC), 4% is for old age assistance (OAA), 8% is for aid to the partially and totally disabled (APTD) or aid to the needy blind (ANB), and 1% is for direct relief (DR) administered by the county. The sizeable percentage devoted to ADC indicates that family maintenance is the greatest problem in Stratford.

Table 11

PROPORTIONATE WELFARE EXPENDITURE BY CATEGORY FOR NORTHUMBERLAND, STARK AND STRATFORD IN 1970

Welfare Category	Northumberland	Stark	Stratford
OAA	36%	12%	4%
APTD, ANB	13%	18%	8%
ADC	43%	46%	87%
DR	3%	24%	1%

The largest single category in Northumberland and Stark is also ADC. However, the percentage of the total expended in this category is only about half that expended in Stratford--43% in Northumberland and 46% in Stark. In Northumberland, the next largest category of aid is for the aged (OAA), and this accounts for 36% of the total. Northumberland appears to have a sizeable proportion of older people with inadequate incomes; this group becomes quite vocal when there is talk of raising taxes. In Stark, the next largest category is direct relief, which is a catch-all category of county relief that includes some family aid, aid to soldier's families, room and board for adults and children, etc.

These data indicate that all three towns have economically impoverished people living in them, though Northumberland and Stark do not have as many as Stratford. Northumberland and Stark have more poor elderly people, while Stratford has more poor families with children. Even though poor people do exist in the towns, they seem to be evenly distributed between the various ethnic groups.

Three factors influence the economic life of the communities. One factor is federal and state environmental protection standards which are likely to effect expansion of the Groveton Papers Company because paper technology is quite dirty at the present. The Groveton mill is one of the largest polluters in the Upper Connecticut valley. Plans have been made to install water pollution equipment on the paper machines in the mill but, according to the president of the mill, until there is an increase in the effectiveness of current pollution control devices, the mill will not be able to expand its output and also meet pollution control standards at the same time. The pollution standards may also reduce the number of industries that could locate in the abandoned mills in Stratford.

A second factor is that both the Maine Central and the Boston and Maine railroads are experiencing financial problems. Abandonment of the line into Groveton and Stratford would cause a major problem for Groveton Papers Company because it relies heavily on the railroads for transportation of oil, chemicals, and unfinished paper. Loss of rail access would also seriously hamper any rejuvenation of Stratford.

A third factor is corporate expansion policy. It seems likely that the demand for paper and wood products will increase in the future. Coos County has ample supplies of hard and softwood, especially for paper production and wood products production (plywood and veneer, etc.) to meet this demand. In fact, the current harvest of wood of all types is only about half of the annual growth in the county. However, pollution standards, the uncertainty about the future of rail transporation in the area, and the larger capital outlays required (especially in the paper industry, where a single paper machine costs millions of dollars) may discourage expansion in this area.

Of course, any expansion or introduction of new industry into the area will have to rely on local labor. The fact that the labor is largely unskilled and uneducated limits the types of industries in the area. The local employee, however, will work for smaller wages than his counterpart in southern New Hampshire or New England, which may attract more industries like the small shoe stitching plants in Lancaster and Colebrook.

None of the communities have any groups actively seeking industry for the area. Groveton had a Chamber of Commerce, but it went out of existence in 1970. The key individual who influences the development of the area is the president of the local mill in Groveton. Whether the existing plant expands or whether components of the local operation are moved to other mills is largely up to him and other corporate decision makers.

In addition to the president of the mill, Groveton has a small group of individuals who backed the shopping center in Northumberland. They are also planning a sizeable and attractive trailer park near the shopping center. This may stimulate a need for the development of more commercial services.

The long range economic outlook for the area is not encouraging.

Population will probably continue to decrease. The small family business, unless affiliated with a national chain, will either die out or just eke along, which has happened to some of the stores in the area since the large discount store came to Northumberland. Industrial development will probably involve an existing facility or resource rather than a new industry, and it is likely to be small in size because of the small number of people in the area. People in Stark and Stratford recognize that times have been better and that things may not improve greatly in the future. However, attachments to family homes and farms, and to relatives in the area keep many from leaving. Although people are concerned about the loss of young people, they hope that the continued existence of the mill will insure a job and a place in the community for their children, even though it may mean that a neighbor's children will have to leave the community and work elsewhere.

Political Structure

Stark and Stratford are each governed by three selectmen who are elected on non-partisan ballots. Northumberland has a town manager-selectman form of government with partisan elections. In addition, the village of Groveton is taxed as a precinct of the town of Northumberland so there is a precinct commission which oversees precinct expenditures.

The town budgets and appropriations are approved at town meeting which occurs in the spring of each year. Various town officers are also elected then and the articles on the town warrant are voted upon. The turnout of voters at the town meetings is heavy and the meetings can be long and sometimes boisterous. Each town has a moderator who is supposed to insure that the meetings are orderly, but there appears to be a great deal of variation in the skill of the moderators of the various towns. Northumberland has a very skillful and powerful moderator. The other towns are not so fortunate, and discussion often wanders from the topic at hand, several motions are entertained simultaneously, and confusion reigns.

Town officers, especially selectmen, tend to be local businessmen because they are likely to have the time to spare that such a job requires. Except for the position of town manager in Northumberland, which pays

$11,000 per year, payment for officers is minimal, not more than $600 per year. The absence of scandals and acrimony at election time emphasizes the fact that political office holders function adequately and competently in their jobs.

The tax rates for the towns vary greatly, as might be expected given the variety of commercial property in the towns. In 1973, the tax rate for Northumberland was $5.30 per hundred dollars of assessed valuation for property outside the precinct of Groveton and $5.60 per hundred dollars of assessed valuation inside the precinct of Groveton. This was the total local tax and included the school and county assessments as well. In Groveton, property was assessed at 60% of its true value. The rate in Stratford was $4.78 per hundred dollars of assessed valuation. Property in Stratford was assessed at 56% of its value. In Stark, the tax rate was $7.50 per hundred dollars of assessed value and property was assessed at 35% of its true value.

All towns have police forces and fire departments. Northumberland has the largest police department and provides 24 hour protection. Stratford and Stark have only one policeman. All three towns have volunteer fire departments. In Stratford, a volunteer fire department was started in the Hollow in 1972.

All three towns have town dumps. Northumberland has a trash pick up service, but Stratford and Stark do not. It is expected that environmental legislation will make the towns abandon burning and adopt a sanitary landfill system. The town of Northumberland has sewage treatment facilities. Since neither Stark nor Stratford has treatment facilities, most of their sewage is dumped into local brooks and rivers. The villages of North Stratford, Groveton, and Northumberland have public water supplies whose sources are mountain reservoirs. Homes outside these villages and all homes in Stark obtain water from springs or wells.

Each town contributes part of its tax money to the county for county services. In 1972, Northumberland contributed about $55,000, Stark contributed about $5,400 and Stratford contributed about $18,000. County services include a county farm, a hospital, a nursing home, and a jail located in West Stewartstown. There is also a county prosecutor and a county superior court which handles felonies and civil cases. The court holds two sessions, one in Lancaster, the county seat, and the other in Berlin, the largest city in Coos County. The welfare funds (called Direct Relief) which are administered by the county are quite small compared to the federal and state welfare funds.

The state also provides several services for the towns, including care and maintenance of state roads, police protection, and job placement and employment counseling. The employment security center for Stark, Stratford and Northumberland is located in Groveton and is staffed by a counselor once a week. The state also contributes substantial revenues to the local governments. These funds comprise between 20% and 50% of the total town budgets. In 1972, about a fifth of Stark's town budget came from state funds, about a third of Northumberland's town budget came from state funds, and close to half of Stratford's town budget came from state funds.

Values

People in Union 58 have a strong sense of locale and place. They like living in the North Country, even though its winters are long and hard. They praise the virtues of the unhurried pace of life in the towns, the clean air, the lack of congestion, traffic and crime, and the beauties of the countryside. People enjoy activities which take place out-of-doors, especially hunting and fishing. They value the fact that they live close to their relatives in a place where everybody knows everyone else. Their strong sense of community makes them hostile to outsiders.

Another value is sobriety and reserve in personal conduct. Residents feel that people should not force themselves on others and should conduct themselves with dignity and reserve in public. This was not always the case, especially during the heyday of logging. Stories abound of the drinking and fighting that characterized both the log drives in the spring, and the times when wood cutters came out of the woods after extended periods in camp. Attempts at reform were made by temperance groups. There is little indication that they had any great success, but such behavior occurs less now than in the past.

Religion and patriotism are also both important to the community. Veterans' organizations are active and patriotic holidays are remembered with parades. Church services are well attended and church groups are important clubs in the towns.

Active religious and political community organizations and a strong identification with the community create rivalries. Stratford and Northumberland schools are strong athletic rivals. Northumberland also has a strong rivalry with the neighboring town of Lancaster. Part of this rivalry has to do with the fact that a number of mill managers, teachers, and principals live in Lancaster rather than in Northumberland, which some people see as a snub to Northumberland and Groveton. There is some truth to this feeling. On occasion, people in Lancaster have been heard disparaging Groveton as a mill town.

Education in Union 58

State Functions and Duties

As in other states, education in New Hampshire is a state function, mandated by the state constitution, but funded and administered primarily at the local level. State authority resides in the state Board of Education, which has as its chief executive officer the Commisioner of Education. Some of the more important duties of the commissioner are: 1) the creation of supervisory unions consisting of one or more school districts and the dissolution of existing unions when it is in the best interests of the schools to do so; 2) the supervison of the expenditure of all moneys appropriated to the schools and the inspection of the various schools in the state; 3) the establishment of certification requirements for teachers, supervisors, and administrators of the public schools and the certification of those who meet the requirements for certification; 4) the administration of the school money through the local school boards; 5) the enforcement of the laws relative to school attendance; 6) the employment of superintendents, assistant superintendents, teacher consultants,

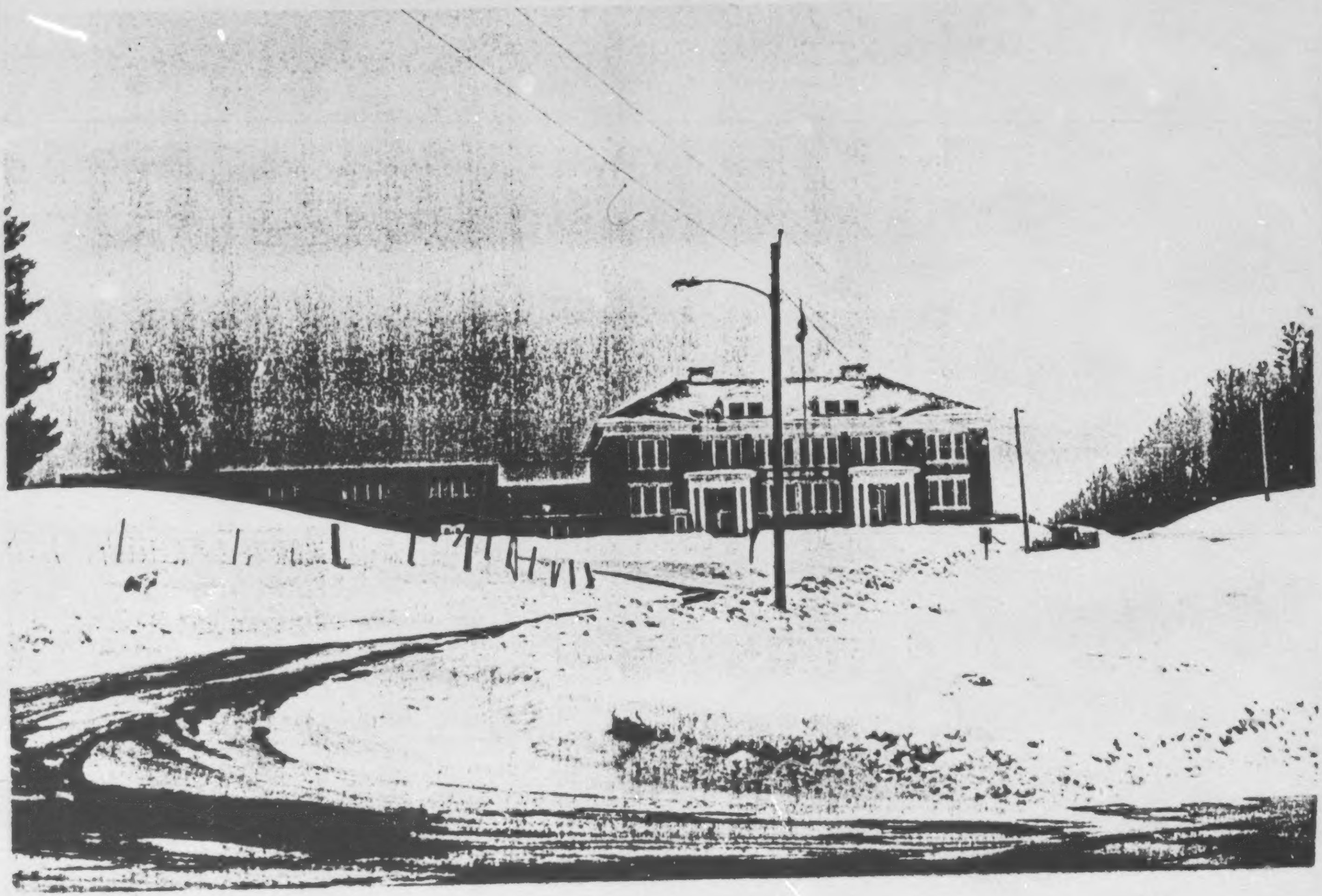

Fig.16. Stratford School.

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and/or business administrators upon their nomination by the local boards in each of the supervisory unions; 7) determination of the state's share of the salaries of other state supervisory union personnel; and 8) the preparation and promulgation of "school programs, outlines of work, and courses of study" which will "best promote the educational interests of the state."

At the supervisory union level, state influence and power are felt in three areas. These are 1) teacher and administrator certification, 2) minimum standards for elementary and secondary schools, and 3) state financial contributions to local districts.

Teacher and administrator certification enable the state to determine who can teach or administer schools in the state. Currently, the entire teacher certification procedure is being radically altered. Originally, certification was dependent on a person attending an approved college and matriculating from an approved teaching or administrative program. Recertification was contingent upon continuing education and the accumulation of courses and degrees beyond a bachelor's degree.

In altering the certification procedures and requirements, the state has made the supervisory unions responsible for devising their own three year master plans, based on the identification of local educational needs. The master plan has to be consistent with current New Hampshire certification regulations and should recognize individual differences between education with respect to needs, strengths, and competencies. In order to recognize differences between teachers, the master plan should offer a variety of activities for teachers within four major areas. These areas are: 1) knowledge of subject area, 2) basic teaching skills, 3) orientation to the structure and operation of local skills, and [illegible] exploratory or innovative activities.

The local master plan will become effective for a three-year period beginning with the academic year 1975-1976. The master plan has to be approved by the local superintendent, the union school board, and the state Department of Education. Union 58 has its own staff committee which is in the process of developing a master plan for the union.

The state Department of Education has created minimum standards for elementary and secondary schools to insure that quality education is offered to all students in New Hampshire. Generally, individual schools are examined by representatives from the Department of Education and various outside consultants to see if the schools meet state standards. On the basis of these examinations, schools are approved or not approved by the state. In instances where minimum standards are not met, plans are created, in consultation between state and local people, for correcting deficiencies and meeting state standards. In deciding to grant or withhold approval of a school and its program it appears as though the state is fairly flexible and cognizant of the financial disparities that exist between local school districts. As a result, most schools are approved, and the emphasis is on developing concrete plans to upgrade particular schools. Some of the standards for elementary and secondary schools are listed below.

Minimum Standards for Elementary Schools:

1. Each school will have a written philosophy and list of objectives which will be on file with the Department of Education.

2. All supervisors, administrators, elementary school principals, and teachers shall be certified by the Director of Teacher Education and Certification.

3. The school year shall consist of at least 180 days; a school day, exclusive of lunch period, shall be for kindergarten--2.5 hours, grade one--4.5 hours, grades two through eight--5.25 hours.

4. The pupil/teacher ratio shall be for grades one through two--25/1 or less, grades three through eight--30/1 or less.

5. The following subjects shall be taught in elementary school: Art, Health, Language Arts, Mathematics, Music, Physical Education, Science, Social Studies.

6. Special education services shall be provided to children who differ significantly from average in intellectual, emotional, or physical characteristics.

7. Schools with between 150 to 300 students shall have a principal with at least half time allowed for supervision and administration. Schools with more than 300 students shall have a full-time principal and full-time secretary.

8. Elementary schools with an enrollment of 750 students shall have a full-time nurse-teacher and/or school nurse and full-time elementary art and music teachers.

9. Each elementary school should provide guidance services to meet the needs of all the children. Schools with an enrollment of 800 students shall have a full-time elementary guidance teacher and full-time physical education teacher.

10. New or beginning teachers shall receive an orientation to the school system, and individual and staff development shall be provided for by faculty meetings, workshops, curriculum committees, etc.

11. Each school shall provide library services for staff and pupils. Schools enrolling between 150 to 300 pupils shall provide at least 1000 square feet of library space; schools enrolling 300 to 500 pupils shall provide at least 2000 square feet of space; schools enrolling 500 or more pupils shall provide 40 square feet of library space per child for 10 percent of the enrollment.

12. A certified librarian will maintain and supervise the school library and train staff. In schools with 800 students, a full-time librarian will be maintained. Further, the basic collection of books, not necessarily housed in the school, shall be 6,000. A minimum of $5.00 to $10.00 per child shall be budgeted annually for library resources.

13. A regular classroom shall be 900 square feet or 30 square feet per child, whichever is greater.

14. Each elementary school shall have a minimum of five acres of land plus an additional acre for each projected 100 children for construction.

15. Where a junior high or middle school exists, home economics and industrial arts instruction are required for students in grades seven and eight (New Hampshire Department of Education, 1972).

Stark School, Groveton Elementary School, and Stratford School's elementary program were all "conditonally approved" as of the 1972-1973 school year. Conditional approval means a school has not met all the provisions contained in the minimum standards, but the local school board has adopted and submitted a plan, approved by the commissioner of education, for correcting these deficiencies. The specific deficiencies as of September of 1972 at each school were as follows:

Groveton Elementary School

1. No Art Teacher
2. No Physical Education Teacher
3. Inadequate Library Space

Stark School

1. No Art Teacher
2. No Music Teacher
3. No Physical Education Teacher
4. No Librarian

Stratford School

1. Doubtful that Physical Education Teacher requirement is being met.
2. Inadequate Library Space
3. Doubtful that Librarian requirement is being met.

Minimum Standards for High Schools:

1. School year: 180 days, but it is recommended that the school calendar be 185 days to provide for days lost due to bad weather, etc.

2. School day: At least 5.5 hours excluding recess and lunch periods. It is recommended that the school day be at least 6.5 hours.

3. Shortened school day: A shortened school day is a school day when for reasons of safety, health, or student welfare the school operates for less than 5.5 hours but not less than 3.5 hours.

4. Examination periods. If mid-year or final examinations are held, "the arrangements shall provide that all of the pupils may be in school for the full day."

5. Graduation preparations: Seniors may have the last 3 days of school to prepare for graduation.

6. Administrative and Supervisory load: Each school must have a principal, and each principal must have at least half the school day for administrative and supervisory duties. If enrollment exceeds 250, a full-time principal is required.

7. Teaching load: No teacher shall have more than five different class preparations or more than six periods of class instruction on any day.

8. Staff qualifications: All professional staff must be fully certified by the Department of Education.

9. Class size: No more than 35 students in a class except for study halls, band, chorus, physical education, etc.

10. Records: Records of students' attendance, scholarship, and "other appropriate data" shall be kept in a secure place.

11. Reports and Forms: All state forms should be prepared and submitted in accordance with current instructions.

12. Time Standards: All one-unit courses must meet a minimum of 250 minutes a week. (There are exceptions to this in the vocational area).

13. Course Load: Minimum course load is four units per year and 16 units for graduation. (There are some qualifications to this.)

14. Program of General Education: 8 units so composed:

English	4 units
Social Science (including U. S. History)	2 units
Mathematics	1 unit
Science	1 unit

15. Minimum program of Studies for approval as a "High School:"

English	4 units
Foreign Language	3 units
Social Science (including U.S. History)	2 units
Mathematics (algebra, elementary and intermediate, geometry, trigonometry	
Others	4 units

16. Alternation of Courses: Small schools need not offer a course every year. However, 17 units of the above must be offered in any given year.

17. Minimum Program of Studies for Approval as a "Comprehensive High School:"

A. College Preparatory courses (outlined under 15)	20 units
B. General Subjects	
English	4 units
Mathematics	2 units
Science	2 units
Social Science	2 units
C. Practical Arts (Home Economics, Industrial Arts, Agriculture, Business Ed., etc.)	14 units
D. Fine Arts	3 units

18. Other Services

A. An adequate library and qualified librarian

B. Guidance Counselor (New Hampshire Department of Education, 1962).

Both Stratford School and Groveton High School were provisionally approved comprehensive high schools in 1972. Their shortcomings were in the areas of library holdings and space and junior high vocational offerings at Groveton, and fine arts offerings at Stratford.

The state provides funds to local school districts and supervisory unions under a number of programs. These are 1) state contribution to the superintendent's salary, 2) building aid, 3) foundation aid, 4) incentive aid, 5) foster children aid, 6) sweepstakes aid, and 7) driver's education aid. Each type of state aid is briefly discussed below.

State contribution to the superintendent's salary. Because the superintendent of schools is employed by the state, the state contributes to his salary. The amount contributed varies between $2,500 and $7,500, depending on the equalized assessed valuation of the particular supervisory union. The state may also contribute to the salaries of other union personnel--assistant superintendent, teacher consultant, or business manager--at a uniform rate across all supervisory unions, not exceeding $5,000 per job.

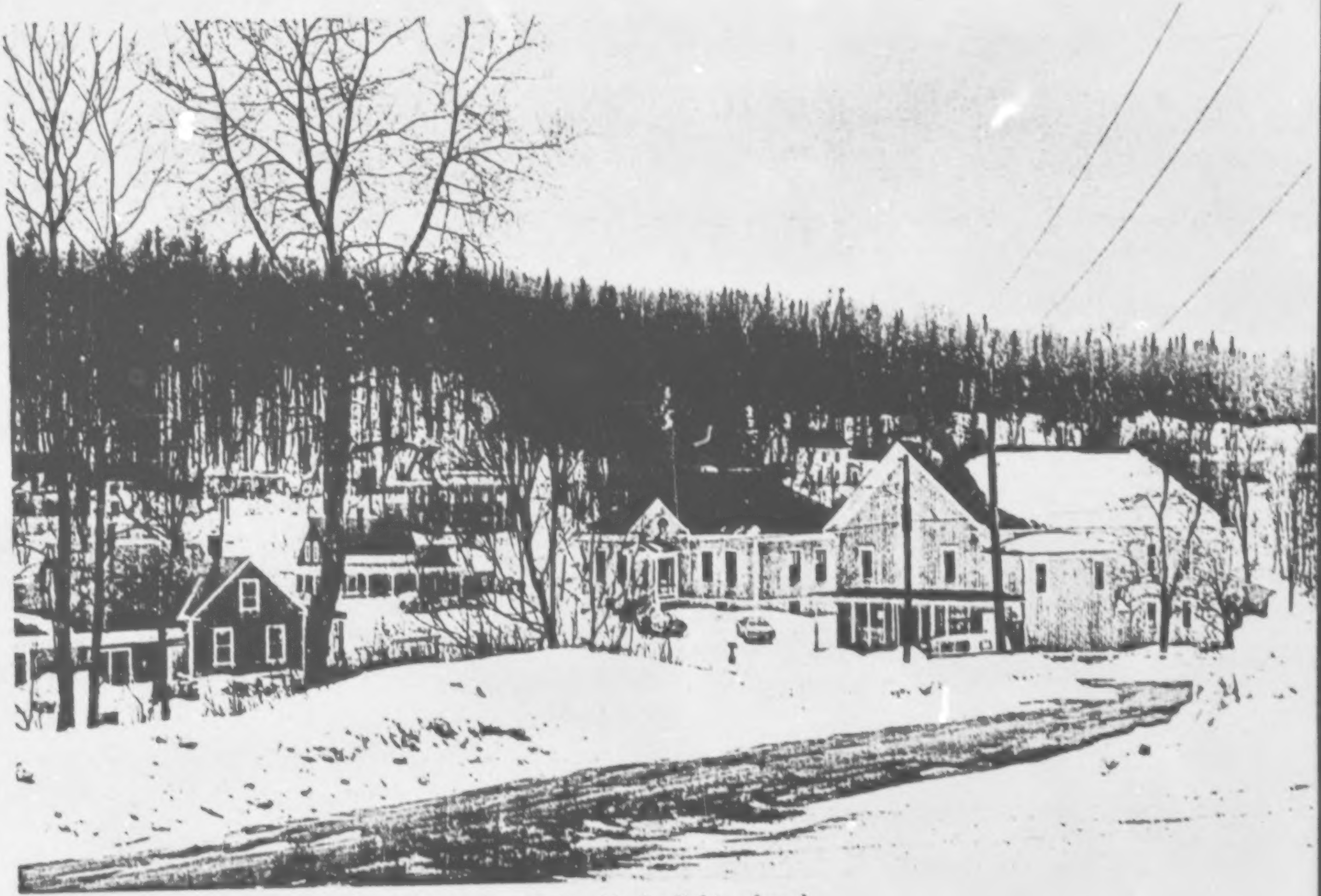

Fig.17. Stratford Hollow. The Stratford Hollow School is the light colored building in the middle.

Building aid. School districts receive building aid for school buildings that meet existing state regulations regarding the construction of schools. This amounts to 30% of the existing principal on all indebtedness for a particular building. Districts building Authorized Regional Enrollment Area (AREA) schools or forming Cooperative School Districts, both of which serve to combine districts for the purpose of reducing the number of small schools, are entitled to receive from the state 40% of the principal on loans and bonds for construction and an additional 5% for each pre-existing district and each sending district in excess of one. Under these arrangements and provisions, state building aid can total 55% of the principal for construction.

Foundation aid. This is state money given to "needy" school districts, that is, districts that lack local resources to support a school. Its purpose is to help equalize educational expenditures across school districts. The amount a district is supposed to receive is the amount of money required for the costs of required elementary and high school education over and above the amount realized by a tax of $14 per thousand of equalized valuation. However, because this program is not fully funded, the monies are allocated according to need and do not reach the level intended by law. In 1970, Stark received foundation aid while Stratford and Northumberland did not, even though all three towns were eligible.

Incentive aid. Incentive aid consists of funds given to school districts to encourage their participation in AREA agreements or in Cooperative School Districts. Stark and Northumberland have an AREA agreement: Stark sends its 7-12 grades to Groveton High School.

Sweepstakes funds. All school districts in New Hampshire receive funds derived from the state lottery. These are distributed on the basis of average daily attendance.

Foster children aid. This is money given to school districts in which foster children reside to defray the costs of their education.

Driver's education aid. This is money given to school districts which have an approved driver training program.

The County Role in Local Education

The county has no role in education at the district level, except in the event of controversy over the location of a school in a school district. Generally, the local school board chooses the sites and types of school buildings in its district, though the state can make advisory recommendations in these matters. However, if 10% of the voters of a school district are unhappy with the proposed location of a school, they can, within 10 days of the announcement of the site, appeal to the county commissioners of the county in which the school district is located. The county commissioners, after hearing arguments and evidence regarding the proposed location of the school, will decide the location of the school.

Organization of Supervisory Unions

In New Hampshire, supervisory unions are legal corporations capable of suing and being sued, purchasing and disposing of real property, entering into contracts, and receiving grants from the state and federal government. They provide administrative and supervisory services to the school districts comprising them and they can, as does Union 58, also provide instructional services to the school districts.

The supervisory union has two components, the union board and the central administration. The union board is comprised of the members of the local school boards. In the case of Union 58, it consists of 11 members; five from Northumberland, three from Stark, and three from Stratford. The duties of the union board are to choose a chairman, secretary, and treasurer, to nominate a superintendent and/or assistant superintendent, teacher consultant, or business agent when necessary, to set the salaries of the above personnel as well as those of teachers, secretaries, clerks, etc., to approve programs that might be instituted at the union level, and to apportion the local districts' shares of union costs among the various districts comprising the union.

By law, the union board has to meet twice a year: It meets once before January 1 to set the budget for the next fiscal year (which runs from July 1 to June 30), so that the local districts' shares can be included in the district budgets, which have to be approved by the citizens of the various school districts before April 20; and once in the spring (between April and June) to approve the budget and set the salaries of the union personnel.

Each district is represented on the union board by members of its district board. For voting purposes, however, each district has three votes. In addition, each district employing more than eight full-time teachers is allowed extra votes, one vote for each additional five teachers. The union board is allowed to determine the circumstances in which the additional voting procedures are to be used. As a result of the provisions for additional votes, Northumberland can, if it votes in a block, outvote the other two districts. Additional voting procedures have not been used in recent times in Union 58.

The union board has two positions, chairman and secretary-treasurer. The main duty of the secretary-treasurer is to send to the state the local districts' share of the superintendent's, assistant superintendent's, elementary consultant's, and business manager's salaries.

In September of 1972, the central administration of Union 58 consisted of a superintendent, an elementary consultant, a special education teacher, special education aide, and a secretary-bookkeeper. All except the superintendent were employed by the union. The superintendent is a state employee, hired by the union, but approved and certified by the state and is paid by the state through a combination of state and local funds. Local funds are sent to the state as the local district's contribution to the superintendent's salary.

The elementary consultant, in fact, acted as an assistant superintendent, and his job description was based on other job descriptions of assistant superintendent positions. He did not receive such a designation because he had not completed the courses that the state required of assistant superintendents.

The union paid the salaries of the special education teacher and aide who provided services to the three school districts in the union. The union also paid the salary of a guidance counselor at Groveton High School this year.

School District Organization

At the annual school meeting, which is held between March 1 and April 20, the school district approves the budget for the forthcoming fiscal year and elects the following officers:

Clerk. The clerk receives declarations of candidacy for various district offices and prepares the ballots for the school meeting.

Moderator. The moderator runs the school meeting and is responsible for insuring that the meeting is orderly. He also supervises the counting of the ballots during the school meeting.

Treasurer. The treasurer has custody of the school monies which he pays out only on order of the school board. He also keeps the books of the district and presents a final report at the close of the fiscal year. His books are audited by the auditor or the state, whichever examines the district's books.

Auditor. The auditor examines the school district's books at the end of the year. A school district need not elect an auditor if it chooses to have its books examined by the state Tax Commission. Generally, all the districts in Union 58 have their books audited by the state.

School board member. School board members are elected on a rotating basis at the annual meeting for three-year terms. Stark and Stratford have three board members, Northumberland has five. The duties of the school board are 1) to set the salary and terms of employment of teachers, janitorial staff and other employees; 2) to hire teachers from among those nominated by the superintendent; 3) to authorize all purchases; 4) to prepare the budget for the schools; 5) to provide suitable and safe schools for pupils in the district; 6) to determine the subjects to be taught and time devoted to them in the schools, subject to state regulations in these matters; 7) to meet at least every two months and keep records of the transactions of the meetings. In addition, the school board may fire any teacher found by it to be incompetent, immoral, insubordinate, or nonconforming with its regulations; and it may prescribe, subject to state regulations, regulations governing the management of and discipline in the schools.

While the school board, in conjunction with principals and the superintendent of schools, generally prepares the school warrant and budget, citizens can also add items to the school warrant, including budget items. If 10 or more citizens want, they can, within 30 days of the school meeting, insert an article in the school warrant. This has been done on occasion. For instance, in 1972, a group of Stratford citizens put an article in the school warrant to create a kindergarten in Stratford. The article was defeated.

The duties of the superintendent of schools are: 1) to enforce the rules of the school board, the state regulations, and all other laws relating to the schools; 2) to direct and supervise the work of all teachers and janitors; 3) to nominate teachers to the local board for hiring; 4) to select and purchase textbooks and other school materials as the local board indicates; 5) to remove any teacher or other school employee he finds immoral, incompetent, or nonconforming to the school regulations; 6) to admit and assign students to the schools and grades, advance them as their attainments warrant, and recommend those qualified to the local board for graduation.

Union 58's elementary consultant, according to his job description, performed essentially the duties of an assistant superintendent; i.e., "assisting the superintendent substantially and effectively in the task of providing leadership in developing, achieving, and maintaining the best possible educational programs and services." His official title has recently been changed to assistant superintendent.

The principal is in charge of running the building, supervising and evaluating teachers, and implementing school board policies. The principal reports to the superintendent and to the local school board.

The union itself is essentially an organizational device for providing management and supervisory services to the local districts and sharing the expenses of these activities among them. Thus, union personnel keep the books and purchase school supplies for the various districts. Very little educational policy is developed at the union level; for the most part this occurs at the district level where school boards and building principals play major roles. The educational activities that do occur at the union level are those that are shared throughout the districts, though not all shared services are lodged at the district level. Districts sometimes share services in order to take advantage of some of the federal programs which cannot be funded below a minimum amount. By having the union apply for a federal program, services for which the local school districts would not otherwise be qualified can be supplied to them.

The superintendent is responsible to three autonomous school boards with school systems that, in actuality, vary considerably in their problems, needs, and financial resources. The boards are empowered by statute to exert considerable control over what occurs in the schools. Their power is buttressed vis-à-vis the state by the fact that state contributions to local school districts are relatively small. The variability between school boards and districts, combined with the relatively great power of the local boards, acts to reduce the amount of direct educational influence and supervision that come from the top--the superintendent's office. This tends to create a leadership vacuum at the district level and can reduce the amount of integration of the school system.

One result of the leadership vacuum is that the key educational leaders in the districts become the principals who are charged with running the educational program of their buildings. The initiative for programs and curricular change tends to reside with them, though formal approval for change resides with the boards and superintendent's office. Conversely, the principals also have the ability to impede program and curricular change.

School Districts in Union 58

Facilities and distribution of grades. The Northumberland school program includes kindergarten through 12th grade. The school district has two schools, both located in the village of Groveton. The classes of Groveton Elementary School include kindergarten through 6th grade. The school itself was built in 1908. The original building is a three-story brick and stone structure containing 10 classrooms, four on the first two floors and two on the third floor. After a fire on the third floor, townspeople voted to ban classes on the third floor. A cafeteria which feeds both elementary and high school students is located in the basement. A one-story brick addition containing four classrooms was built in 1959. The distribution of students by grades is given in Table 12.

Table 12

GRADE DISTRIBUTION OF GROVETON ELEMENTARY SCHOOL STUDENTS IN SEPTEMBER OF 1972

Grade	Number of Students
K	42[a]
1	18
1	21
2	22
2	24
3	23
3	23
3	24
4	23
4	23
5	30
5	29
6	22
6	21
6	20
	365

[a] There were two kindergarten sections.

The land on which the school is located is paved; there is no dirt or grass playground. The play area has several swings and some basketball hoops. The entire playground is enclosed by a fence to prevent children from wandering into the street.

The elementary school is located on a small plot of land at the center of a fork formed by Route 3. One fork, the truck route, skirts Groveton, while the other leads to the center of town. Directly across from the school are located a service station, the Boston and Maine Railroad tracks, and the town fire station. To the north is the Methodist Church and minister's house; behind the school is a house and some garages belonging to houses and businesses on Groveton's main street. To the southeast is a yard where Groveton Papers Company stores its wood.

The roads around the school, by virtue of their being the main roads in and out of town, are well travelled. Pulp and trailer trucks

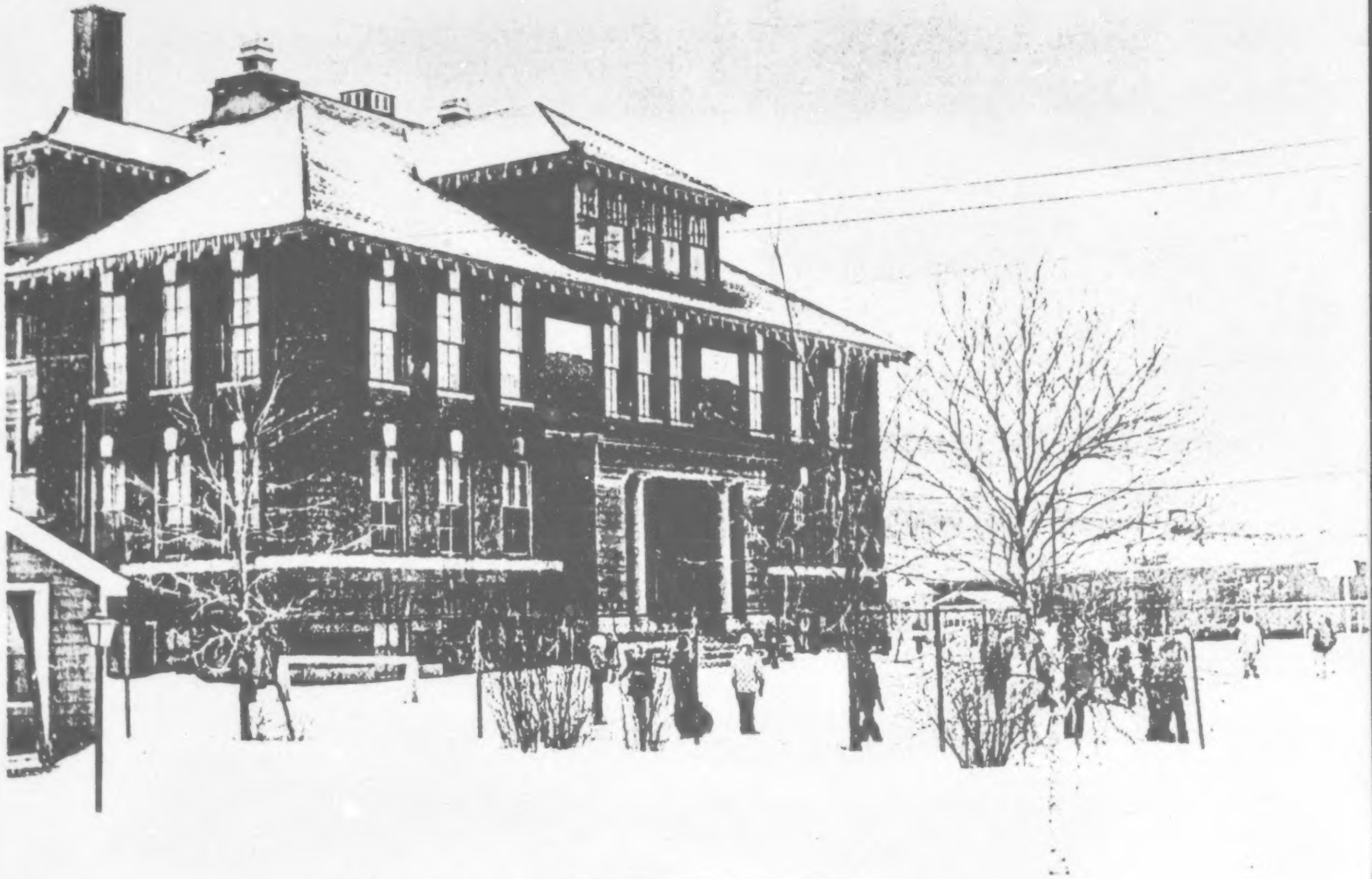

Fig. 18. Groveton Elementary School. Note the train and pile of wood chips in the background.

passing by, as well as trains loading and unloading materials at the paper mill, occasionally make the area of the school noisy.

Because of space limitations, some of the elementary grades and programs meet in buildings other than the elementary school. The district rents two classrooms as well as a smaller special purpose room in St. Francis Hall, which is owned by the Catholic Church. Kindergarten and second grade meet in St. Francis Hall. The district rents one classroom as well as three smaller special purpose rooms in Carter Hall, which is owned by the Methodist Church. A second grade and special education classes meet in Carter Hall.

Groveton High School is a brick building built in 1916. Additions to the building were constructed in 1924 and 1959. The classes at Groveton High School include grades 7-12. The physical plant includes 12 academic classrooms, a home economics room, a woodworking shop, drafting rooms, an art room, a music room, a gymnasium, a library, and a study hall. The gymnasium, locker facilities, and music room were included in the 1959 addition. The art room and the language room were converted from two storage rooms. The distribution of students by grades is given in Table 13.

Table 13

GRADE DISTRIBUTION OF GROVETON HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS
IN SEPTEMBER OF 1971

Grade	Number of Students
7	81
8	68
9	81
10	49
11	63
12	40
	382

The high school has virtually no land on which students can congregate or athletic events can be held immediately contiguous to it. Directly across from the high school is a community recreational area with a large playing field, a paved basketball court, a swimming pool, and a skating arena. The playing field is used by high school physical education classes. The athletic fields for the high school are located about a half-mile away on the road to Stratford.

The high school is located in a residential area just north of the center of Groveton on Route 3. The heavy volume of truck traffic sometimes causes noise problems in those classes that are on the street side, especially in the warmer weather when windows are likely to be open.

A substantial number of the 747 students attending Groveton's schools were tuition students. Stark, under the AREA agreement, sent 21 seventh and eighth graders and 40 ninth through twelfth graders to Groveton in 1972-1973; Maidstone, Vermont sent 10 students to grades K-8 and four to grades 9-12; Guildhall, Vermont sent seven to grades K-8 and six to grades 9-12; one student from Lancaster attended the elementary school.

Stratford School District's educational program encompasses grades 1-12. The district has two schools, Stratford Hollow School and Stratford School. Stratford Hollow School is located in Stratford Hollow and is a two-room school built in 1913. It was used by the district until 1970 and had a primary room (grades 1-3) and an intermediate room (grades 4-6). It is now used to house some personnel for North Country Educational Services and a Head Start program.

Stratford School includes grades 1-12 and is located in the village of North Stratford. The school sits on a hill overlooking the village, the Connecticut River, and Route 3. It was built in 1916 and is a brick structure. In 1959, a gymnasium, a cafeteria, a woodshop, and a science classroom were added. Three more classrooms were added in 1966. The old school building contains 14 classrooms and a library/study hall. Two of the classrooms and the library/study hall are located in the basement of the building and are essentially remodelled storage rooms. The addition contains two classrooms, a home economics room, a science classroom/laboratory, a woodshop, and a gymnasium/cafeteria with kitchen facilities. The distribution of students by grades is given in Table 14.

Table 14

GRADE DISTRIBUTION FOR STRATFORD SCHOOL STUDENTS
IN SEPTEMBER OF 1971

Grade	Number of Students
1	33
2	20
2	15
3	25
4	24
5	24
6	28
7	30
8	19
9	23
10	24
11	28
12	34
	327

The elementary students (grades 1-6) use the two classrooms in the basement, one of which has a small enclosed area for use by a teacher aide. Generally, this room is occupied by the largest elementary class. The other elementary classes are located on the first floor of the old building. Classes for grades 7-12 are located in the other rooms in both the old building and the new addition. The guidance office, located on the first floor, is also used as a classroom for special courses.

Set off on the hill, Stratford School has more land than any of the other schools in the union. Directly behind the school is a large playing field that is used for recess periods as well as for athletic contests. In a shaded area on the south side of the building are some swings and play equipment used by elementary students.

Like the Groveton schools, Stratford School received a number of tuition students, primarily from neighboring Vermont towns. For the academic year 1972-1973, Stratford School received 46 elementary and 16 high school students from Bloomfield, Vermont; eight elementary and three high school students from Brunswick, Vermont; two elementary students who were wards of the State of Vermont; and two elementary and three high school students from Columbia, New Hampshire.

Stark School District provides educational facilities and instruction for grades 1-6 in a two-room school located in the village of Stark on Route 110, which runs between Groveton and Berlin, New Hampshire. The school was built in 1900 and contains two classrooms and kitchen facilities. One room contains grades 1-3, the other contains grades 4-6. The distribution of students by grades is given in Table 15.

Table 15

GRADE DISTRIBUTION OF STARK SCHOOL STUDENTS
IN SEPTEMBER OF 1971

	Grade	Number of Students
	1	4
(Primary)	2	12
	3	11
	4	8
(Intermediate)	5	9
	6	11
		55

In addition, Stark paid tuition for 61 students to go to Groveton High School and 11 to Berlin High School.

The school has a dirt playground with some play equipment located on one side of the building. Directly behind the building is the Upper Ammonoosuc River. On the other side of the school is a covered bridge and the Union Church which, together with the school, make a quaint and often photographed site. Across from the school are the Town Hall, a cemetary, and a small town library.

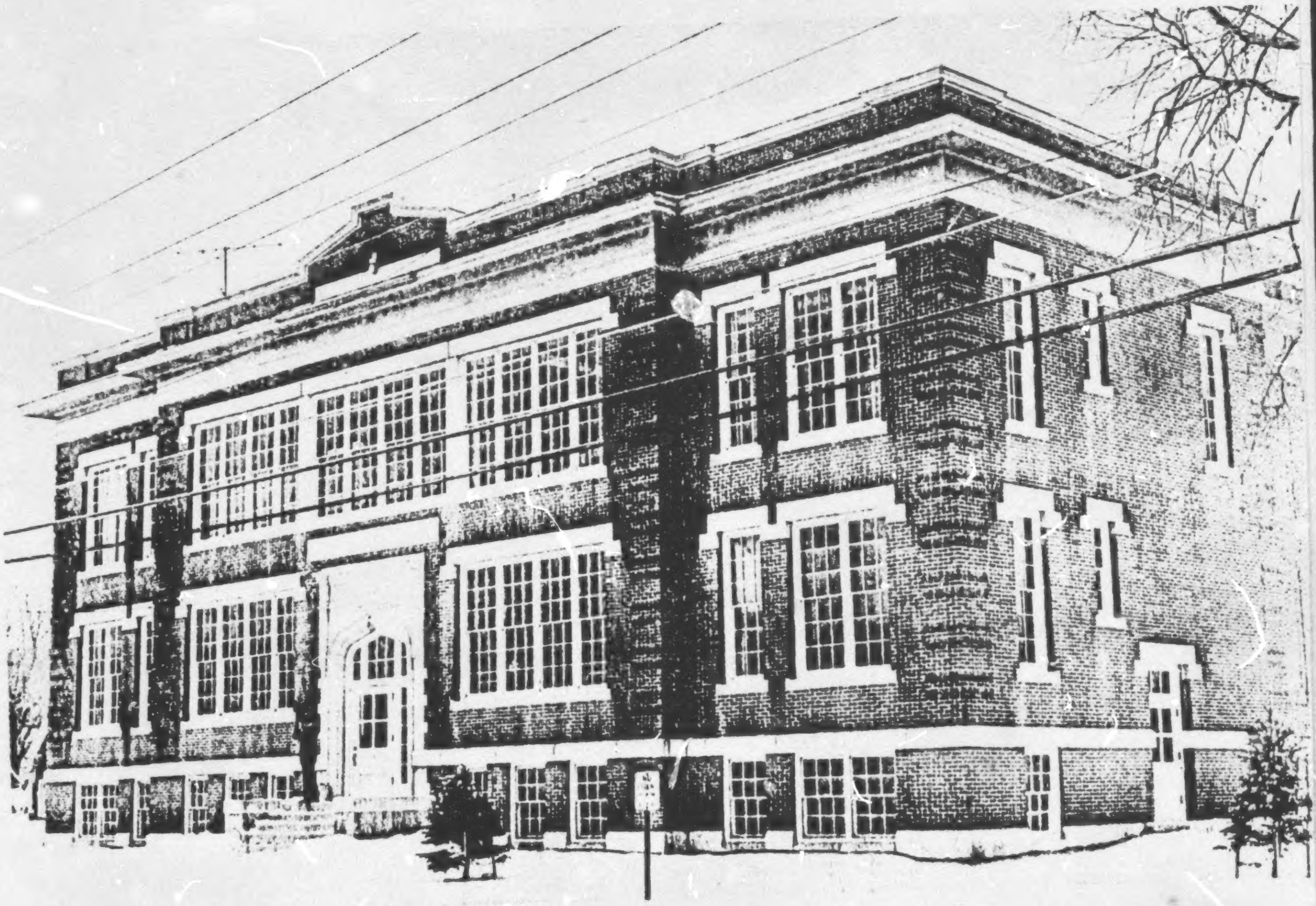

Fig.19. Groveton High School.

598

Union and school district finances: 1971-1972.) Included on the union payroll were the superintendent, the elementary consultant, a secretary, a teacher and teacher aide working on the handicapped children project, several part-time custodial and office people, and the guidance counselor at Groveton High School. The people working under the handicapped children project provided special education services to pupils in all three school districts. The budget for Union 58 is given in Table 16. The actual expenditures are given in Table 17. The bulk of the money for Supervisory Union 58 services is derived from the local school districts. Only about 4% of the funds come from the state.

Table 16

BUDGET FOR UNION 58 FOR FISCAL 1971-1972

Expense Category	Budget
Administration	$28,600.00
Instruction	22,150.00
Operation of Plant	500.00
Fixed Charges	4,000.00
Capital Outlay	-----
Special Programs	1,200.00
Total	$56,450.00

Table 17

SUPERVISORY UNION EXPENDITURES 1971-1972

Expense Category	Expenditures
Administration	$ [illegible]101.75
Instruction	[illegible]78.56
Operation of Plant	28.00
Fixed Charges	2,790.89
Capital Outlay	1,610.45
Special Programs	1,200.00
Total	$54,110.35

Total expenditures for all three districts were just under $1,000,000.00. Groveton's expenditures were greatest with slightly more than $600,000.00; Stratford was next with slightly more than $300,000.00; and Stark spent the least, about $85,000.00 (Tables 18, 19, and 20).

Table 18

NORTHUMBERLAND SCHOOL DISTRICT BUDGET [illegible] EXPENDITURES 1971-1972

Expense Category	Budget	Expenditures
Administration	$ 2,265.00	$ 2,649.32
Instruction	368,963.00	376,578.79
Attendance Services	50.00	-----
Health Services	5,960.00	5,467.04
Pupil Transportation	20,355.00	20,585.09
Operation of Plant	35,500.00	38,243.99
Maintenance of Plant	11,683.00	9,167.99
Fixed Charges	34,339.60	34,354.70
School Lunch and Special Milk Program	2,200.00	11,909.58
Student Body Activities	2,500.00	2,478.00
Capital Outlay	8,000.00	12,952.71
Debt Service	17,523.00	17,523.00
Outgoing Transfer Accounts	35,561.00	36,164.10
Adult Basic Education	-----	1,620.89
Summer School	-----	2,349.71
Total	$546,899.60	$572,044.91

Table 19

STARK SCHOOL DISTRICT BUDGET AND EXPENDITURES: 1971-1972

Expense Category	Budget	Expenditures
Administration	$ 495.00	$ 378.06
Instruction	16,152.00	16,192.94
Attendance Services	20.00	-----
Health Services	450.00	568.50
Pupil Transportation	6,840.00	6,840.00
Operation of Plant	1,950.00	1,819.49
Maintenance of Plant	2,125.00	1,763.32
Fixed Charges	1,315.00	1,055.64
School Lunch and Special Milk Program	-----	1,362.88
Capital Outlay	-----	396.75
Outgoing Transfer Accounts	45,003.10	44,360.94
Total	$74,350.10	$74,738.52

Table 20

STRATFORD SCHOOL DISTRICT BUDGET AND EXPENDITURES: 1971-1972

Expense Category	Budget	Expenditures
Administration	$ 1,654.00	$ 1,630.10
Instruction	176,269.00	181,614.03
Attendance Services	15.00	16.00
Health Services	2,765.00	2,855.69
Pupil Transportation	8,122.50	8,119.30
Operation of Plant	22,405.00	24,139.23
Maintenance of Plant	5,300.00	7,124.84
Fixed Charges	16,855.00	13,422.17
School Lunch and Special Milk Program	-----	11,062.39
Student Body Activities	750.00	807.55
Capital Outlay	1,900.00	5,009.66
Debt Service	16,789.32	16,789.32
Outgoing Transfer Accounts	14,094.80	14,000.75
Adult Basic Education	-----	1,993.78
Summer School	-----	3,250.01
Refunds	-----	3,008.50
Total	$266,919.62	$294,843.32

The greatest expenditure for all districts, with the exception of Stark, was for teachers' salaries. Stark, because its high school students are given tuitions to other districts, allocated the greatest portion of its funds to tuition, found under "outgoing transfer account." The second largest expense for Northumberland was its share of the supervisory union costs, also found under "outgoing transfer accounts." In Stratford "operation of plant" was the second greatest expense, while in Stark the second greatest expense was teachers' salaries (found under "instruction").

The great bulk of school district monies comes from local sources. In the towns of Union 58, these funds are taken exclusively out of the property tax which is collected by the towns. However, the specific rate for the school tax is computed by the state Tax Commission and is based upon the school district budgets and an equalized assessment of local property values. In all three districts, the town appropriation varies from a low of 68% in Stratford to a high of 79% in Northumberland. State contribution to the local districts is virtually nil (3% and 4% respectively) in Northumberland and Stratford. Only in Stark is state aid substantial (21%), and that is mostly foundation aid. Federal funds are also very small in all three districts, between 2% and 4% of the total district receipts (Tables 21, 22, and 23).

Table 21

NORTHUMBERLAND SCHOOL DISTRICT RECEIPTS: 1971-1972

Receipts	Amount	Percent of Total
Local Funds		
Unencumbered Balance	$ 11,728.22	
Town Appropriation	464,484.89	
Total	476,213.11	83%
State Funds		
School Building Aid	3,522.89	
Driver Education	2,240.00	
Sweepstakes Revenue	7,690.86	
Incentive Aid	624.09	
Other State Revenue	844.16	
Total	14,922.00	3%
Federal Funds		
Vocational Education	3,000.00	
National Forest Reserve	485.71	
School Lunch and Special Milk Program	11,909.58	
Title I	5,071.00	
Title II	374.00	
Title III	350.74	
Adult Basic Education	1,842.19	
Total	23,033.22	4%
Tuition from Other Districts	59,978.28	10%
Other Receipts	2,508.19	
Total	$576,654.80	100%

Table 22

STARK SCHOOL DISTRICT RECEIPTS: 1971-1972

Receipts	Amount	Percent of Total
Local Funds		
Unencumbered Balance	$ 672.59	
Town Appropriation	50,993.23	
Total	51,665.82	69%
State Funds		
State Foundation Aid	20,246.66	
Sweepstakes Revenue	1,471.72	
Other State Aid	250.00	
Total	21,968.38	29%
Federal Funds		
National Forest Reserve	67.36	
School Lunch and Special Milk Program	762.58	
Title II	21.00	
Title III	61.75	
Total	912.69	1%
Tuition from Other Districts	624.09	1%
Other Receipts	550.21	
Total	$75,717.19	100%

Table 23

STRATFORD SCHOOL DISTRICT RECEIPTS: 1971-1972

Receipts	Amount	Percent of Total
Local Funds		
Unencumbered Balance	$ 25,196.96	
Town Appropriation	196,377.25	
Total	221,574.21	72%
State Funds		
School Building Aid	2,601.68	
Sweepstakes Revenue	2,922.53	
Driver Education	-----	
Total	5,524.21	2%
Federal Funds		
Vocational Education	750.00	
National Forest Reserve	219.75	
School Lunch and Special Milk Program	10,808.39	
Title I	5,000.00	
Title II	107.00	
Title III	2,316.22	
Adult Basic Education	2,496.75	
Total	21,698.11	7%
Tuition from Other Districts	52,806.78	17%
Other Receipts	6,736.51	2%
Total	$308,339.82	100%

Of greater significance to the districts of Northumberland and Stratford is the tuition money these districts receive from other districts. Tuition money accounts for 13% of Northumberland's receipts and 18% of Stratford's. Having tuition students and monies enlarges the enrollment and funds of the Northumberland and Stratford districts and allows them to maintain programs that would not be economically feasible without the additional students and funds.

All three districts spent less per pupil than the New Hampshire average at the elementary school level (Table 24). Stark was considerably below average, spending about $187.00 less than the "average" district; Stratford was next, spending about $115.00 less than the "average" district; while Northumberland was close to the state average, spending about $58.00 less.

Table 24

PER PUPIL EXPENDITURE BY SCHOOL AND SCHOOL DISTRICT: 1971-1972

School District	Elementary Schools	Secondary Schools
Northumberland	$ 485.54	$ 984.22
Stark	343.62	-----
Stratford	514.83	1,023.00
New Hampshire Average Per Pupil Expenditure	597.00	803.00

At the secondary level, however, both Northumberland and Stratford had per pupil expenditures higher than the state average. Northumberland spent almost $100.00 more per pupil than the average school, while Stratford spent almost $360.00 more per pupil than the average school. These high per pupil expenditures may be due to the fact that both high schools are relatively small and are not able to provide the variety of programs that they do with the same "economy of scale" that large schools can.

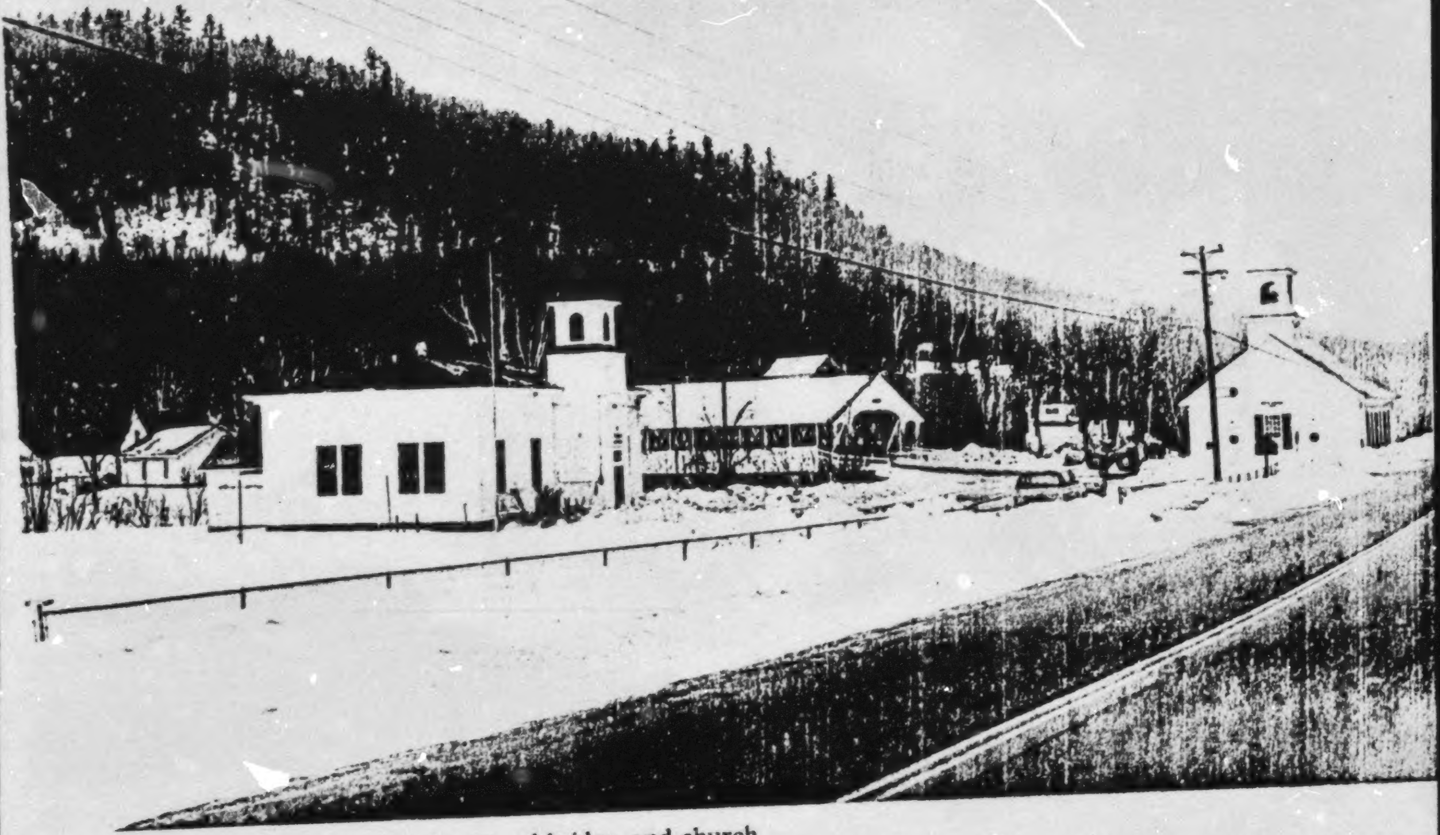

Fig.20. Stark Village: Stark School, covered bridge, and church.

Staff

Most teachers and administrators in Union 58's schools receive their undergraduate training at state schools in Maine or New Hampshire. The most common school is Plymouth State College in New Hampshire, a teacher training school that, in line with trends in higher education, has become a liberal arts college specializing in education. Most of the teachers have bachelor's degrees, though two teachers at Groveton Elementary and two teachers at Stratford School are listed as not having a degree. Master's degrees are not common in any of the districts. The superintendent and elementary consultant have master's degrees, as do the principal and one guidance counselor at Groveton High School and Stratford School. Other than these people, only one elementary teacher, one high school teacher, and one librarian hold a master's degree in Groveton's schools.

Recruitment generally occurs through the use of the various New Hampshire and Maine state placement bureaus and the New Hampshire Employment Security Office. Applicants are first screened in the superintendent's office, and promising candidates are invited to visit the district where there is an appropriate opening. These candidates are interviewed by the superintendent and the principal of the building where they might work. The decision to hire someone is left to the principal, though formally a person is recommended by the superintendent and hired by the school board. Generally, the board does not interview teaching candidates. They do interview candidates for principalships, however.

Even though there has been a teacher surplus in recent years, recruitment is still somewhat of a problem for the districts of Union 58. The lack of housing and isolation of the districts tend to reduce their attractiveness to potential recruits. The worry which administrators once had about being able to fill vacancies before the start of school has been replaced by the problem of attracting experienced teachers. This manifests itself in the large number of relatively new teachers in the schools in the various districts.

The salary scale paid by Union 58 districts, reputedly lower than salaries paid in the southern part of the state, also may contribute to the recruiting difficulties. In 1972-1973, only Stratford had a salary schedule; neither Northumberland or Stark had a salary schedule and Stark, which has only two teachers, did not even have a beginning or minimum salary. Stratford's salary schedule ranged from $6,500.00 to $9,100.00 for teachers with a bachelor's degree, depending on their experience. For teachers with a master's degree the range was from $6,825 to $9,750, depending on experience. Northumberland had a minimum salary of $6,500.00.

In 1972-1973, Stratford School employed a principal, a vice principal who also taught and ran the school library, a guidance counselor, a secretary, 18 teachers, three teacher aides, and a part-time nurse. The professional staff, excluding aides and the secretary, averaged 6.7 years of experience. However, this average was affected by the extreme scores of two teachers who had taught for 23 and 28 years each. Five teachers were new in 1972-1973, and four had only taught two or three years. Further, the newness of the staff was concentrated among those who taught elementary school. The elementary teachers averaged about 5.1 years of experience, while the secondary teachers averaged 8.1 years experience. Only two of the secondary teachers were relatively new--1972-1973 being the third year for both of them--while six of the 10 elementary teachers had taught for three years or less in 1972-1973.

Stark School had two teachers and an aide in 1972-1973. One teacher had had eight years of experience, while the other teacher had had two years of experience.

Groveton Elementary School employed a principal, a secretary, 17 teachers (one of which was shared with Stratford), and four teacher aides. The professional staff averaged 6.6 years experience in 1972-1973. Again, this average was affected by extremes. Five teachers had had 13 or more years of experience in 1972-1973, while nine had taught three years or less.

Groveton High School employed a principal, a vice principal who also taught industrial arts courses, a guidance counselor, a secretary, 20 teachers (21 including the vice principal), a part-time librarian, and a full-time library aide. The professional staff averaged 8.17 years teaching experience but, as in the other cases, this average was affected by the fact that five teachers had taught more than 10 years, one having taught for 23 years, another for 39 years. Almost half of the teaching staff had only had three years or less of experience.

Teachers are supposed to be evaluated by the principal of their building on a yearly basis. In some instances, this is delegated to vice principals or to department heads. The elementary consultant also observes teachers in the schools. Teachers are evaluated in such areas as discipline, teacher style, student involvement, and evidence of planning. The evaluation is presented to the teacher for his or her signature and is kept in the teacher's file.

All of the schools have faculty meetings; yearly orientation meetings, workshops and self-studies occur when new methods or instructional materials are introduced.

Northumberland and Stratford have policies encouraging faculty to continue their education. Both districts paid part of the tuition for courses which teachers took during 1972-1973; Stratford paid $16.50 per credit, and Northumberland paid half of the teacher's tuition. Stark had no such policy in 1972-1973. Teachers in both Stratford and Northumberland take advantage of the tuition reimbursement to continue their education. Though a few teachers also attend conferences and conventions, attendance there is more common among administrators.

Students

A high proportion of school age children attend school in Union 58. According to 1970 census data, 93% of young people aged 5-19 years from Stark and Northumberland were attending school; in Stratford comparable figures indicate that 88% of the young people aged 7-19 (Stratford has no kindergarten, so its children tend to start school at an older age than those in Northumberland, which does have a kindergarten) were attending school. Dropout rates in the schools are reputed to be on the order of 5%. Several people indicate that the rate used to be higher, around 20%, but a decision by Groveton Papers Company to hire only high school graduates led to the decrease.

While a high proportion of students stays in school, teachers and administrators think that both parents and students seem to be satisfied with average or mediocre grades. A small group of students who plan to attend college, however, are quite competitive about grades and school honors.

About one-half of the students graduating from Groveton High School and about one-quarter of the students graduating from Stratford School in recent years continue their education (Table 25). The bulk of these students do not attend four-year colleges but rather attend community colleges and vocational-technical schools. Virtually all those attending college go to a state school in New Hampshire or Maine. Plymouth State College, Keene State College, and the University of New Hampshire are the most commonly attended schools. The most commonly attended vocational school is the state vocational-technical school in Berlin.

Table 25

PERCENT OF STUDENTS FROM GROVETON HIGH SCHOOL AND STRATFORD SCHOOL ATTENDING POST-SECONDARY SCHOOLS: 1968-1972

	Groveton High School [a]	Stratford School
Four Year College	18%	10%
Other Post Secondary	34%	15%
	N = (240)	N = (118)

[a] Includes students from Stark who were graduated from Groveton High School.

Source: Informational Studies of New Hampshire's Public High School Graduates: 1968-1972. State Department of Education, Concord, N.H.: 1974.

Most students do not continue their education after high school. For boys, the alternatives are military service, a job at the paper mill in Groveton, a job in "the woods" with a jobber, or leaving the area. For girls, the alternatives are not any brighter. They can marry (which many do), work in the paper mill, or leave the area. Though no one knows exactly how many graduates leave the area permanently, conventional wisdom has it that those who do leave it frequently return and settle there.

Both Stratford and Groveton High School have three curriculum tracks: business-commercial, general, and college preparatory. The bulk of the students are in the latter two tracks. Generally all students are required to take four years of English, four years of physical education, one year of science and mathematics, and two history courses (a year of New Hampshire state history and United States history). For the general student, this means he or she has to take eight elective courses other than those that are required. In Groveton, every student is also required to take a half-year course in personal typing. The business or commercial student takes, in addition to the required courses, courses in general business, business mathematics, business English, office practices, and shorthand. College preparatory students are required to take college algebra, geometry or algebra II, and college biology in addition to the basic required courses. Both Stratford and Groveton also offer instruction in Spanish, French, physics, woodworking, and drafting. Groveton offers courses in calculus, trigonometry, and analytical geometry.

Both Groveton and Stratford High School support a number of extracurricular activities. The most popular and widely supported activity is interscholastic sports. Large numbers of students participate on the various teams, and many parents and students attend the various athletic contests. Basketball is the most popular of the sports, and both Groveton and Stratford are frequent contenders for the state championship for small schools. Groveton even has a summer basketball clinic, led by professional players, which is supported by the town recreation department.

In addition to basketball, both schools support men's cross-country and baseball teams. Groveton also supports men's varsity and junior high soccer, and junior high basketball. It also carried a ski team through the 1972-1973 academic year but has since dropped it.

Girl's sports at Groveton and Stratford include field hockey, basketball, and softball. The girl's basketball teams at Groveton and Stratford both occasionally compete in state tournaments. In addition to sports, the girls participate as cheerleaders at the events, especially at the basketball games.

Other extracurricular activities at the schools include the usual clubs such as F.H.A., National Honor Society, band and chorus at Groveton, and Student Council. The activities and organizations tend to vary with student interest from year to year.

Students have very little say in the running of the buildings, the activities, or the courses. Generally, they are an arm of the administration and are charged with helping enforce rules and policies made by the administration or school board. In some activities such as dances and record hops, the students can make decisions; e.g., choosing the band, as long as they work within the general framework and guidelines provided by the administration.

Curriculum

All schools in Union 58 employ standard elementary and secondary curriculum. The elementary programs are weighted heavily in the areas of mathematics and language arts. Groveton has adopted a new reading series to replace one which was formerly used. Neither Stratford nor Stark have reading series for all the grades.

There are a number of special programs in the schools in Union 58. Groveton has a special program for business students which includes a practicum in the offices of Groveton Papers Company. This program, which was started by the head of the Business Department, has been in existence for some time, and the administration in Groveton regards it highly. Special education services are carried on in all schools through the Handicap Project run by the union. Union 58 also receives some services from North Country Education Services (NCES). NCES, a Title III funded organization working in the northern part of New Hampshire, provides a number of special services to school unions and districts in the area. Union 58 receives the services of a speech therapist who visits the schools regularly; school districts in the union also have access to a lot of multi-media equipment at a nominal cost.

While there is some variation in teaching styles, most teachers lecture. Several teachers in Stratford, however, occasionally use group techniques with secondary students.

The libraries are generally adequate, though their holdings tend to be old and are sometimes out of date. All of the libraries need larger and more modern facilities.

A Comparison of the Educational Setting in Stark, Northumberland, and Stratford

The school districts which comprise Union 58 vary in a number of ways. One way in which they differ is in their diversity of educational programs. Northumberland, which is the most affluent as well as the largest school district, offers more educational programs than either Stark or Stratford. Groveton Elementary School has a kindergarten and a remedial reading teacher, which both Stark and Stratford lack. Most of the departments at Groveton High School have several members (the exceptions are art, music, and foreign languages), while Stratford School has only one multi-member department--English. Larger departments enable Groveton High School to offer a wider variety of courses, including calculus, PSSC physics, and an office practices worksite program, which Stratford was unable to offer. The general feeling among people is that Northumberland's schools have more modern texts and equipment than do those of either Stark or Stratford. Groveton High School also has a more varied athletics program than Stratford.

The communities also differ in facilities which are available for educational purposes. Northumberland is able to rent space in two churches for classroom use, which could not be done in Stratford or Stark. In addition to the school libraries, the village of Groveton has a modern, well-stocked library which is larger and open more often than the libraries in Stark or Stratford. Finally, a community field and a swimming pool which are located directly across the street from the Groveton High School are used by the schools. Northumberland also has a more extensive summer recreational program than either Stratford or Stark.

School personnel themselves perceive the three towns to be quite different. Stratford is regarded as a lower class community with a great many broken homes and sizeable numbers of families on welfare. Many of Stratford's children enter school with emotional handicaps and without the abilities and skills (such as number recognition, ability to recognize different sounds, knowledge of the letters of the alphabet and their sounds) which children from more affluent communities possess. Thus, these children enter school already behind their peers in more middle class communities. Many of their first grade activities are actually in preparation for beginning school. According to teachers, these children's progress is such that sizeable numbers quickly fall behind grade level in math and language arts skills and never catch up. As they get older, discipline becomes more and more of a problem. Only a small number attend post-secondary schools.

In Stratford School, the high school demands most of the principal's attention because of discipline problems and because education in the high school has a more complicated structure than in the elementary school, which is structured around self-contained classrooms. The elementary teachers often feel slighted and short-changed, both because the older students have more claim to use of the building (for example, the gym) and because the principal appears to neglect their problems and concerns. Elementary teachers seem more dissatisfied with the principal than do the secondary teachers.

Stark is also a poor community, and while beginning students often lack some of the skills needed for success in school, the teachers do not regard broken homes and discipline as major problems affecting the quality of education. Rather, they feel that the students fall behind in math and language arts skills because of a lack of resources and equipment in the school. In Groveton, teachers think that the children from Stark entering the seventh grade tend to be behind their counterparts from Groveton.

At Groveton High School, some teachers are concerned about the level of academic standards. They feel that the students who receive the highest grades take easier courses (business rather than college prep courses), and this introduces an element of injustice into the system. Other teachers are concerned about the lack of language arts skills and the apparent failure of the English department to deal with the problem. Maintaining student discipline is also a problem.

At Groveton Elementary School, teachers are concerned about the level of reading and math skills of the children. Math teachers stress computational skills because they think that these skills are neglected in modern math, which has been introduced into the school system. In reading and language arts, Groveton eliminated the ITA reading system and began to use more traditional teaching methods. A system using Scott Foresman texts has been introduced on an annual basis over the past several years.

People think of Groveton as a working and middle class community. Broken homes and poorly prepared children are not frequent or serious problems as in Stratford and Stark. The kindergarten and remedial reading programs are viewed as concrete steps designed to remedy any such problems that might exist.

In general, education is not a major concern of the people in Union 58. People show little concern over the content or method of the teaching material in the schools. Most people are willing to leave all thought and planning in education to the educators. For example, Stratford has no PTA, and Groveton and Stark have only struggling PTAs. Open houses sponsored by the PTAs or schools are not well attended. School meetings are not nearly so well attended as town meetings, even though the school budget is frequently larger than the town budget. The concerns that people do have focus on issues like discipline, costs, and consolidation. Holding down costs is important to people because most of the school revenue comes from local sources. Bond issues receive a lot of attention and are frequently turned down. Because of the reluctance to spend money for new buildings, all three districts have severe space needs and are unable to offer certain types of programs.

Attempts at regionalization have been strongly resisted, especially in Groveton. Townspeople want their children to attend schools in the communities in which they live. Losing a school, especially a high school, would mean that the towns would lose their athletic teams, which are a major source of community identity and pride. Real and imagined troubles at a nearby regional school are arguments which are frequently used in Groveton for not joining with other districts to form a regional school.

Recent Changes in Education

Supervisory Union 58 is a loose confederation of geographically coterminus and autonomous school districts created by the state for administrative purposes. Prior to the advent of the Experimental Schools program in 1972, there was little contact between people in the various schools and almost no common planning among the districts. There are a number of reasons for this, including the value placed on local autonomy. Because local autonomy is important to them, residents magnify the differences that exist between schools and school districts and the personal costs that common planning would bring. Another reason for the lack of common planning among the three school districts is the fact that there is virtually no interdependence between the three districts which would make interaction and common planning necessary. Each district funds its schools and only its schools; there is no sharing of facilities or programs, and only a minimum sharing of personnel. Because of the strong emphasis placed on local autonomy and the lack of interdependence between the districts, people do not perceive the need for regular contact or coordinated planning between school districts, and there has been little pressure or leadership from school or union administration in this direction. As the assistant superintendent of schools said: "People feel there is little value in doing it [common planning] and there is little evidence to suggest that it has been worthwhile when attempted."

Before the academic year 1972-1973, very little common planning occurred other than on an ad hoc and limited basis. Planning between the school districts occurred only three times between 1968 and 1972. The first time involved the Handicapped Students Project, a Title III (ESEA) funded program for students with emotional and mental handicaps as well as speech and learning disabilities. It originated in a Needs Assessment carried out in the schools in 1968. The program was originally set up as a self-contained classroom with the expectation that it would change to an itinerant teacher format in which a special education teacher moved from school to school instructing children on an individual basis. The aim of the itinerant teacher method was to avoid stigmatizing handicapped students and to keep them in their regular classrooms. Movement from the self-contained classroom to the itinerant teacher method was impeded by disagreement between the principals of Groveton Elementary School and Stratford School on the wisdom and desirability of such a transition. As a result, the transition to the itinerant teacher method did not occur during the first year, but rather at the end of it.

Another example of common planning occurred during the 1970-1971 school year, when two teachers from Stark School met with elementary teachers in Groveton to develop a school philosophy that could be applied to both elementary schools. During the same year, plans were made to bring the textbooks used in Stark School in line with those used in Groveton Elementary School to insure that the students from Stark attending Groveton High School had the same preparation as those from Groveton.

The last incident of common planning was a survey and study of space needs in the schools of Northumberland and Stark in 1971-1972. This study was carried out by the Center for Educational Field Services at the University of New Hampshire and resulted in a lengthy document detailing space limitations and their impacts on academic programs at Stark School, Groveton High School, and Groveton Elementary School. A local committee was established to study the building and remodeling plans recommended in the report, but it soon died from lack of interest.

Rather than at the union level, program planning occurs primarily at the school level in response to needs articulated by teachers and principals. Between 1969 and 1972, Stark School introduced modern math into the primary and intermediate grades. In Groveton during the same period a number of changes were also made in the schools. At the high school, the English and social studies offerings were increased through the addition of a number of mini-courses, library holdings were increased, and outdated texts were replaced. At the elementary school, the ITA reading system was abandoned and replaced with a new one, an early childhood room and kindergarten were established, and modern math was introduced into the school.

These changes in the Groveton schools precipitated other changes, however. During the late 1960s, people in the town of Northumberland became concerned over the policies and spending practices of the superintendent. They thought that the superintendent was spending money lavishly on frills and that the school board was merely rubber stamping his decisions and activities. At the same time, a number of new teachers had been hired, especially at the high school, who were not native to the area; some local residents perceived them to be nontraditional in educational philosophy and practices and lax in discipline. As a result of the growing dissatisfaction with the schools, the school board was expanded from three to five members, and several people who were openly critical of the superintendent ran for positions on the school board. One claimed to have run solely on the platform of firing the superintendent. Faced with an openly hostile school board, the superintendent resigned during the 1969-1970 school year and was replaced by the principal of Groveton High School. The vice principal at Groveton was elevated to principal.

At the end of the school year, the new principal of Groveton resigned and took a position in another school system, in part, as his successor claimed, because of staff conflict. He was replaced by the current principal, who had a reputation for enforcing discipline and dealing forcefully with faculty problems. His mandate from the school board was to tighten discipline and weed out the ineffective and troublesome teachers. In the next two years, seven teachers left the school system. In two instances, the resignation or dismissal of a teacher at the high school led to the resignation of a spouse at the elementary school.

The new board adopted a much more questioning and intrusive attitude toward the schools. It backed the efforts of the principal to remove teachers he found lacking in some qualities. Since its expansion, the board's main concern has been to keep expenditures low while maintaining what it feels is a good, traditional program in the "basics"--discipline and student deportment, and athletics. The new superintendent has worked out well as far as the board is concerned; relations between school and union administration and the board are trusting and cordial, though the board appears to be much more active and involved in school affairs than in the past, especially at the high school.

Changes also occurred in Stratford during the same period. A new principal was hired in 1968 after a series of short-term principals. He was more inclined to nontraditional approaches to education and had previous experience teaching in an urban setting and working at a Job Corps center in Maine. He began trying to effect changes in the school, particularly in the curriculum. By aligning himself with his assistant principal, who had taught in Stratford since the 1930s and was highly respected in the town and school, he was able to take some steps in this direction. Among the changes were a "free-time contract system" for high school students, mini courses in the high school, including such nontraditional subjects as Indian history in northern New Hampshire and psychology, and changes in the grading system and report card format in the elementary school. In addition, the school was also in the process of trying to develop integrated and sequential mathematics and a language arts program. These changes required a sizeable turnover of staff, including the resignation of a number of older teachers. In one year 12 teachers left the school, more than half the faculty. The principal recruited a number of teachers he thought more effective and in tune with his aims.

In Stratford, the school board has not been as involved in the daily operation of the school as in Groveton. Townspeople do not appear to have been involved very much in school activities either. Though the principal claimed a desire to decrease distance between the school and the community, he recognized that the community might not approve of some of the changes he was trying to bring about in the school, especially his easing of discipline and the creation of the contract system. His assistant principal was able to argue the school's case in town with some success. The school board generally went along with the changes the principal desired, although some members questioned some of the changes made. Like the situation in Groveton, relations between the superintendent and principal were good, and the superintendent allowed the principal to run the school as he wished.

HISTORY OF THE EXPERIMENTAL SCHOOLS PROJECT

Near the middle of March of 1972, Superintendent Rich received a brochure from the Office of Education in Washington which announced a nationwide "competition for small rural schools" and detailed the nature and purposes of the Experimental Schools program. The brochure, dated March 10, 1972, indicated that under the Experimental Schools program the Office of Education was willing to provide funds to small rural school districts that were willing to "test new ideas for educational improvement which are developed in and for a small rural school setting" (Experimental Schools program: Announcement of a Competition for Small Rural Schools). Among the stipulations of the program were: 1) that school systems, as opposed to single schools, apply; 2) that the proposed changes be comprehensive; that is, the changes involve "all the significant elements of a school program" (ibid.); 3) that Experimental Schools' funds supplement, not replace, local funds; that is, that Experimental Schools funds not support activities "normally considered part of regular operating funds" (ibid.); and 4) that the local school system evaluate and document its project in terms of the project's purposes and goals. School systems which were interested in applying for funds were directed to send five copies of a short (not more than 15 pages) "letter of interest" to Washington no later than April 10, 1972.

As is customary, Mr. Rich circulated copies of the brochure to the principals of the various buildings in the union. The brochure found a receptive reader, and on March 29, 1972, Roger Goodson, principal of Stratford School, responded to the pamphlet with a letter indicating a desire to compete for the Experimental Schools' funds. Goodson's letter was an attempt to get outside funds for work in the areas of staff and program development in which he had previously been working.

Prior to the announcement of the national Experimental Schools program, Mr. Goodson and his staff had undertaken a number of changes in the curriculum and were in the process of initiating a staff training program designed "to gain commitments from the staff regarding the objectives of this institution [Stratford School] and to plan for the implementation of programs which would be directed towards reaching said objectives"

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(Letter of Interest, March 29, 1972). The ultimate goal of this work was the creation of an "integrated school" which was defined as "a school which possesses an integrated program of grades one through twelve, which is based upon behavioral objectives, via a sequential development entailing the elminating of grade structure and allowing each student to progress at his or her own rate in each subject matter area throughout all levels" (ibid.). Support from the Experimental Schools program would further the work already begun and lead to the creation of a "model school" in which all learning would be relevant to the learner, all learning situations would be relevant to the area, the program would be achievement based and would produce "renewing agents" for the community.

It is important to note that Goodson was applying for only Stratford School District, not for the other districts in Union 58.[3] Goodson did notify Mr. Rich of his intention to apply for the Stratford School District. In terms of funds, Goodson was thinking of several thousand dollars, perhaps as much as $6,000, to finance the activities he had in mind.

Between the end of March and June 29, 1972, when Union 58 was notified that it had received a one year planning grant, Washington initiated several contacts with Mr. Rich and Mr. Goodson. Washington wanted all three districts in the union to participate in the program. Mr. Rich was unwilling and legally unable to commit the districts to the program. First of all, participation by any school district in the program had to be approved by each of the local school boards. This decision would have to wait for the next round of board meetings in July. Second, no one at the local level knew very much, other than what they read in the brochure, about the Experimental Schools program. Local people were very leery about participating in any federal programs because of difficulties which they had experienced in the past in doing business with the federal government. For example, Title III programs infused large sums of money into local districts for short periods of time and then left the districts with the choice of either assuming a large additional expense to support the program or of abandoning the program altogether, an unpleasant choice in the case of worthwhile programs. Further, such federal programs had an inordinate amount of red tape and seemingly senseless guidelines that had to be dealt with in order to qualify for or sustain funding. All of these factors made local people very reluctant to rush into participation in another federal program.

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[3] Goodson has indicated in conversation that he was aware that the Experimental Schools pamphlet implied the participation of other districts in the union.

A possible way of satisfying Washington's desire for participation from the other districts was put forth by Goodson, after consultation with Mr. Rich, in a letter to Barbara Rose of the Experimental Schools office on June 12, 1972. Goodson wrote:

> After having discussed the matter of greater involvement of staff from the entire supervisory union with my superintendent, it has been agreed that two staff members from two other schools in the supervisory union (Groveton Elementary School and Groveton High School) will participate as members of the curriculum planning committee for this school. Both direct and "spin off" benefits to their institutions from this action can be foreseen in the future, although no immediate commitment can be made by these schools at this time.

This letter clearly implied a weak commitment on the part of the Groveton schools. Representatives from these schools were to observe and participate in curriculum planning for Stratford School. There was no guarantee that any change or improvement would occur in Groveton's Schools. Further, Stark School was not even mentioned as a limited participant in the process.

Such an arrangement was not acceptable to Washington. Part of the difficulty between Washington and the local level, according to the superintendent and others in the union, was that Washington did not understand that a supervisory union consisted of autonomous school districts sharing a superintendent, a central office staff, and some services. Legal responsiblity for the school districts resided with three independent school boards, each of which would have to approve participation in the Experimental Schools program.

In the meantime, in response to Washington's request for some information on the proposed activities of the planning year, Goodson had come up with a tentative plan. The plan envisaged the creation of two committees composed "to insure representation by all groups in the geographic area."[4] One committee, the curriculum committee, was to be composed of five teachers, two parents, one student, and two "other" educators (from Groveton). The second committee, the advisory committee, was to have two parents, two students, one businessman, two school committee persons, two non-parents, one selectman, three representatives from tuition communities (Columbia, New Hampshire, and Bloomfield and Brunswick, Vermont), and two teachers.

The plan had five phases to it. The first phase, which would occur during July of 1972, involved creating the two committees. Phase II, which would occur in August of 1972, involved using an outside consultant who would work with the committees to increase their problem solving, decision making, and communication skills. Follow-up sessions devoted to training in these areas were tentatively scheduled for October and December of 1972, and January and May of 1973.

In Phase III, which would occur from August to October of 1972, the curriculum committee would assess "all facets of the school and of the local area."[5] The results of such an assessment would be used to establish priorities for the curriculum work. "Priorities would be determined by the curriculum committee with strong inputs from the advisory committee."[6]

Phase IV, which would occur from November of 1972 to January of 1973, involved developing alternative means of achieving the goals and objectives implied by the priorities and selecting those most appropriate to the local situation. Goodson anticipated:

> that many of the alternatives developed and selected alternatives would most likely evolve toward programs for establishing more comprehensive, coordinated communicative skills and mathematics programs in the general curriculum (K-12) of this institution. We would also expect that programs for career education in grades 1-12 and work-site co-op programs would also be prime areas for development.[7]

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[4] Letter from Roger Goodson to Barbara Rose, June 12, 1972.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid.

Phase V, which would extend from February to September of 1973 would concern itself first with "research and development of responsible programs" as indicated by the work completed in Phase IV. A two week "in-depth" planning session would be devoted to this. The rest of the time would be devoted to developing plans for implementation of the programs in September of 1973.

Washington's response to the limited participation of the Groveton representatives was negative, and they pushed for more participation by the other districts in the union before any funds for the planning year would be granted. Superintendent Rich responded that full and equal participation by the other districts could be worked out. This softening of attitude was due primarily to the fact that the grant was only for one year and did not commit any of the districts to participation for longer periods of time should Washington be willing to fund any proposal that came out of the planning year. Their attitude was "We'll see what it's all about during the planning year."

On June 29, 1972, Mr. Rich received the following telegram from Robert B. Binswanger, Director of Experimental Schools program, U.S. Office of Education:

> We are pleased to inform you that school supervisory Union N. 58 has been designated to receive a one-year planning grant of $45,500.00 as a result of the recent Experimental Schools Competition for Small Schools in Rural Areas. The planning grant is for the purpose of further developing the ideas described in your original letter of interest with the strong possibility, after submission of a final plan in February 1973, of operational funding as a experimental schools site. A letter with more specific information follows shortly.

Upon receipt of the telegram announcing the planning grant, Mr. Rich called Roger Goodson to tell him that they had been awarded the grant. Mr. Rich said he asked Mr. Goodson to guess how much the grant was for, and Mr. Goodson is reported to have indicated around $10,000. Naturally Goodson was surprised, as Rich had been, by the amount of the grant.

Within the next 10 days, Mr. Rich received two letters from Washington. One, dated June 30, 1972, was the letter Dr. Binswanger referred to in the telegram of June 29, 1972. The letter indicated that

12 rural sites had received funding. Six of the sites had received funding for the actual implementation of programs, while six others, including Union 58, had received grants for a planning year which would give these sites "the opportunity to explore in greater details [sic] the plans for comprehensive change without endangering the success of such an endeavor by requiring the project to be prematurely operational."

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